



A G E N E R A L

HISTORY of the WORLD,

F R O M T H E

C R E A T I O N to the present Time.



VOL. II.



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I N C L U D I N G

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVO-
LUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS,
CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARN-
ING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE and TRADE;

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and
CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

By W I L L I A M G U T H R I E, Esq;

J O H N G R A Y, Esq;

And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

*cui lecta potenter erit res
Nec facundia deferet hunc, nec lucidus ordo.*

HOR.

V O L U M E II.

L O N D O N :

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MDCCLXIV.

A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

WORLD.

BOOK V.

The History of the ASSYRIANS, the BABYLONIANS,
and the different nations antiently inhabiting
ASIA MINOR.

CHAP. I.

*The History of ASSYRIA, according to CTESIUS
and his followers.*

THE names *Assyria* and *Assyrian* are of such comprehensive latitude with the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, as to take in all the country and people between the *Mediterranean* on the west, and the river *Indus* on the east. This empire having been once very extensive, the countries under its dominion, came to be denominated by the name of the sovereign state, which name they retained even long after the ruin of that great monarchy. Thus *Mesopotamia* was called *Mid-Assyria* *. The name was also given to *Babylon* and *Chaldea* †, and according to *Justin* the country of *Syria* was first called *Assyria* ‡.

Assyria Proper, which was so called from *Ashur* the son of *Shem*, and gave name to the other provinces, was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by part of *Armenia* and mount *Niphates*, on the west by the *Tygris*, on the south by *Susiana*, and on the east by part of *Media*. The country with-

And
boundary.

* Arrian. Exped. l. 7.
l. i. c. ii.

† Ammian. Marcel. l. 23:

‡ Justin,

in these limits is by *Strabo* called *Adiabene*, and by *Dio Cassius* *Atyria*, both which names however generally signify only provinces of the whole. These provinces or districts, according to *Ptolemy*, were *Calachene* or *Calacine*, *Arrapachitis*, *Adiabene*, *Arbelitis*, *Appolloniatis*, *Sittacene*, and *Chalonitis*. *Arrapachitis* was the most northern province, but what towns it contained is now utterly unknown. *Calachene* lay next to *Arrapachitis* and contained the cities *Marde*, *Bessara*, *Resen*, *Calah*, which last gave name to the whole province, and was built by *Ashur*, as the scripture informs us. It is supposed by *Bochart* to be the same with *Halab*, where the king of *Assyria* placed the captive *Israelites*. *Adiabene* was the chief province, and lay upon the *Tygris* to the south of *Calachene*. In this part of *Assyria* and near or upon the *Tygris*, stood the famous and so-much celebrated city of *Ninus* or *Nineveh*, as it is named in holy writ. Its extent and greatness is sufficiently described by the prophet *Jonah*. *Strabo* allows it to have been much greater than *Babylon*, and *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that it was 410 stades in circumference, or forty-seven miles, and that it was surrounded with lofty walls and towers, the former being 100 feet in height, and so very broad that three chariots might drive on them a-breast, and the latter 200 feet in height, and 1500 in number. It was ruined by the *Medes*, according to the prediction of the prophet *Nabum*, chap. iii. though it was afterwards rebuilt in some part from its own ruins, as appears from *Tacitus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Ammianus* *. A little farther south lay the town or rather the village of *Gaugamela*, where *Alexander* gained a complete victory over *Darius*, which was afterwards named from the city *Arbela*, a few miles east from *Gaugamela*. *Appolloniatis* lay east of *Adiabene*, and was so called from its metropolis *Apolonia*, and contained besides *Artemita*, *Charracclarta*, *Thebura*, *Arrapa*, and others. *Sittacene* lay south of *Appolloniatis*, and had *Sittace* for its metropolis, a great and populous city, which *Xenophon*, who passed through it, tells us stood about a mile and a half from the *Tigris*. In *Chalonitis*, the most southern province, were the cities of *Chala* and *Ctesiphon*, which last stood on the *Tygris*, a little below *Seleucia*, and on the opposite bank, and in process of time became the metropolis of the *Persian* empire.

As this country lies between the 33 and 39th degrees of north latitude, in its happy times it probably was a land of plenty, according to the description given of it by *Rahshekeh*; but since the fall of its empire, having frequently become the seat of war between neighbouring states, it is now almost a wilderness, excepting some little land cultivated about its few and inconsiderable towns †.

Among the rivers of *Assyria* may justly be reckoned the *Tygris*, not only because it bathed all the western skirts of this

* Tacit. l. 12. Ammian. l. 23.

† Rauwolf's Travels, p. 2.
coun-

country, but also because all the rivers of the kingdom fell into it, and the great cities *Nineveh*, *Ctesiphon*, and others, were situated thereon. It is said to have borrowed its name from the number of tigers on its banks; others derive its name from a *Persian* word, signifying an arrow, to denote the rapidity of its course; but according to *Pietro della Valle* and *Thevenot*, it is a slower stream than the *Euphrates*, owing to its many windings and islands. The inhabitants of the country, even at this day, call it *Hiddekel*. The other rivers of less note were the *Lycus*, the *Caprus*, and the *Gorgus*, at almost an equal distance from each other, and supposed to have been between the cities *Nineveh* and *Seleucia*. The two former are now called the great and little *Zab* or *Zarb*.

According to profane authors *Assyria* was the most antient Antiquity kingdom; but from scripture it appears that of *Babylon* preceded it a few years. It was founded by *Asbur*, who we are *Assyrians* told went out from the land of *Babylon*, and builded *Nineveh*, and the city *Rehoboth*, and *Calah*, and *Rezen*. Some indeed, upon very slight foundations, interpret this text otherwise, and think that *he*, namely *Nimrod*, went out into *Assyr*, and founded the above mentioned cities, because the preceding verses related to him, and the following verses give an account of the posterity of the line of *Ham*, who was not the ancestor of *Asbur*. From thence they conclude that *Assyria* was in the beginning only a branch of the *Babylonish* empire. But the land of *Asbur*, and the land of *Nimrod* are mentioned as two distinct countries, *Micah* v. 6. and the kingdom of *Babylon* we find afterwards was conquered by the *Assyrians*, which proves that before this union they were two distinct kingdoms.

Nothing can be said of the government of this people, except what may be gathered from the conduct and deportment of their princes, in the very little we have of their history. That they were a small nation under hereditary chiefs for many ages is not to be doubted, no more than that their government was very simple. When their empire was in its most flourishing state, their princes seem then to have been purely despotic, and the succession hereditary. Their government,

Their laws were probably very few, and depending upon the arbitrary will of their princes, who even sometimes arrogantly presumed to pass sentence on the whole world, and required that none other under heaven should be worshiped but themselves *. Laws, and

As to their religion, it is probable idolatry prevailed early among them. We have in scripture the names of several of their idols, such as *Nisroch*, *Nergal*, *Adramelech*, *Anamelech*, but in what form these were worshiped, or what relation they had to the idols of other nations, is uncertain. The goddess *Derceto*, whatever was her *Assyrian* name, according to *Ctesias*, Religion.

* *Judith*, ii. 2. & iii. 8.

was a deity of the *Assyrians* of an inferior order, in subjection to another, who may have been the *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis*, or the *Phœnician Astarte* on mount *Aphac*. Their customs, arts, learning, and trade must certainly have differed but little from those of their neighbours the *Babylonians*, and their language was the same with that of *Syria*.

The *Assyrian* empire supposed to be founded by *Ninus*,
B. Ch.
2059.

There is not a more controverted part of history than the account of the first *Assyrian* kings. The first king of *Assyria*, according to *Ctesias* of *Cnidos*, was *Ninus*, but according to *Syncellus* he was only the second, and successor of *Belus*; and from them to *Sardanapalus*, the *Assyrians*, through a succession of near 40 princes, continued masters of the greatest part of *Asia* for about 1300 years, almost till the days of *Uzziah* king of *Judah*. Even *Ninus* their first king, according to *Ctesias* and his follower *Diodorus Siculus*, overran all the countries bordering upon the *Mediterranean* sea, or rather the whole of *Asia Minor*, and *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Cœle-Syria*, and the barbarous nations adjoining upon *Pontus* as far as the *Tanais*, and likewise the *Caddusians*, *Tapyrians*, *Hyrceanians*, *Dacians*, *Derbicians*, *Carmanians*, *Choroneans*, *Borchanians*, and *Parthians*, besides conquering *Persia*, and the provinces of *Susiana*, and that of *Caspiana*, and many other less considerable nations too tedious to recount: and all this wide empire extending from the *Tanais* and the *Euxine* sea on the north, to *Ethiopia* on the south, and from the *Archipelago* and the *Mediterranean* on the west, as far east as the *Indus*, he subdued and made tributary about 40 years before the birth of *Abraham*. Whether this account is consistent with the state of the world as related in the book of *Genesis*, our readers may easily judge. There we find that in the days of *Abraham*, and ages after him, the *Canaanites* lived independant under their own kings or patriarchs. The *Moabites* also, the *Ammonites*, the *Midianites*, the *Edomites*, the *Amalekites*, the *Philistines* were subject to no foreign yoke, and free from strange lords till after the return of the *Israelites* from *Egypt*, which kingdom likewise seems to have remained unmolested by foreigners till the days of *Senacherib*.

That opinion inconsistent with the scripture account.

Those who contend for the great antiquity and extensive dominion of the *Assyrians*, found their opinion upon the authority of *Ctesias*, whom *Aristotle*, who was almost his cotemporary, and many others of the antients, declare to be a fabulous writer unworthy of credit. Indeed whoever peruses his *Indica* and *Assyrian History*, will not scruple to conclude that he has been a man of little sincerity, and that his writings are a mere romance, calculated to astonish and amaze, and to strain credulity beyond all possible bounds.

That the *Assyrians*, like the neighbouring nations, continued a small state governed by their own princes for many centuries is not to be doubted; but that it was late before they began to extend their conquests, especially westward, is evident from scripture. Before we have any account of the *Assyrians*, *Hada-dezer* king of *Zobah*, we find extended the *Syrian* monarchy on both

both sides of the *Euphrates*, and king *David* also was master of a considerable extent as far east as that river, and had no *Assyrian* to dispute the honour with him. There is no account of the *Assyrians* attempting any thing in the western parts of *Asia* till the reign of *Pul*, who made his first appearance on this side the *Euphrates* in the decline of the kingdom of *Damascus*. What they had done before that time in the east does no where appear, except in the exaggerated accounts of *Ctesias*. That the foundations of the monarchy were laid by *Pul*, or a few years before him, by the conquests of some of his predecessors, there is the greatest reason to conclude not from scripture alone, but from several of the most unexceptionable of profane writers, such as *Ptolemy* in his Canon, *Herodotus* *, *Appian* †, and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* ‡.

However, as the *Ctesian* account has been so long received for truth by many of the wisest and most sagacious historians and chronologers, and admitted, as we may say, from all antiquity into the body of history, we shall here present our readers with a succinct view of it, seeing, in his relation of eastern transactions, there may be something of truth at the bottom, as there uses to be in romances.

Ninus the first king of the *Assyrians*, but the successor of *Ashur*, according to those who are for connecting the sacred and prophane history of this period, was a prince of an enterprizing and ambitious spirit. Having formed a design of conquering the neighbouring nations, and erecting an empire over them, he caused the strongest of his youth to be trained up in martial discipline, and by long and continual exercise inured them readily to undergo all the toils and hazards of war. Having thus formed a gallant army, he resolved first to invade his neighbours the *Babylonians*; but dreading the martial genius of the *Arabians*, who it seems were distinguished for their love of independance and liberty before invasions or hostilities were known in the world, he made an alliance with their king *Ariæus*, who joined him with a large body of his subjects. The *Babylonians*, who are represented as entirely ignorant in martial affairs, were an easy conquest to the two allied kings, and *Ninus* having imposed an annual tribute upon them, carried away their king and all his children captives, whom he afterwards put to death (A). His next expedition was against Ar-

The extensive conquests of *Ninus*.

* Herod. l. 1. c. 95 & 184.

† In præfat.

‡ L. 1.

(A) In scripture however we find that the first cities in the world were built in the land of *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*, and that *Amraphel* king of *Shinaar*, who must have been cotemporary with *Ninus*, made an excursion with the king of *Elam*, as far as the land of *Canaan*, which seems not very much to favour the account of *Diodorus*.

menia, and reducing many of their cities, struck such a terror into the people, that their king *Barzanes* came with many rich presents, and submitted himself. *Ninus* left him in possession of his kingdom, on condition that he should become his vassal, and serve him in his wars when required. Encouraged by his success he invaded *Media*, and totally routing the *Median* king *Pharnus*, and taking him prisoner with his wife and seven children, he caused them to be crucified. Committing the government of *Media* to an intimate friend, he marched westwards with his victorious troops, and in seventeen years made an entire conquest of all the western kingdoms of *Asia*, of *Egypt*, and of all the countries as far east as *Bactria*. The *Bactrians* being a numerous and warlike people, and their country secured by difficult passes, he deferred his expedition against them till he should be better assured of success, and returning to his own country, and dismissing his faithful *Arabian* allies with many rich spoils and noble gifts, he then employed his troops in building a city, which for extent and stateliness should not only far surpass all that had ever before been in the world, but also be such as should, with the greatest difficulty, be equalled by any other prince, that should come after him. He allowed not only the *Assyrians* but people of all nations to settle in this city, which he honoured with his own name *Ninus* or *Nineve*, and allowed to the citizens a large territory next adjoining to them.

He builds
Nineveh.

His expedition
against
Bactria.

Having finished this great undertaking, he assembled a new army for his expedition against the *Bactrians*, and marched into their country at the head of 1,700,000 foot, above 210,000 horse, and no less than 10,000 armed chariots. Here he met with a more powerful resistance than he had before experienced. A hundred thousand of his men were killed in a battle upon his first entering the country, and though he afterwards made himself master of the many populous cities of the *Bactrians*, yet he was baffled in all his attempts to reduce *Bactra* the capital, which was defended by the king *Oxyartes*. After his army had continued for some time at the siege, he at length made himself master of the place by the contrivance and conduct of *Semiramis*, wife to one of his chief officers named *Menon*.

This famous woman, *Diodorus* tells us, was said to be the daughter of *Derceto* the goddess of *Ascalon*, who being afterwards ashamed of her guilt, exposed the infant among the rocks of a desert, murdered the father, and overwhelmed with grief and dishonour, threw herself headlong into a lake near the city, and became a fish; on which account the *Syrians* eat no fish, but adore them as Gods, and she was worshiped by the inhabitants of *Ascalon*, under the shape of a fish with the head of a woman. The unhappy infant was miraculously sustained and nourished by a flock of doves, which kept her warm with their wings, and fed her with milk from the neighbouring cottages, and with pieces of cheese after she was a year old. The neighbouring shepherds having thus discovered her, they took her

her home with them, and sent her to *Simma*, the chief of the king's shepherds, who being childless, adopted her and called her *Semiramis*. *Semiramis* as she grew up exceeded all of her sex for wit and beauty, and one *Menon*, governor of all *Syria*, lodging at *Simma's* house, when sent thither to survey the king's cattle, fell in love with her, married her, and had two sons by her. Her husband was altogether at her devotion, and never would do any thing without her advice, which was always successful. During the siege of *Bactria*, being impatient to see her, he sent for her to the camp; and she being desirous to display the superiority of her understanding and other excellencies, immediately set out, in a habit so prudently contrived, as at once to preserve her beauty and conceal her sex. Upon arriving at the camp, she observed that the besiegers only attacked the weakest places of the city, which were therefore carefully defended by the besieged. She therefore, with a few chosen men, that were skilful in climbing up rocks, got possession of the strongest part of the citadel, that had been neglected by the garrison, which were now struck with such a panic, that when the *Assyrians*, by a signal from her, made a general assault, they easily became masters of the place, in which they found an immense treasure.

He reduces the capital by the conduct of *Semiramis*.

The bravery and spirit of *Semiramis*, joined with her beauty so charmed *Ninus*, that falling deeply in love with her, he so threatened her husband for scrupling to part with her, that the poor man killed himself, after which *Ninus* married her and advanced her to the imperial dignity. *Ninus* after his return to *Nineveh* had a son by her whom he called *Ninyas*, and dying soon after in the fifty-second year of his reign, left his child to the guardianship of *Semiramis*, whom he appointed regent of the empire. *Athenæus* indeed relates that *Semiramis* never forgave *Ninus* for the death of her first husband, and having secured the chief men of the state by her benefactions and promises, she prevailed upon the king to indulge her with the sovereign authority for five days, and was no sooner invested with the supreme power, than she ordered him to be imprisoned and put to death. These particulars are not mentioned by *Diodorus*, who relates, that from her regard to *Ninus*, she raised over his grave a mount of earth of wonderful dimensions, no less than nine stades in height and ten in breadth, which remained a stupendous monument many ages after the subversion of the city and empire.

He marries her.
His death.

Semiramis for several years having had a great share in the administration, and having always acquitted herself to the public satisfaction, there seems no need of her personating her son, as is pretended, for obtaining the government. Being of a high aspiring spirit, she was no sooner seated on the throne than she resolved to excel all her predecessors in glorious actions. To this end she determined to erect a city in the province of *Babylon*, making incredible preparation for the work, in which she employed 2,000,000 of men, assembled from all parts of *Babylon*.

Semiramis assumes the government.

She builds her

her empire. The river *Euphrates* ran through the middle of the city, which was surrounded with a wall of 360 stades in circuit, of such thickness that six chariots might drive abreast thereon, in height no less than 300 yards, adorned with 230 turrets in due and proper proportion, the whole a solid body of brick cemented together with bitumen, a space of 200 feet being left between it and the houses all round.

That the work might be more speedily dispatched, she allotted a spot of a furlong to as many of her trustiest friends as the greatness of the surface required, assigning to each every thing that was necessary for the undertaking, and the whole being finished within a year to her approbation, she then caused a most curious bridge to be built over the river 30 feet broad, and five furlongs in length, according to *Diodorus*, but according to *Strabo* the *Euphrates* was but one furlong broad. On each side of the river a wharf or key was raised of the breadth of the walls, and 100 stades in length, and at each end of the bridge she erected a magnificent palace, where she might occasionally survey and awe both parts of the city. The western palace was surrounded with a lofty wall of brick full sixty stades in circuit, within which was a second, curiously adorned with figures, wrought as it were from the very life. This magnificent wall was forty stades in circumference, 300 bricks thick, fifty fathoms high, adorned with turrets seventy fathoms in height. Within this there was a third wall far surpassing the second in height and breadth, adorned with the figures of various kinds of animals, in the midst of which appeared *Semiramis* herself mounted on a steed, and piercing a leopard with a dart; and her husband *Ninus* near, in close combat with a lion, whom he pierced with a lance. The palace on the other side was neither so large nor magnificent. These being compleated, she sunk a vast lake, each side of which was 300 stades in length, the whole lined with brick cemented with bitumen, and no less than thirty-five feet in depth. This lake was sunk on purpose to receive the waters of the *Euphrates*, which she diverted while she erected a covert passage or vault across the bottom of the river, whereby to have a communication between her two opposite palaces. In the midst of the city she built a temple to *Jupiter Belus* of a surprizing height, and on its top were placed the statues of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Rhea*, all of beaten gold. Those of *Jupiter* and *Rhea* weighed each 1000 talents, and that of *Juno* 800, before them was a table or altar of gold weighing 500 talents, and on this were several vases of the same metal, weighing upwards of 3000 talents.

And several other cities.

Semiramis besides built several other cities on the banks of the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, and she farther distinguished her capital by a most extraordinary obelisk, hewn out of the mountains of *Armenia* 125 feet high, five broad and five deep. This she removed to the river by many yokes of oxen and asses, and then shipping it on a float conveyed it to *Babylon*, and erected it in a remarkable part in the neighbourhood of the city.

Semi-

Semiramis having finished all these works, put herself at the head of a vast army, and marching into *Media*, encamped near a mountain called *Bagistan*, where she made a garden twelve furlongs in compass in an open champain country, well watered by a great fountain. On one side of the garden the mountain rose by steep rocks 17 furlongs; she however ascended to the top on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burden that followed her. In another place of *Media* near the city *Chaone*, she made another great garden upon the top of a very lofty rock, on which also she built stately houses of pleasure, which commanded a view of the garden, and the army encamped upon the plain. Here she wasted much of her time, and gave herself up to wanton dalliances and amours; for jealous of her power and high command, she would take no partner to her bed, but chose rather to admit the comeliest men of her army to her embraces, which were fatal to all that enjoyed them, for she immediately after doomed them to death.

Moving from this place she advanced towards *Ecbatana*, and in her way levelled the mountain *Zarcæum*, which was many stades in extent, and almost impassable, on account of its frequent precipices. She built a magnificent palace at *Ecbatana*, and did more there than she had any where else done, supplying the city with water, which it greatly wanted, with her usual toil and expence. From *Media* she continued her progress through *Persia*, and the rest of her *Asiatic* provinces, levelling both rocks and mountains before her, and on the contrary in champain countries raising hills to vary and adorn them. On these she sometimes erected sepulchres for her chief commanders, and at other times towns and cities; and it was constantly her custom to raise an eminence whereon to erect her own pavilion, that so she might have a prospect of her whole army. Many of these things are said to have remained a long time after her in *Asia*, and to have been commonly called *Semiramis's Works*. She afterwards passed thro' all *Egypt*, and having conquered the greatest part of *Lybia*, enquired at the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, how long she had to live; and was answered, that when *Ninyas* made an attempt upon her life she would disappear. She then made war upon *Ethiopia*, and having settled things there, and taken a view of the rarities of the country, she marched back into *Asia* and halted at *Bactria*.

A few years after she resolved upon the conquest of *India*, which had been represented to her as the richest and most delightful country in the world. Having ordered an army of the choicest of her youth to assemble within three years at *Bactra*, compleatly armed with new armour, she caused shipwrights from *Phænice*, *Syria*, *Cyprus*, and other maritime parts, to make the frames of 2000 transport vessels, which were to be carried by camels to the banks of the *Indus*, as the countries adjacent to that river were destitute of wood. She likewise caused counterfeit elephants to be made of the skins of 300,000 black oxen which were stuffed out, and carried by a camel within, and guided each by a man on the outside, thinking by this stratagem to terrify the

She resolves to invade *India*.

Her mock elephants.

the *Indians*, who were possessed with a notion that the elephant was no where bred but in their country. All things being provided, she marched from *Bactra* with an army of 3,000,000 of foot, 200,000 horse, 100,000 chariots, and 100,000 men mounted upon camels, who wielded swords four cubits long. *Stabrobates* king of *India*, having intelligence of the designed invasion, made great preparations for opposing the enemy. Having built 4000 boats of the canes or bamboos which grew in the rivers and fens of *India*, and with great diligence got together a far greater army than that of *Semiramis*, he added to the number of his elephants, and apparelled them with every thing that might make them dreadful to an enemy. He then sent ambassadors to *Semiramis*, reproaching her for offering to make war upon him, without the least provocation, and by a private letter upbraided her with her infamous life, vowing that if he conquered he would crucify her. To this she replied, that the *Indian* should presently have a trial of her valour by her actions.

She passes
the river
Indus.

Is routed
with great
slaughter
by the *In-*
dians.

After an obstinate engagement, she routed the enemies fleet, which was drawn up to oppose her, and having sunk 1000 of their vessels, she reduced the cities and islands of the river, and made 100,000 captives. *Stabrobates* then drawing off his army, to decoy *Semiramis* over the river, she thinking that he fled, immediately by a broad bridge of boats passed with her army, and leaving 60,000 men to guard the bridge, went in pursuit of the enemy. The *Indian* king being soon undeceived with regard to her mock-elephants by some deserters from her camp, published the discovery to his army. A general engagement soon after ensuing, *Semiramis*, who in the beginning gained some advantage, was in the end entirely defeated, having received two wounds from *Stabrobates*. Her troops flying with precipitation to the bridge, great multitudes of them miserably perished, being either trampled upon or pressed to death, or pushed into the river. When the last of them had crossed the river, she ordered the bridge to be cut down, by which means many of the *Indians*, who had been eager in the pursuit were drowned. *Semiramis* having passed the river, an exchange of prisoners was afterwards made, and she returned to *Bactra* with scarce a third part of the army she had carried out. According to *Arrian* she died in this expedition to *India*; but by *Strabo's* account she returned but with 20 men only.

She is suc-
ceeded by
her son
Ninyas.

Soon after her return, being assaulted by an eunuch thro' the treacherous contrivance of her son, she concluded from thence that according to the answer of the oracle the time for her leaving this world was near at hand. She therefore suppressed all thoughts of revenge, and surrendering the government to her son, commanded all her subjects to obey him as their king, and was translated from the sight of men, as the oracle had foretold, in the 62d year of her age and 42d of her reign. It was fabled she left the world in the form of a dove, together with a flock of that kind, which then settled upon her

her palace, and hence they say the *Assyrians* were addicted to the worship of a dove. According to *Justin* and some other authors she was killed by her son *Ninyas*, when soliciting him to incestuous embraces.

Ninyas, according to *Diodorus*, *Athenæus*, *Justin*, and others, His sloth, had none of the princely qualities of his father or mother, but being of a slothful inactive disposition, sequestered himself from the eyes of his subjects, and locked himself up in his palace, where he conversed only with his eunuchs and concubines, and gave himself up to vicious and sordid pleasures. *Suidas* however represents him as a warrior, and says that after having slain the tyrant *Caucasus* of the tribe of *Japhet*, he was consecrated into the planet *Mars*. Even according to *Diodorus*, he was not so supinely negligent as totally to neglect his interest and security. He had an army which continued upon duty at *Nineveh*, and was annually relieved by another raised from all the provinces of the empire. He committed the govern- and po-
ment of the provinces to persons of tried fidelity, and having licy.
thus, as he thought, secured himself from insults and rebellions, he wallowed in lasciviousness within the walls of his palace, being, on account of his retirement, respected by his subjects as something more than mortal. As his parents had left him no foreign enemy to contend with, except in *Arabia* or *India*, both which countries were looked upon as impregnable, it may be doubted whether his retirement was not owing to policy, or a haughty disposition, tho' the other is the more prevailing opinion.

His successors in the great empire of *Assyria* for upwards of No ac-
thirty generations followed his example, and even outdid him count of
in indolence. Nothing is recorded of any of them, except- his succes-
ing *Zeutamus* and *Sardanapalus*. *Zeutamus* the 20th from sors for
Ninyas, is said to have sent 10,000 *Ethiopians*, and as many thirty ge-
from the province of *Susiana*, with 200 chariots, under the nerations.
command of *Memnon*, the son of *Typhon*, governor of *Persia*,
to the assistance of his vassal *Priam* king of *Troy*, when besieged
by the *Greeks*. The *Ethiopians* however contend that *Memnon*
was their countryman, and *Homer* making not the least men-
tion of such a mighty people as the *Assyrians* are supposed to
be at this period, renders the fact exceeding doubtful. Indeed
this vast chasm of near 1200 years to the destruction of the em-
pire, in a manner almost wholly overturns the credibility of the
foregoing exaggerated accounts. Such a long continuance of
tame submission among 10 many different nations to a degene-
rate state, and weak effeminate princes is not to be paralleled.

Sardanapalus, the last of the *Assyrian* monarchs, exceeded all *Sardana-
palus's*
his predecessors in sloth and luxury. He sunk into such a depth palus's
of depravity, that as far as he could he changed his very sex and character.
nature. He cloathed himself as a woman, and spun amidst
the companies of his concubines. He painted his face, decked
himself out with all manner of allurements, and was more lasci-
vious than the most wanton harlot. Quite regardless of sex
and

The
Medes, Ba-
bylonians,
and Per-
sians re-
volt.

They are
joined by
the Bac-
trians.

Sardana-
palus
burns
himself to
death.

and the dictates of nature, he buried himself in the filth of an unbounded sensuality, which at length rendered him odious and contemptible to his subjects, particularly to *Arbaces* governor of *Media*, and *Belesis* governor of *Babylon*. *Belesis*, like many other *Chaldeans*, being also a great astrologer, assured *Arbaces* that he should dethrone *Sardanapalus*, and become lord of all his dominions, and he in return promised *Belesis* the chief place over *Babylon*, if his prediction should prove true. These two chief conspirators having infused a spirit of discontent into the other governors of the provinces then at *Nineveh*, disclosed their design to the king of *Arabia*, and both of them prompted those under their government to revolt. When the year of duty was expired, the *Persians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*, with great numbers of *Arabians* proceeded to *Nineveh*, under pretence of serving in their turn, but assembling in a camp near the city, to the number of 400,000 men, they openly declared against the emperor. *Sardanapalus* apprised of the revolt, resolved to stifle it in its infancy, and assembling the troops of those provinces that continued faithful to him, attacked and defeated the rebels in two successive battles, and obliged them to fly to some mountains in the neighbourhood of *Nineveh*, where they began to think of dispersing. *Belesis* however still assuring them of success, they ventured a third battle in which they were again defeated, and *Arbaces* considerably wounded. This last defeat quite disheartened them; but *Belesis*, who had continued all the night after in deep consult with the stars, assured them of great succours; if they would but keep together five days. Accordingly by the appointed time news arrived that a great body of *Bactrians* approached to the assistance of the king. *Arbaces* however being so successful as to persuade them to espouse his cause, and join his forces, soon after surprized the king's army in their camp, and drove them into the city with great slaughter. *Salomenus* the king's brother-in-law then took the command of the royal army, but was twice defeated by the rebels, and in the last battle he himself was killed and almost all his army cut off. *Sardanapalus* being now besieged in his capital, the revolt among the provinces became almost universal. He however was fully convinced that the designs of the rebels would be frustrated, putting his confidence in a prophecy, *That Nineveh could never be taken till the river became her enemy*. The methods of attacking walls with engines being not then invented, the confederates sat before the city two years without any visible effect, as the besieged had taken care to be well stored with what was necessary to enable them to hold out a long time. In the third year the *Tigris* by a violent inundation having thrown down twenty fathoms of the city wall, *Sardanapalus* was convinced that the prophecy was fulfilled, and having no farther room for hope, he ordered a vast pile of wood to be raised in his palace, and heaping upon it all his gold and silver, and inclosing his eunuchs and concubines in it, he set fire to it, and so destroyed himself and the rest. The rebels were no sooner in-

informed of this than they entered the city by the breach, and *Nineveh* made themselves masters of the place. The inhabitants were taken by treated with great humanity, but the city itself was totally laid the rebels. in ruins. And thus ended the *Assyrian* empire, subverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, after it had, according to *Ctesias*, subsisted no less than 1400 years (B).

The ASSYRIAN History, according to scripture and the best authorities.

THE first king of *Assyria* mentioned in scripture, from the time that land was planted by *Asbur*, is *Pul* or *Phul*, which, with the termination, comes very near the *Belus* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and by some is supposed to have been afterwards the *Assyrian* god of that name. That he was the first founder of the *Assyrian* monarchy Sir *Isaac Newton* thinks evident, from the following arguments, *Jonah* and *Amos*, who prophesied before the reign of *Pul* never mention the *Assyrians*. *Jonah* mentions only the king of *Nineveh*, which city some time before had shaken off the *Egyptian* yoke, and was governed by a prince of its own; but his territories were of no great extent, as is plain from his prophecy, ch. iii. 6, 7. *Amos*, who prophesied about 20 years before *Pul* began his conquests, foretold that God would raise up a nation that should humble *Israel*, but what nation he names not. In the prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Hosea*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Zephaniah*, and *Zechariah*, which were written after the *Assyrian* monarchy was grown powerful, that people are openly named upon all occasions. Besides, scripture informs us, that till *Pul* made his appearance on this side the *Euphrates*, not only *Syria* and *Egypt*, but many other neighbouring nations were governed by their own kings.

Pul, the first king of *Assyria* who makes conquests on this side the *Euphrates*, B. Ch. 770.

Pul, we are informed, in the reign of *Menahem* king of *Israel*, came with a powerful army against his kingdom, but abstained from committing any hostilities, upon receiving 1000 talents of silver. Hereupon he seems to have taken the kingdom of *Israel* under his protection, and returned out of the

(B) The vigorous opposition that *Sardanapalus* at first made against the rebels seems not consistent with the former accounts of his sloth and degeneracy. His memory has perhaps been worse treated, because the empire happened to be dissolved during his reign. At *Hierapolis* in *Syria*, he was deified, and some say that he survived the fall of the empire, and died in a good old age.

Athenæus has given a most exaggerated account of his unfortunate end. According to him his treasures amounted to a thousand myriads of talents of gold, and to ten times as many talents of silver, about 1400 millions sterl. which without reckoning any thing else is a sum that exceeds all probability. See *Ath n. diepno-soph. Cleitarch. apud eund.*

land.

land. Though we have no farther account of his reign, we may however venture to infer, that he either conquered or received voluntary homage from *Syria*, and the other nations in his march, as he did now from *Israel*, and that he became the founder of a very great empire. This *Pul* is supposed to be the king of *Nineveh* who repented with all his people at the preaching of *Jonah*.

Tiglath Pilezer,
B. Ch.
747.

Tiglath Pilezer succeeded him, and is supposed, upon good grounds, to have been his son. This prince, probably at the invitation of *Abaz* king of *Judah*, fell upon the kingdom of *Israel*, and took *Ijon*, with several other cities, and having reduced all *Galilee* and the land of *Naphtali*, carried many of the inhabitants captive to *Assyria*. This expedient, was rightly calculated for deterring the remaining inhabitants from revolting, as they would be thereby considerably weakened; and on the other hand might contribute to the increase of his power, by peopling some tract more immediately under his dominion. A few years after, *Abaz*, who was still infested by the kings of *Syria* and *Israel*, sending him a large sum of money, and offering to become his tributary if he would appear in his defence, he assembled a powerful army, and marching into *Syria* reduced that kingdom, took *Damascus*, and transplanted its inhabitants to *Kir*, a place, according to *Josephus*, in the upper *Media*, and slaying *Rezin*, the *Syrian* king, put an end to that monarchy.

Salmanassar,
B. Ch.
728.

After reigning twenty years he was succeeded by *Salmanassar*, by *Tobit* called *Enemassar*, and supposed to be the *Shalman* or *Salman* of *Hosea*. He obliged *Hosea* king of *Israel* to become his tributary, who some years after, notwithstanding the weakness and distraction of his kingdom, resolving to shake off the *Assyrian* yoke, proposed an alliance with *Sok* king of *Egypt*, upon which *Salmanassar* invaded his kingdom with a numerous army. The *Assyrians* after ravaging the kingdom besieged *Samaria*, and three years after made themselves masters of the place, when *Hosea* and all his subjects were carried into captivity, strangers being sent from *Babylon*, *Cushah*, *Ava*, *Hamath*, and *Sepharvaim* to cultivate the country of the *Jews*. Thus *Syria* and *Israel* we find were now added to the *Assyrian* monarchy. *Salmanassar* afterwards invaded *Phenice*, but a peace being concluded between him and the *Phenicians*, he quitted their country and returned home with his army. Not long after *Sidon*, *Acc*, and *Palætyrus*, with several other cities, revolting from the *Tyrians*, and submitting to him, he was encouraged thereby to attempt the reduction of *Tyre* itself, but without success.

Sennacherib,
B. Ch.
712.

After reigning fifteen years he was succeeded by *Sennacherib*, who finding that *Hezekiah* king of *Judah* failed in the payment of the tribute, which both he and his predecessor had paid to the *Assyrians*, marched against him with a powerful army, and reduced a great many of his fortified towns. *Hezekiah* however acknowledging his fault, and promising to pay a yearly tribute of 300 talents of silver, and 30 of gold, he

ceased his hostilities for some time. Nevertheless soon after he sent part of his army against *Jerusalem* under the command of *Tartan Rabсарis* and *Rabshakeh*, which last in a haughty and blasphemous speech, ordered *Hezekiah* to submit to his master, adding, that as the gods of *Hamath* and of *Arphad*, the gods of *Sepharvaim*, *Henah*, and *Ivah*, had not been able to withstand the *Assyrian* power, so neither would the God of *Israel*; which boast, Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, is a proof that the *Assyrians* had but very lately begun to extend their empire. *Sennacherib* soon after defeating *Tirhakah* king of *Ethiopia*, who had marched out against him, directed his march for *Jerusalem*, but before he approached the city 185,000 of his men being cut off in one night by a destroying angel, he returned covered with disgrace to *Nineveh*, where finding himself fallen in the esteem of his people, he grew sullen and tyrannical, particularly venting his rage against the captive *Hebrews* in his dominions, many of whom he unmercifully put to death*, in revenge for his great downfall, which he may have attributed to them. In short, he behaved in such a manner that he was grown odious in the eyes of his own sons, two of whom *Adramelech* and *Sharezer* slew him as he was worshiping in the temple of his god *Nisroch*, and flying into the land of *Armenia*, his third son *Esarhaddon* reigned in his stead. *Herodotus* makes express mention of *Sennacherib*, and from the relation of the *Egyptian* priests, gives us some kind of a disguised account of the miraculous destruction of his army. He applies the story to the city of *Pelusium*, and says that *Sethon* the *Egyptian* king by his piety obtained assistance from *Vulcan*, who sent into the *Assyrian* camp a great number of rats, which in one night eat all the shield straps, quivers and bowstrings, so that the enemy next day were obliged to raise the siege and be gone. *Sennacherib* according to him was king of the *Arabians* and *Assyrians*, and *Ivah* above-mentioned is reckoned by some a province of *Arabia Deserta*.

Esarhaddon, called also *Assaradin*, *Sarchedon*, *Sargon*, and by *Ezra Asnapper*, may be said to have succeeded to the ruins of the *Assyrian* empire founded by *Pul*, and enlarged and established by *Tiglath Pilezer*. Under *Sennacherib* it fell to decay, either by his imprudence or ill fortune, or a mixture of both. In the end of his reign the *Medes* revolted †, and were never after reduced to the *Assyrian* yoke, though *Esarhaddon*, in the course of his reign, seems to have been both a valorous and fortunate prince, as well as ambitious of supporting and enlarging the empire. He has the epithets of great and noble given him by *Ezra*, which argues him to have been a prince of excellency and worth distinguished among his contemporaries. He was to all appearance of a mild disposition, and particularly kind to the *Jews*, who had been so cruelly abused by his father.

* Tobit, ch. i. 18. † Tob. ibid.

About the twenty-eighth year of his reign an interregnum happening in the kingdom of *Babylon*, he laid hold of the opportunity and united that neighbouring state to his dominion*. Having fully settled his authority in *Babylon*, he began about five years after to set his thoughts on the recovery of what had been lost to the empire of the *Assyrians* in *Syria* and *Palestine*; on the destruction of his father's army in *Judea*. Having therefore assembled a powerful army, he marched against the *Syrians*; the remnant of *Israel*, and the kingdom of *Judah*. Having quite expunged *Israel* and *Syria* from the list of nations, by transplanting the few remaining inhabitants, and in their stead introducing a supply of foreigners, he proceeded to the reduction of the kingdom of *Judah* to its former state of dependence, and taking *Manasseh* their king prisoner, bound him in chains, and sent him captive to *Babylon*. He is now supposed by some to have carried his arms into *Egypt*, and to have conquered that country; but others rather think that the reduction of *Egypt* by the *Assyrians*, which was foretold by *Isaiah*, happened in the reign of *Sennacherib*. A few years after *Psammitichus* making himself master of all *Egypt*, not only asserted the independency of his kingdom, but even endeavoured to expel the *Assyrians* from *Palestine* in his neighbourhood, which occasioned a long war between the two nations, *Psammitichus* being engaged no less than 29 years in the siege of *Azotus* or *Ashdod*. In the third year of this war *Esharhaddon* died, after he had reigned with great felicity thirty-nine years over the *Assyrians*, and thirteen over the *Babylonians*.

Saosduchinus, B. Ch. 667.

He was succeeded by his son *Saosduchinus*, who in the book of *Judith* is called *Nebuchodonosor*. The *Medes*, a few years after his accession to the throne, having, under their king *Phraortes* or *Arphaxad*, extended their dominion considerably, invaded *Assyria*. *Nebuchodonosor* raised a powerful army to oppose them, not only summoning the whole force of his extensive empire, but inviting other nations of the east to his assistance. Tho' most of the nations he summoned received his ambassadors with contempt, yet he took the field in the 12th year of his reign, with what forces he could assemble, and engaging *Phraortes* in the great plain of *Ragau*, totally defeated his army, and pursuing him to the adjacent mountains, took him and put him to death. Making the best advantage of this victory, he reduced many of the cities of *Media*, stormed the famous capital *Ecbatana*, and levelled it with the ground. Upon his return to *Nineveh* he feasted and revelled with those who had attended him in this expedition for the space of 120 days. After this time of feasting was over, he called his officers, nobles, and chief counsellors together, to take an account of what tributary countries and provinces had refused to send auxiliaries in the war, and finding that none of the western countries had paid

* Canon. Ptol.

any regard to his commands, he made a decree that *Holofernes*, the chief captain of his army, should go forth to execute the wrath of his lord upon them for their disobedience. This general accordingly the following year marched westward with an army of 120,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, where he ravaged and destroyed several nations with great cruelty, till at length coming into *Judea*, and laying siege to *Bethulia*, he was there destroyed, and all his army cut in pieces, as is fully related in the book of *Judith*.

Saosduchinus was succeeded by *Chynalydan* or *Sarac*. In his reign the *Medes* under *Cyaxares* the son of *Phraortes*, a young and warlike prince, not only recovered what the *Assyrians* had lately taken from them, but utterly defeated them in a pitched battle, and obliged them to shelter themselves in *Nineveh*, which they besieged. But they were soon obliged by the irruption of the *Scythians* to abandon the enterprize, and employ their arms in the defence of their own country. *Sarac* in the mean time having rendered himself contemptible to his subjects, by his effeminacy, and the little care he took of his dominions, *Nabopolassar*, a *Babylonian*, and commander of the troops in *Chaldea*, revolted from him, and seized on the kingdom of *Babylon* for himself. Having soon after strengthened himself by an alliance with *Cyaxares* the *Median*, they marched in conjunction with a powerful army against *Nineveh*, which they at length made themselves masters of and utterly destroyed, *Chynalydan* He burns in despair having set fire to his palace, and consumed himself with all his treasures in the flames *. In this destruction and him- of *Nineveh* were fulfilled the prophecies of *Jonah*, *Nahum*, and self, B. Ch. *Zephaniah* against that impious city. 626.

CHAP. II.

The HISTORY of the BABYLONIANS.

SECT. I.

A description of the country, and an account of the religion, customs, laws, &c. of the inhabitants.

IN the most antient times, and even so late as the captivity The of the *Jews*, this country was known by the name of *Shinar* †. As for the name of *Babylon* it is universally supposed this coun- to have been borrowed from that of the tower of *Babel*, and try. the name of *Chaldæa* from the *Chaldæans* or *Chasdim*. *Chaldæa* is used by the sacred writers for the whole country, and *Babylon* or *Babylonia* generally speaking by the profane. By *Babylonia* is sometimes meant the country more immediately in the neighbourhood of the city of *Babylon*, and by *Chaldæa*, that which extends southward to the *Persian* gulf. It lies between 30 and 35 degrees of north latitude, and was bounded, ac- Its situa- tion,

* Herod. l. 1. c. 106. Polyhist. ap. Syncel. p. 210. & ap. Euseb. in Chron. † Daniel i. 2.

according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by *Mesopotamia*, on the east by the *Tigris*, on the west by *Arabia Deserta*, and on the south by the *Persian gulf*, and part of *Arabia Felix*. In the province properly called *Babylonia* were the following cities, *Babylon*, the metropolis, *Vologesia* or *Vologesocerta*, built on the *Euphrates*, by *Vologesis* king of the *Parthians*, in the time of *Vespasian*; *Barsita*, probably *Strabo's Borsippa*, famous in his time for a woollen manufacture; *Idiceara* on the *Euphrates*; *Cochē* on an island of the *Tigris*; *Sura* and *Pombedita*. In the province of *Chaldæa*, *Ptolemy* places the following cities, *Spunda*, *Batracharta*, *Shalatha*, *Altha*, and *Teridon*, all on the *Tigris*. In the inland country he mentions several, all now unknown. In antient times the *Babylonian* name comprised all or the greater part of the provinces subject to the *Babylonian* empire: but as we have already described some of those countries, and shall speak of the others in their proper places, we have confined ourselves here to *Babylonia* and *Chaldæa*, properly so called.

Tempera-
ture,

and ferti-
lity.

This country enjoys an air very temperate and wholesome for the most part, though extremely noxious at some seasons of the year. The heats are so extraordinary, that the richer sort were used to sleep in tubs and cisterns of water, which pernicious practice is still continued. At some seasons the country is exposed to a dangerous pestilential wind, which instantly destroys every living creature in its way. Rains fall here very seldom, and generally for eight months in the year there is a continued drought, nay sometimes there has been no rain for two years and a half together, and the inhabitants reckon that if it does but rain twice or thrice in the year it is enough for their purpose. To supply the want of rain the inhabitants are at great labour and trouble in watering their lands, the engines and wheels they make use of for that purpose, being so numerous on the banks of the *Euphrates*, as sometimes to hurt the navigation of that river*. The soil being rich, the climate in general excellent, and the industry of the inhabitants what it ought to be, this country for fertility used to vie with any other spot on the face of the earth. *Herodotus* compared it to *Egypt* for its fertility, owing to artificial watering, which is even much practised on the banks of the *Nile*. The southernmost parts of it between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* may be particularly compared with the *Delta* of that country, it being like that made up of endless islands, some formed by nature and some by art, and is besides almost under the same parallel of latitude. *Herodotus* thought that what he could say concerning its fruitfulness would appear incredible to such as had not, like himself, been eye witnesses of its fertility. He adds, that for the plenty of its productions it was reckoned to be a third part of *Asia*, that is, of the *Persian* empire; and that in the same year it yielded 300 fold, but 200 most commonly.

Being a country well watered, and for the most part low and flat, it abounded with willows, and hence it came to be called

* *Plat. Sympos. l. 3. Rauwolf. trav. Purch. Pilgr. v. 1.*

the valley of willows, as *Prideaux* would interpret the text of *Isaiah*, ch. xv. 7. The palm also here flourished naturally, and chiefly that of the date kind; which afforded them food, wine, and honey *, though the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree were what this country could not boast of. For grain it exceeded every other land; the millet and the sesame shot up here to the size of trees, and the leaves of the barley and wheat were usually four good fingers broad. The sesame afforded them oil instead of the olive, and the palm wine instead of the grape. This fertility was probably in a great measure owing to the inundations of the river *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which happened annually in the months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, by the melting of the snow on the mountains of *Armenia*. These inundations however frequently proving very detrimental, the inhabitants guarded against them by numbers of artificial rivers and canals, by which the waters were distributed, the country in general benefited, and an easy communication effected between different places. Some of those canals had the appearance of rivers, and were so large as to be navigable: The river *Chebar*, mentioned by *Ezekiel*, is supposed to have been one of them. In the *Greek* versions it is called *Chobar*, which most interpreters suppose to have been borrowed from *Gobaris* or *Gobryas*, the name of the governor, who, *Pliny* says, was appointed to overlook the work †, and probably the same *Gabryas*, who afterwards revolted from the *Babylonians* to *Cyrus*. The river *Euphrates*, from which many channels were cut in the plain of *Babylon*, has its source in the mountains of *Armenia*, and after washing the eastern skirts of *Syria*, and dividing *Arabia* from *Mesopotamia*, it proceeds southeastward, and mixing with its fellow-traveller the *Tigris*, falls at length into the *Persian* gulf. This great river is slow for the most part in its course, and not well adapted throughout for navigation, some parts of it being shoal, and some rocky. Some think it might easily be made navigable, even for great barks quite to the *Tigris*, only by clearing the channel of the stones with which it is choaked up in some places. Tho' it is not, as we have observed, rapid in its course, its water nevertheless is so continually foul, that there is no drinking it till it has settled for a time, or been passed thro' a cloth or strainer, and then it is lighter and preferable to any other in those parts, whence the river is known to the neighbouring people, by a name which signifies *the water of desire*. The antient way of navigating this river has something very singular and extraordinary in it. The vessels they used were round, without distinction of head or stern, and no better than great wicker baskets, coated over with hides, and guided along with two oars or paddles. These vessels were of different sizes, and some of them capable of carrying a burden of merchandize to the weight of 5000 talents, having, according to their size, a number of asses on board. When

The artificial canals.

The Euphrates.

* Herod. l. i.

† Plin. l. 6. c. 26.

they had thus fallen down the river to *Babylon*, and unloaded their cargo, they sold the vessel ; but kept the hides and loading their asses with them, returned home by land, the vessels, by their aukward make, being unable to proceed against the most gentle current. It is highly probable that the *Euphrates* at first emptied itself into the sea by a mouth of its own ; and *Pliny* tells us, that its mouth was formerly distant from that of the *Tigris*, according to some twenty-seven miles, and according to others only seven miles, and that both rivers were navigable. This river now disembogues itself into the *Tigris*, below *Bagdad* ; and the river made up of these two joined in one, is called by the *Arabs* *Schat-al-Arab*, that is, *the river of the Arabs*. This country is particularly remarkable for having inclosed within its limits, according to the most rational opinion, great part of *Paradise*.

Antiquity
of the
*Babyloni-
ans*.

Babel is the first kingdom we find mentioned in scripture, and in point of antiquity was prior to that of *Assur*. It was founded by *Nimrod* ; but for many ages it evidently appears to have remained a petty royalty, till the *Assyrians* paved the way to the empire it attained. Allowing that even under *Nimrod* it rose to any height of power, nothing seems more natural than to conclude, that it suddenly fell down to a level with its neighbours, and even below some of them, particularly the famous and antient kingdom of *Elam* or *Persia*, whose king, so early as the days of *Abraham*, was attended in his wars by the king of *Shinaar*, as his tributary. The scripture makes no mention of any king of *Babylon* from this king of *Shinaar*, till the days of *Merodach Baladan*, who was cotemporary with *Hezekiah*. By the several histories of the nations already spoken of in this work, it is also plain that no *Babylonian* prince awed any of them till many years after *Merodach Baladan*. So that tho' this be allowed to be the most ancient kingdom of the world, yet it appears not to have attained the imperial dignity till a great number of ages after its first foundation. The *Babylonians* or *Chaldeans* however laid claim to a most extravagant antiquity, unwilling to be behind hand with the *Egyptians* or any other nation. They pretended to have registered the transactions of 150,000 years according to some, or 473,000 years according to others, reckoning down to *Alexander*, from the time they first began to observe the stars. A monstrous fable, which needs no refutation.

Their go-
vernment.

The government of this nation appears, from the character generally given to *Nimrod*, to have been in its very infancy tyrannical and despotic. But after him it certainly fell to a level with the petty kingdoms of those parts, till the *Assyrians*, in process of time, laid the foundation whereon it afterwards exalted itself as *queen of the east*. Its government, doubtless, like that of *Assyria*, was haughty and despotic, the whole centering in the person of the king, and all decrees issuing from his mouth. To render the submission of their subjects more absolute and respectful, their kings affected even deity and divine worship, and kept themselves retired from the view of their sub-

subjects, as too glorious to be beheld by vulgar eyes. These proud potentates however administered their government by officers of several sorts civil and military. We find them divided into three classes, and supposed to be chosen from among the gravest and most noble personages in all the empire *. The first had the charge of virgins, and of their disposal in marriage, and were to judge in matters of adultery, and the like. The second took cognizance of thefts, and the third of all other crimes. The subordinate powers under this mighty emperor were divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers and counsellors; so that it was plain, nothing was wanting to keep peace and good order in the empire, and that the civil and military œconomy was under severe regulations.

This great king of kings had a household equal to the sublimity of his station. His chief officers seem to have been the captain of his guard, the prince of his eunuchs, and the prime minister, in the nature of the *Turkish* vizier. The first of these had the execution of the arbitrary and sanguinary commands; the second had charge of the education and subsistence of the youth of the palace; and the latter sat in the king's gate, as it was called, to hear complaints, and to pass judgments. Besides these, there seems to have been a master of the magicians always at hand, to satisfy the king upon any thing he might want to know with regard to futurity and prognostication. All those who served him were remarkable for beauty of person and excellence of parts, and his wives and concubines, which were doubtless the most beautiful of their sex, seem to have been very numerous †.

Notwithstanding the affected state and recluseness of these monarchs, they sometimes, we find, condescended to banquet and revel with their lords and chief men of their dominions, of whom we read that 1000 were at one time entertained by *Belshazzar*.

Though the laws of this empire, as we observed, must have been vague and uncertain; yet there was one which seems to have been irrevocably fixed, being calculated to increase the number of the inhabitants, and to oblige all, especially the poorer sort of people, to marry, lest they should choose rather to live single than be burthened with a wife and family. By this law no man had it in his power to bestow his own daughters in marriage; but they were at the disposal of the king or his officers ‡.

As the laws were vague and changeable, the punishments seem also to have been unfixed, arbitrary, and rigorous in proportion to the tyrant's present rage and fury; such as beheading, cutting to pieces, turning the criminals house into a dung-hill, and burning in a fiery furnace.

* Strabo, b. 16. † Dan. i. ii. iii. iv. v. ‡ Herod. l. 1. c. 196.
Strabo, l. 16.

Their religion.

Among the *Babylonians* the *Chaldees*, properly so called, were not only their priests, but also their learned men, so that their religion and boasted learning are so blended together as to be hardly separable into distinct heads. These *Chaldeans* were perhaps more distinguished from the people than the clergy are from the laity with us; and were as much revered in their country as the *Egyptian* priests were in theirs, and are said to have enjoyed the same privileges*. They were wholly devoted to the business of their superstitious religion, and pretended to inspiration, and to the gift of prediction, by the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the inspection of victims. They explained dreams and all the extraordinary phenomena of nature, as portending good or evil to men or nations; and were thought, by their incantments and invocations, to affect mankind, either with happiness or misery. Though they were early addicted to celestial observations, yet instead of being thereby led into just notions of the omnipotence of the creator and mover of the heavenly bodies, they absurdly fell into the impious error of esteeming those bodies as Gods, and the immediate governors of the world, in subordination however to the Deity who was invisible, but by his works and the effects of his power. Persuaded of this they began to build temples to the stars, to sacrifice to them, to praise them, and to bow down before them, that through their means they might obtain the favour and good will of God, esteeming them as mediators between God and them; for it is observed, that the necessity of a mediatory office between God and man was a notion that generally obtained among mankind from the very beginning †.

These *Chaldees* pretending to divine inspiration, at length impudently gave out that God ordered this star, or that, or all of them, to be worshiped in this or that manner, and represented under this or that form. The people upon these declarations began to furnish the sacella or temples with images, and to erect the same under trees and upon the tops of hills or mountains, and from thenceforward assembled themselves together, to reverence and worship them; and their priests, sensible of the sweets of the trade, soon after invented forms of duty to be observed by the credulous and deluded multitude; so that, in a few ages, the name of God became obliterated among them, and the most stupid idolatry possessed the place of true religion ‡.

Such was the first rise and progress of idolatry, and such were the original *Sabian* doctrines, which taking root first among the *Chaldeans*, were afterwards propagated among all the eastern nations. The *Sabians* in their transition from planet-worship to image-worship, did not pretend to pay ado-

* Diod. Sic. l. 2. cited there.

† Prid. Connect. part. 1. and the authors
‡ Idem, *ibid.*

ration to uninformed wood, stone, or metal; but alleged, that the virtues of the planet were infused into the image that was meant to represent it. This they pretended to effect, by forms of consecration, and by various incantations, whereby to draw down from the stars their several intelligencies into their respective idols. Hence proceeded all the foolish superstition of *telesms* or *talismans*, and upon these pretended principles of communicative operation, all the branches of magic and sorcery must have had their foundation. This was the state of the old *Babylonian* religion, till they came to deify mortal men as well as the celestial bodies. In this the *Syrians*, whose empire was confessedly older than either the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian*, seem to have given them the precedent, by deifying their great kings *Benhadad II.* and *Hazael*. According to this we are told*, That by the vain glory of men, idols entered into the world—That in process of time an ungodly custom grown strong was kept as a law, and graven images were worshiped by the commandment of kings, or tyrants, as it is in the margin. That whom men could not honour in presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king, whom they honoured, to the end that by their forwardness they might flatter him that was absent as if he was present. Two other reasons are assigned for this practice by the same author, first, the grief of a parent for his child untimely snatched away; and, secondly, the skill of the workman, who, ambitious to flatter some great man, might have exerted all his power to represent him beyond what he truly was, and so by the beauty of his work, have captivated and deluded the unwary multitude.

Ninus is supposed to be the first who set up images to be worshiped, and particularly one to his father *Belus*†. Whether this was the *Ninus* of *Ctesias*, or *Tiglath Pileser* the son of *Pul*, by some supposed to be *Belus*, we think cannot be determined. This *Belus* had a temple erected to him in the city of *Babylon*, or rather the magnificent tower formerly spoken of, was, in after-ages, converted into an idol temple. The building, as we observed before, consisted of eight towers raised upon one another, and in the uppermost was a bed, magnificently set forth, and a golden table near it, but no image, nor was any mortal permitted to remain there by night, except only a woman chosen by the god out of the whole nation, the *Chaldeans* affirming, though not credited by *Herodotus*, that the god came by night and reposed in the bed. It would seem that they considered him as the supreme God, who either could not be represented, or would punish their presumption if they attempted to represent him. In the lower part of the temple was a chapel, in which was a gigantic image of *Jupiter Belus*, all of gold, sitting on a throne, and a table before him, both of the same metal, the whole weighing 800 talents. Another golden statue

The temple of *Belus*.

* Wisd. of Sol. c. xiv:

† Ambr. in Epist ad Rom.

twelve cubits high, that stood in this temple, was carried off by *Xerxes*, the *Persian* emperor. As there were two gods in this temple and tower, there belonged to it also two altars. They stood without, a small one of gold, and another of a much larger size. Upon the golden altar none but sucking victims might be sacrificed, and on the great one none that were not full grown. On this last also the *Chaldeans* consumed annually the weight of 1000 talents in incense, when they celebrated the festival of the god. Such was the god *Belus* among the *Babylonians*, and such his temple, and the rank he held in it. The *Babylonians*, it would seem, by *Bel* or *Baal*, understood either the sun, according to the old *Sabian* religion of the *Chaldees*, or their founder *Pul*; but whether or no they transformed their deceased monarch into the sun, or whether they kept the worship of their planet and their hero so distinct as never to confound them with each other, seems impossible to be determined.

Venus
worship-
ed by
them un-
der the
name of
Mylitta
and *Suc-
coth Be-
noth*.

The deity next in order to *Belus* seems to have been the *Venus* of later days in the west; and that she was no other than the goddess *Astarte* of the *Phœnicians*, may be gathered from what follows. *Succoth Benoth* is mentioned as an idol of the *Babylonians*, (2 *Kings* vii. 30.) This was rather the shrine of some idol, for the import of the words are, the tabernacles of *Benoth*, or the tabernacles of the daughters. These tabernacles doubtless refer to the infamous custom of the *Babylonians*, mentioned by *Herodotus*, namely, that all their women were obliged once in their life, to sit down openly in the temple of *Venus*, by them stiled *Mylitta*, to make a sacrifice of their modesty and virtue. For the conveniency of those who were not near any of her temples, the priests, it seems, carried about small tabernacles, consulting at the same time the devotion of the people, and their own interest. From this practice the learned *Selden* thinks he may well conclude the *Assyrian Benoth* to have been no other than *Venus*, nay he derives the latter name from the former, by changing the B into V, and T into S. such a transition being proved to be common by very many instances. This opinion is in some degree countenanced by *Suidas*, who seems to call the *Assyrian* goddess *Binos*. In *Africa* we find there was a town called *Sicca Venerea*, where women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money, by the prostitution of their bodies *. The *Venus* honoured here appears, both by the name and the rite, to be the same with the goddess of the *Babylonians*.

Various
names of
the same
goddess.

This *Benoth*, from whom the whole tribe of great goddesses seem to be derived, is called the *Celestial Venus*, and said to have been first of all worshiped by the *Assyrians* †. She was of both sexes, and is understood to have been both *Mars* and *Venus*, and accordingly she was worshiped by her votaries, sometimes in the attire of men, sometimes in that of women,

* Val. Max. l. 11. † Pausan. in Attic.

the men and women mutually changing dresses with each other. As *Moses* in one of his precepts * is supposed to allude to this worship, it is hence concluded to be very antient. A *Greek* author calls her the moon, and says, that both men and women sacrificed to her in the habits of the opposite sex †; and that the *Urania* or celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians*, was the moon, cannot be doubted by the rank she holds next to *Bel* or the sun. She appears also to have been the same with the *Syrian* goddess, who was called *Juno*, and whose statue was so contrived as to partake of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemesis*, and the destinies, as if she included them all, and that she did has been sufficiently proved by great men. The *Phœnician Astarte*, we find, was also the queen of heaven, the moon, *Lucifer*, *Juno*, *Venus*, *Minerva*, and *Io*, and married to an *Assyrian*. She was the goddess of pleasure and god of war, and accordingly addressed to under both sexes. It would therefore be needless to allege the monstrous effeminacies of the men at *Aphac*, or the mercenary prostitution of the women at *Byblus*, to prove that the one of these goddesses is a faithful copy of the other. The same may also be said of *Atergatis* or *Derceto* of *Ascalon*. She is indeed supposed distinct from the great *Venus*, and is said to have incurred her displeasure, and in consequence of that to have been turned into a fish; but fishes we find were worshiped at *Hierapolis*, and, according to *Strabo*, *Atergatis* was also worshiped there. *Macrobius* is also of the same opinion, and styles her the mother of the gods, *Astarte*, or the *Hierapolitan* or *Assyrian* goddess; so that we see the same goddess transported from the banks of the *Euphrates*, into which she is said first to have plunged herself to escape the fury of the inexorable *Typhon* ‡, and but just varied so far as to leave room for each particular country to brag of her origin.

Salambo, as she is called, was also a goddess of the *Assyrians* *Salambo*, or *Babylonians*, and appears to have been *Astarte*, as she is said one of to have been eternally roaming up and down, and mourning their her lost *Adonis* §. deities,

Shach, *Saca*, or *Sheshach*, is reckoned another god or goddess of the *Babylonians*, and supposed to have been the earth, the same and the *Romans* afterwards worshiped under the name of *Tellus* *Sheshach*, and *Ops* ||; and if so, she was partly the same with *Mylitta*, or the *Syrian* goddess, whom we have already seen under the title of *Rhea*, and the mother of the gods.

Nebo or *Nabo*, was also an *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* deity, and *Nebo*. as the names of several of the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* kings, were partly compounded of his name, he may therefore be reckoned to have once been in high account with them, and to have been one of their most antient gods. He is thought to

* Deuteron. xxii. 5. † Ap. Macrob. l. iii. ‡ Manil. Astron. iv. § Hesych. ap. Seld. Etymol. magn. ad vocem. || Voss. Selden. Willet upon Daniel i. 16.

have been the *Chemosh*, or the *Baal Peor* of the *Moabites*. By the prophet *Isaiah*, c. xlv. he is joined with *Bel*, and generally supposed to have been the sun.

Rach.

Other gods the *Babylonians* and *Affyrians* had, namely, *Rach*,

Nego and
Nengal,

and *Mero-*
dach.

Nego and *Nengal*, if they were not one and the same, and *Mero-*
dach. In a word, we may call in the gods of the several na-
tions, whose histories we have already related, to complete the
list of the *Babylonian* idols; for they are confessedly sprung from
the city of *Babylon*. Hence it is that *Maimonides*, in speaking
of the death of *Thammuz*, who died a martyr to the *Sabian* re-
ligion, relates, that all the idols of the world flew to the great
temple of the sun at *Babylon*, and there mourned the death of
Thammuz. The *Babylonians* also worshiped the serpent or
asp; and agreed with the *Egyptians* in very many of their modes
of religion, especially in the worship they paid to fishes, to the
goat and to the onion †.

Their
temples,
idols, and
priests.

We have a general view given us of their temples, idols, and
priests, in the epistle of *Jeremiah*. Their idols were of gold,
of silver, and of wood, and carried about in procession, sur-
rounded with multitudes worshiping them. They were
crowned and cloathed in purple, and were black with the smoke
of incense. Their temples were full of smoke and dust, occa-
sioned by the numerous resort of votaries. The priests made
sometimes free with the gold and silver presented to their gods,
and either kept it for themselves, or bestowed it upon lewd prof-
titutes, who were accounted sacred. Whatever was offered
a sacrifice to their gods, they were wont to embezzle and appro-
priate to themselves, and cloathed their wives and children
with the garments that had been given to adorn their idols.
The *Babylonians* having given rise to all the idolatries and su-
perstitions in vogue among the neighbouring nations, are par-
ticularly charged with the horrible custom of sacrificing human
victims, to appease or conciliate their gods. This custom,
which appears to have been propagated from the *Babylonians*
among the other nations, grew at length so shocking to human
nature, that it seems in the later days to have been confined
to a particular sect or tribe. For the *Sepharvites* are said, by
way of distinction from the other *Babylonians*, to have burnt
their children in fire to *Adrammelech* and *Anammelech*, who are
supposed to be the same with *Moloch* §. That these *Sephar-*
vites were *Babylonians* properly so called would be past all doubt,
should we agree with the most learned geographers, that their
city was that of *Sipparg* in *Ptolemy*.

Human
victims.

Their re-
markable
customs.

Among the *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* customs one of the chief
seems to have been their method of disposing of their young
women in marriage. In every district they assembled annually

* Willet upon Daniel, i. 16.
vii. 31.

† Alex. ab Alex.

§ 2 Kings,

all the virgins of marriageable age on a certain day, and sold them one by one in the midst of a croud of men. The most beautiful were first put up and delivered to the highest bidder. The money that was raised by this sale was appropriated as fortunes to the ugly and lame, who were then offered to such as would take the least money with them. The poorer sort, who valued money more than beauty, were as eager in underbidding as the wealthy men had before been in overbidding each other. By this management their young women were all disposed of in marriage; but the poorer sort before they were allowed to carry off the women they had bargained for, were obliged to give security to cohabit with them as their wives *. This law, before the days of *Herodotus*, was totally abolished; but he relates that in his time the *Babylonians* thought themselves polluted even by the use of matrimony, and therefore refused to touch any thing next morning, till they had purified themselves by washing and perfuming their bodies.

Every *Babylonian* woman once in her life-time was bound to prostitute herself to a strange man at the temple of *Venus*. They were crowned with knots and garlands, and placed in long ranks to be viewed by the men. When any man declared his choice by throwing money into the woman's lap, and saying, I implore the goddess *Mylitta* for thee, she was not at liberty to refuse the money, which was accounted sacred, or reject the suitor, but was obliged directly to retire with him. Having thus fulfilled the law, and performed some ceremonies in honour of the goddess, she returned home, and nothing could tempt her to grant the same favour again to her new lover. Women of rank (for none were dispensed with) might be conveyed to the appointed place in a covered vehicle, and keep in it while their servants waited their return at some distance. We have this custom with some additional circumstances in *Baruch* †. *The women also, says he, with cords about them sitting in the highways burn bran for perfume; but if any of them drawn by some that passeth by lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken.*

The women universally prostitute themselves to *Venus*.

For five days every year they celebrated a festival called *Sacea* or *Sacca*, during which the servants commanded their masters.

They used no physicians, but brought out their sick into the most frequented places, that every one might see them and offer their advice if they had any knowledge of the case, either from their own experience or from the experience of others, nor was it lawful for any that passed by to omit this office. They embalmed the dead in honey, and their funeral lamentations are like those of the *Egyptians*.

Their manner of treating the sick.

They were excessively credulous and superstitious, and as lewd and debauched as a nation could be. Their credulity

Their character.

* Herod. l. 1. Strabo, l. 16. † Baruch, vi.

must appear from the high veneration they had for their *Chaldeans*, priests, or jugglers, [and their superstition from what we have said of their religion. They were so prone to idolatry, that we even find an instance of their great *Nebuchadnezzar* falling down before *Daniel* to worship him, ch. ii. 46. Debauchery reigned among them without controul, their princes, on whom it was incumbent to restrain it, living in the height of riot, as we may gather from the banquet *Belshazzar* was giving, when he saw the fatal inscription on the wall. Besides the example of their princes, their religion as inculcated by their priests, and the filthy rites of their different gods, together with the reverence paid to prostitutes, rendered them the most sensual and abandoned race that can be imagined. Parents and husbands did not scruple to expose for money their wives and children to the embraces of their guests. Drunkards they are particularly said to have been, and their women were admitted to their debaucheries, where they gradually laid aside all restraints of modesty.

Their
habit.

They seem to have affected pride and effeminacy in their dress. Their under-garment was a linen vest down to their heels, over which they had another of woolen, and over all a white mantle or cloak. They wore their own hair; their heads were adorned with a tiara or mitre, and their bodies anointed all over with oil of *Sesame*. Each of them wore a seal ring on the finger, and in their hand a staff curiously wrought, on the top of which was placed either an eagle, a rose, a lilly, or an apple, or some other thing, for to wear a stick without such an ornament was accounted indecent *.

Learning
of the
Chaldees.

The *Babylonians*, particularly the *Chaldees*, were famed for learning. These *Chaldees* pretended also to supernatural knowledge, and are said to have inhabited a region peculiar to themselves next to the *Persian* gulf. They were divided into several sects, as the *Orcheni*, the *Borsipenni*, and known by other names of distinction, borrowed either from particular places, where different doctrines on the same point were held, or from particular persons who had doctrines peculiar to themselves. They acquired not their learning after the manner of the Greeks, but by tradition from father to son; and being exempt from all offices, their only business was to apply themselves to the instruction they received. Fully satisfied of what they received from their ancestors, they never departed from what they imbibed, so that they made little or no progress even in the learning they particularly professed. They taught that the world was eternal, that it never had a beginning, and never should have an end. However, they owned a divine providence, and asserted that the motions of the heavens were performed by the guidance and direction of superior agents or gods. They are universally said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy, and they pre-

Their
doctrine
about the
world.

* Quint. Curt. l. 5. Herod. Strab. ut supr.

tended not only to have discovered the exact motions of the heavenly bodies, but also certain influences they have over things below *. On this account they called the planets *Interpreters*, and had particularly a high opinion of the influence of *Saturn*, next of the sun, then of *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, *Jupiter*, which were all the planets they reckoned. Under these six planets they ranged 30 stars, which they called *counselling gods*. Half of these took notice of what was done under the earth, and the other half of what was done by men, or transacted in the heavens. They reported that the chiefs of these counselling gods were twelve in number, and assigned to each a month of the year, and a whole sign of the *Zodiac*. Astronomy they only cultivated as a science secondary to astrology, and accordingly their notions of it were very confined and imperfect. They held the earth to be like a vessel or boat, and hollow within. They had no notion of the immense distance of some of the planets from the sun, and accounted for the time they took up in their revolutions purely by the slowness of their motion. They thought the moon shone with a light not her own, and that when eclipsed she was immersed in the shadow of the earth; but for eclipses of the sun they were quite at a loss, nor could they fix the time when they would happen †. *Daniel*, speaking of these wise men, divides them into four classes, namely magicians, astrologers, forcerers, and *Chaldeans*, adding afterwards to them such as divined by lots, or such as foretold events by the inspection of intrails.

As the *Chaldees* were peculiarly the men of learning in this nation, so the *Babylonians*, properly so called, applied themselves to the arts, though perhaps we shall have more reason to call these the men of learning among them than the former, who were wholly addicted to the sidereal consultations, and the propagation of extravagancies, which appear to have made up the system of their philosophy. In this case the *Babylonians*, as distinguished from the *Chaldeans*, must have been good mathematicians and mechanics, as appears by the immense buildings they reared, which could not be effected without great skill in the several branches of mathematics and geometry. This may be affirmed in general; but to say how far they excelled in perspective and justness of proportion may not be quite so easy a task. That their ornaments and decorations fell short of what was afterwards seen in *Greece* can never be doubted; and hence we may conclude the same of their paintings and statues. To what perfection they carried their music is uncertain, but from *Daniel* we learn, that they had a variety of instruments, such as flutes, cornets, harps, sackbuts, psalteries, dulcimers, and *all* kinds of music. We are quite unacquainted with their poetry, but must leave the reader to form a judgment of it by that of the other eastern nations their neighbours, both

The arts
of the *Ba-
bylonians*.

Their
language.

* Strab. Geograph. Diod. Sic. l. 2. † Diod. ut supra.

antient and modern. Their language, which was called the *Chaldee*, was only a different dialect of the *Syriac*, and the same alphabet was common to them and the *Syrians*. The *Babylonians*, properly so called, were famous for their manufactures, particularly for their rich embroideries, sumptuous vestments, magnificent carpets, and fine linen; insomuch that we read of *Cato* that he immediately sold a *Babylonian* cloak or mantle, which was left to him by inheritance, as being what he was ashamed to wear *, and elsewhere that at *Rome* there had been paid for a suit of *Babylonian* hangings for a dining room 6458 pounds six shillings and eight pence †. It were to no purpose to quote authors for farther instances of this magnificence, which is known to a proverb.

Particular
tribes.

This people was not only divided into two great tribes, the *Babylonians* and *Chaldeans* properly so called, but into other subordinate sects, three of which are said to have fed upon nothing but fish. As these tribes lived in the fens where no corn grew, it was probably necessity that forced them to depart from the practice of their countrymen. Their fish they dried in the sun, and having pounded them in a mortar, baked them in the manner of bread. The inhabitants of *Borsippa*, we are told, used to salt the bats, which in their neighbourhood were much larger than in other places, and to use them for food †.

Their
trade.

The trade of this antient people must have been very considerable, especially when *Babylon* was in the meridian of her glory. *Babylon* was situated as it were in the very midst of the old world; and by means of the two great rivers, the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, had very easy communication with the western and northern parts, as also with the eastern by means of the *Persian* gulf. As it was not only the seat of a potent monarchy, but also afforded many productions and manufactures of its own to exchange with its neighbours, and lay within reach of them all, it is not to be doubted but that trade was here very extensive. It may be concluded also, that they had shipping of their own, and were considerable as navigators, since their city is stiled by the prophet *a city of waters*, and *St. John* gives us a large account of their extensive commerce.

S E C T. II.

The History of the Babylonian kings.

WE are here to consider the *Babylonians* in two very different views; first, as composing a small, though, perhaps, a formidable kingdom immediately after the deluge; and, secondly, as constituting a potent and wide spreading empire, founded by the *Assyrians* their brethren, and at last rising upon their ruins.

* Plut. in vit. Cat. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 8. † Arbuthnot of Coins.
† Herod. l. 1.

The later period, according to *Ptolemy's* canon, which is most agreeable to scripture, continued about 209 years, through a succession of 18 princes and two inter reigns, beginning with *Nabonassar*, from whom the famous æra has taken its name. This æra takes date from the first day of the *Egyptian* month *Thoth*, answering to the 26th of our *February* at noon, of the year before *Christ* 747, the year after the death of *Pul* the first *Assyrian* monarch, who had appeared on the west side of the *Euphrates*. We may from thence conclude that the *Babylonian* empire was immediately of *Assyrian* origin, according to the prophet *Isaiah*, *Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this people was not till the Assyrian founded it, for them that dwell in the wilderness; they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof*, Ch. xxiii. *Nabonassar* the first king is even supposed to have been a son or grandson of *Pul*, and to have begun his reign at *Babylon* the same year that *Tiglath-Pileser* ascended the throne at *Nineveh*, *Pul*, at his death, having made a partition of his monarchy betwixt them.

Before we enter upon the history of this people, as constituting a wide and most famous monarchy, we shall take a retrospect of their first establishment as a kingdom, which is vainly given out to have existed before the deluge. According to *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, *Nimrod*, the founder of this kingdom, reigned only six years, and was succeeded by six princes, whose reigns comprehended a period of 218 years. Then followed an *Arabian* dynasty for 216 years, which was succeeded by the *Assyrian*, beginning with *Belus* and ending with *Sardanapalus*, in the reign of *Amaziah* king of *Judah*. Others again suppose that *Nimrod* founded the kingdom of *Babylon* in the very year of the dispersion, and after reigning 148 years, died about 103 years before the birth of *Abraham*, which appears much more probable than the foregoing account, considering the longevity of people in those early ages. Who was the successor of *Nimrod* is quite uncertain, nor is there any authentic account relating to the first kingdom of *Babylon*, except that about the year 1912 before the christian æra, it was governed by a king called *Amraphel*, who warred under the king of *Elam*.

From thence there is no genuine account of this nation for near 1200 years, that is, till the time of *Nabonassar*. There is the greatest probability to conclude with Sir *Isaac Newton*, that kingdom this prince was the son of *Pul*, and brother of *Tiglath-Pileser*. This kingdom we find subsisted for several years in the neighbourhood of the *Assyrian* empire, then in its full glory. The ambitious and warlike *Assyrian* monarchs, who grasped at nothing less than the sovereignty of all the east, waged war with all the nations around them, and imposed their yoke upon them. We do not however read, till the reign of *Esarhaddon* their fifth king, that they committed any hostilities against their neighbours the *Babylonians*. This harmony that subsisted between them is the strongest presumption, that they were governed by two branches of the same family, the younger branch

at *Babylon*, acknowledging a kind of superiority in, and subjection to the elder at *Nineveh*. If there had not been the strictest union between these two kingdoms, is it to be imagined that the kings of *Assyria* would have crossed the *Euphrates* to make war at a great distance from their dominions, when they had so powerful an enemy as the king of *Babylon* behind them, who might in their absence have invaded their country while it was drained of the choicest of its soldiery.

Nabonassar, B. Ch. 747. *Nabonassar* was succeeded by *Nadius*, who reigned two years, and *Nadius* by *Chinzinus* and *Porus*, who reigned five.

Nadius. *Jugæus* reigned next, of whom there is nothing recorded, nor can we offer at one conjecture concerning him, except that he, as well as those he immediately succeeded, and those that came after him down to *Assaraddin*, did nothing worthy of notice.

Mardac-Empadus. *Mardac-Empadus* the next king is certainly the *Merodach-Baladan* of scripture, the same that sent an embassy to *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*. The times of the former in the canon, and of the later in scripture agree exactly, and it must have been in the seventh or eighth year of his reign that he sent to *Hezekiah*. In scripture he is also called *Berodach-Baladan* the son of *Baladan*; so that *Jugæus* above, who seems to have been his father, might perhaps be more properly called *Baladan*. He is the first *Babylonian* king we find in scripture who had any intercourse with the kings at *Jerusalem*. The chief purpose of his embassy to *Hezekiah* is generally supposed to have been to enquire about the sun's retrogression; though perhaps the great ambition of *Sennacherib* might begin to alarm him, and made him think of forming alliances for his safety. *Merodach-Baladan*, after reigning twelve years, was succeeded by

Arkianus. *Arkianus*, concerning whom all we know is, that he reigned but five years, and that after him there was an interreign of two years.

Belibus. *Belibus* succeeded to this interreign; but by what means or by what right we know not. After a reign of three years he was succeeded by *Apronadius*, who reigned six years. The throne was next filled by *Regibelus*, who, after reigning one year, gave place to *Messeessimordacus*. Four years after an interreign ensued, that lasted eight years. The elder branch at *Nineveh* might perhaps have assumed over the younger at *Babylon*, and have appointed kings and governors as they pleased.

Assaraddin. The eight years of this interreign being expired, *Assaraddin* the *Esharhaddon* of scripture, and king of *Assyria*, possessed himself of the kingdom of *Babylon*, whether by art or violence is uncertain. He reigned at *Babylon* thirteen years, and was succeeded by *Saosducheus* or *Saosduchinus*, who was also king both of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, and reigned twenty years. We have already spoken of them both as kings of *Assyria*. *Chynalydan* or *Sarac*, succeeded *Saosducheus* in both kingdoms, and reigned twenty-two years.

The next king of *Babylon* is *Nabopalassar*; but whether he *Nabopassar* succeeded before the death of *Chynalydan* is uncertain. By his name he appears to have been an *Affyrian*, and to have derived his origin from *Pul* and *Nabonassar* his son, having introduced the syllable *Pul* instead of *Addon* into his name, which is plainly compounded from *Nebo-pul-assur*. He is supposed to have been governor of *Babylon* for several years, and encouraged by the weak and effeminate reign of *Chynalydan*, entered into an alliance against him with *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, who was then at war with the *Affyrians* *. The consequence of this alliance was the destruction of *Nineveh*, and the ruin of the *Affyrian* empire. This prince is called by contraction *Nabulassar*, and also *Nebuchadonosor* and *Nebuchadnezzar*, whence his son is called *Nebuchadnezzar* II. though some think that this last was an appellation common to the *Babylonish* kings. The *Babylonians* and *Medes* having dissolved the *Affyrian* empire, became so formidable that they raised the jealousy of all their neighbours. *Necho* king of *Egypt* therefore, to put a stop to their growing greatness, marched with a great army towards the *Euphrates* to make war upon them †. The king of *Egypt* having made himself master of *Carchemish* on the *Euphrates*, the governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phenice* was encouraged to revolt from the *Babylonians*.

As the king was now advanced in years, he took his son *Nabocolassar* or *Nebuchadnezzar* for his partner in the kingdom. The young prince assembling a powerful army, marched against the *Egyptians* at *Carchemish*, and taking the city, put the garrison to the sword, after they had been in possession of the place about three years. Having recovered *Carchemish*, *Nebuchadnezzar* marched into *Judea*, took *Jerusalem*, rifled the temple, and made *Jehoiakim* prisoner, but upon his submission and promise of paying a yearly tribute, he reinstated him on the throne, and pursuing his conquests, reduced all *Palestine* to the border of *Egypt*. His father *Nabopalassar* in the mean time dying at *Babylon*, after a reign of twenty-one years, upon the first notice of his death, he hastened to *Babylon* with a small retinue by the shortest way of the desert, committing to his generals the command of the army, and the care of the captives ‡.

Having thus extended the bounds of his empire, and being now in sole possession of the throne, he applied himself to enlarge and adorn the seat of his empire. While he was thus busied, he was in an extraordinary manner affected by dreams. One especially, which he had in the second year after his father's death, gave him greater uneasiness than all the rest, though he had entirely forgot it. His magicians or *Chaldeans* declaring that it was impossible for them to tell him his dream, he ordered them all to be put to death; but *Daniel* prevailing

* Alex. Polyhist. ap Syncel. Euseb. Chron. † Herod. 1. 2. Joseph. Ant. 1. 10. ‡ Joseph. ut supr. Jerem. xlv. 2.

Daniel in-
terprets
his dream.

with the captain of the guard to suspend the execution of the order, and applying himself with his three companions in prayer to God, the secret was revealed to him in a night vision. Being then introduced to the king, after instilling into him some notions of the power and majesty of God, he not only told him his dream, but gave him such a satisfactory interpretation of it, that the haughty monarch amazed at what he heard, could not forbear falling on his face, and worshipping *Daniel*, acknowledging his God the God of gods, and Lord of kings. Not satisfied with these extraordinary demonstrations of esteem, he made him rich presents, invested him with the government of the whole province of *Babylon*, and appointed him chief of the governors of all the wise men of *Babylon*.

He takes
Jehoiakin
king of
Judah
prisoner.

A few years after *Jehoiakin* king of *Judah* revolting, *Nebuchadnezzar* sent an army of several nations against him, who surprizing him without the walls of *Jerusalem*, slew him, and left his body unburied, pursuant to *Jeremiah's* prediction. *Jehoiakin* his son immediately assumed the government; but *Nebuchadnezzar* a few months after arriving in person before *Jerusalem*, caused him, his mother, and his whole court, who came out to him in a most submissive manner, to be arrested and carried captive to *Babylon*. The king having made himself master of the city, ransacked and plundered it a second time; together with the temple, palace, and treasury, and carried off with him an immense booty, and such numbers of captives of all ranks and conditions, that scarcely sufficient hands were left to cultivate the land. Having appointed *Mattaniah*, whom he called *Zedekiah*, tributary king in *Jerusalem*, he returned to *Babylon*, and probably soon after made a conquest of *Elam*, which appears to have been a great and potent kingdom *, and was situated on the river *Ulai*, eastward of the *Tigris*, being the same with the *Susiana* of the *Greeks*.

Zedekiah king of *Jerusalem* in the mean time, contrary to the remonstrances and prophecies of *Jeremiah*, entering into an alliance with *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries*, king of *Egypt*, *Nebuchadnezzar* assembled an army, and soon after marched towards *Judea*, to punish his perfidy and ingratitude. On his coming into *Syria*, finding that the *Ammonites* had also entered into the same confederacy with *Egypt* against him, he was in a doubt for some time which of these two people he should first fall upon, whereon he committed the decision of the matter to his diviners, who consulting, by the entrails of their sacrifices, their teraphim and their arrows, determined for the carrying of the war against the *Jews* †. This way of divining by arrows was also used by the antient *Greeks* ‡, and by the *Arabs* till *Mohammedism* prevailed. The arrows used for that purpose, we are told, were without heads and feathers, and

* Jerem. xlix. 35.

† Ezek. xxi. 19. & comment. Jerom.

‡ Potter's Antiq. of Greece, V. I. p. 334.

were kept in the temple of some idol †. *Nebuchadnezzar* now entering *Judea*, in a few days became master of all the cities of that kingdom, except *Lachish*, *Azekah*, and *Jerusalem*. While he was employed in the siege of *Jerusalem*, the *Egyptians* advanced with an army to the relief of the city, which obliged him to raise the siege, and march against them. They however not venturing to face his troops, but returning, he came again with his army before the city, which after a tedious siege he at length took by storm, and vented his rage on the king, the inhabitants, and the buildings in the manner we have already described. Having thus put an end to the *Israelitish* kingdom, he again returned to his metropolis, adding great strength and glory to it by the immense booty he brought with him, and a numerous accession of new inhabitants.

He takes and destroys *Jerusalem*, B. Ch. 587.

With the gold he amassed in this expedition it is thought he erected the golden *Colossus*, to the honour of his god *Bel*, in the plain of *Dura*, in the province of *Babylon*. It was sixty cubits in height, and six cubits in breadth; and all of gold. Having assembled all the great men of the kingdom to celebrate the dedication of it, he commanded them and all his subjects present to worship it, on pain of being immediately thrown into a burning furnace. Upon this occasion it was that the three *Hebrew* youths, *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abednego*, courageously refusing to comply with the king's wicked command, were miraculously preserved in the midst of the flames. *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was an eye-witness of the astonishing miracle, acknowledged the might and power of the God of *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abednego*, and decreed, that whoever should blaspheme his name, should be cut in pieces, and his house should be turned into a dunghil. How *Daniel* was not accused on this occasion is surprizing; it being impossible to suppose that he fell down and worshiped the image; either therefore he was absent, or if present must have been too great a man to be accused, and the latter seems most probable †. *Nebuchadnezzar*, in the twenty-first year of his reign, came again into *Syria*, and sat down with his army before *Tyre*; but after a thirteen years siege, he had nothing but an empty city for his pains, most of the inhabitants having retired with their best effects, before he entered it, to a neighbouring island. During this long siege he compleatly reduced by detached parties, the *Sidonians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, pursuant to the several prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* ‡, and sent *Nebuzaradan* with a party into *Judea*, to revenge the death of *Gedaliah*, which he did by carrying off 745 persons into captivity, the poor remains of that unhappy people ||. From *Tyre*, *Nebuchadnezzar* marched strait into *Egypt*, which was pro-

He sets up a golden image in the plain of *Dura*.

* Sales prelim. disc. to the *Coran*.

† Dan. iii. Prid. Connect.

‡ Jerem. xxvii. xxviii. xxix. Ezek. xxv. || Jerem. lii. 30. Ezek. iv. 5, 6.

mised him as a reward for the toil he and his army had undergone before *Tyre*. He accordingly made a conquest of that country, as we have related in the history of the *Egyptians*, and brought from thence an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. Probably at this time he also conquered the *Ethiopians*, *Lybians*, and the other nations mentioned by the prophet *.

He adorns
and en-
larges *Ba-
bylon*.

This prince, whom we have seen a warrior beyond all the *Babylonian* monarchs who went before him, having happily finished all his wars, put the last hand to the building, or rather to the embellishing of *Babylon*, which under him attained that splendor which raised it above all the cities of the east. To dwell particularly on the varieties in the authors that have spoken of this city, would be both endless and fruitless. We shall therefore chiefly adhere to the accurate description given us by the learned *Prideaux*. *Semiramis* is said by some †, and *Belus* by others, to have first founded this city ‡; but by whomsoever it was founded, it was *Nebuchadnezzar* that made it one of the wonders of the world. The most famous works in and about it, were the walls of the city, the temple of *Belus*, *Nebuchadnezzar's* palace, the hanging gardens, the banks of the river, the artificial lake and canals.

Babylon
described.

The city was surrounded with walls, in thickness 87 feet, in height 350 feet, and in compass 480 furlongs, or 60 of our miles. Thus *Herodotus*, who was himself at *Babylon*, and is the antientest author that hath wrote of this matter. These walls formed an exact square, each side of which was fifteen miles in length, and all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime which issues out of the earth in that country, and in a short time grows harder than the very brick and stone which it cements. The city was encompassed without the walls with a vast ditch, filled with water, and lined with bricks on both sides; and as the earth that was dug out of it served to make the bricks, we may judge of the largeness of the ditch from the height and thickness of the walls. In the whole compass of the wall there were 100 gates, that is, twenty-five on each of the sides, all made of solid brass. Between every two of these gates, at proper distances, were three towers, and four more at the four corners of the great square, besides three betwixt each of these corners, and the next gate on either side, and each of these towers was ten feet higher than the wall. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the walls where towers were needful for defence; for some parts of them being upon a morass, and inaccessible by an enemy, there the labour and cost was spared, so that the whole number of the towers amounted only to 250. From each of the 25 gates in the sides of this square went a strait street to the corresponding gate in the opposite wall, so that the grand streets

* *Ezek.* xxxiv. 4.

† *Herod. Ctes. Justin.*

‡ *Q. Curt.*

were 50 in number, and 150 feet broad, each 15 miles long, 25 of them crossing the other 25 exactly at right angles. There was also four grand streets round the city next to the walls, 200 feet broad, having houses on one side, and the walls on the other. By the intersection of the 50 streets the city was divided into 676 squares, each two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these squares on every side towards the streets stood the houses, all of three or four stories in height, and beautified with all manner of ornaments, and the space within each of these squares was all void, and taken up by yards and gardens, and the like, either for pleasure or convenience. A branch of the *Euphrates* divided the city into two, running through the midst of it from north to south, over which in the very middle of the city was a bridge a furlong in length, and 30 feet broad. At each end of this bridge was a magnificent palace, the old palace on the east side, which took up four of the squares above-mentioned, and the new palace on the west side nine. The temple of *Belus*, which stood next to the old palace, took up another of the same squares. The whole city stood in a most extensive plain of a deep and fat soil. That part or half of it on the east side of the river was the old city, and the other on the west was added by *Nebuchadnezzar*. The form of the whole was seemingly borrowed from *Nineveh*, and its wall was of the same circuit, but being an exact square, it was more capacious than the other, which was a parallelogram, or oblong square. *Nebuchadnezzar* having, in conjunction with his father, destroyed that old royal seat of the *Assyrian* empire, proposed that this new imperial seat should rather exceed it than not. It plainly appears however that the city was never wholly inhabited, it never having time to grow up to what *Nebuchadnezzar* visibly intended to have made it; for about twenty-five years after his death, *Cyrus* removing the seat of the empire to *Sushan*, *Babylon* fell by degrees into utter decay. When *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, *Quintus Curtius* tells us no more than ninety furlongs of it was then built, which can no otherwise be understood than of so much in length, and if we allow the breadth to be the same, which is as much as can be allowed, it will follow that no more than 8100 square furlongs were then built upon. The 6300 remaining square furlongs, *Curtius* tells us, were plowed and sown. Besides, that the air might be freer and more wholesome, the houses were not built contiguous, but void spaces were left between them. So that putting all this together it will appear that *Babylon* was so large a city in design rather than reality, the much greater part of it, according to this account, being never built. In this respect therefore it must give place to *Nineveh*, which appears to have been fully inhabited from the number of its infants mentioned in *Jonah*, namely 120,000, which reckoning in those of two years of age, will be more than three times as many as there are in *London* of the same age.

The temple of *Belus*.

The next great work of *Nebuchadnezzar* was the temple of *Belus*. The wonderful tower however that stood in the middle of it was built many ages before him, that and the famous tower of *Babel* being generally supposed to be the same structure, a description of which we have already given. Till the times of *Nebuchadnezzar* it is thought this tower was all the temple of *Belus*; but as he did by the other antient buildings of the city, so he did by this, making great additions thereto by vast edifices erected round it, in a square of two furlongs on every side, which exceeded the square at the temple of *Jerusalem* by 1800 feet. These buildings were inclosed by a wall, which is supposed to have extended round one of the great squares of the city. In this wall were several gates leading into the temple all of solid brass, which it is thought may have been made out of the brazen sea, and brazen pillars, and other vessels and ornaments of that kind, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had transported from *Jerusalem*, and is said to have dedicated in the temple of *Bel*. In this temple were several images or idols of massy gold, one of them mentioned by *Diodorus* 40 feet in height, which the learned *Prideaux* thinks may have been the same with that set up in the plain of *Dura*. Its height is said to have been 60 cubits; but as the breadth is only reckoned six, to bring it to any degree of proportion, we must suppose that in the account of the height, the pedestal on which the image stood was also included. Nine feet, or six cubits breadth, between the shoulders, according to the common proportions of a man, would have required the height of the image to have been but 40 feet and a half, which is very near the account of *Diodorus*.

The two palaces.

Next this temple, on the same east side of the river, stood the old palace of the kings of *Babylon*; and exactly opposite to it on the other side of the river was the new palace, eight miles in circumference, and four times as big as the other. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, and strongly fortified according to the way of those times.

The hanging gardens.

But what was most wonderful in it were the hanging gardens which *Nebuchadnezzar* made in complaisance to his wife *Amyite*, who being a *Mede*, and retaining a strong inclination for the mountains and forests of her own country, desired to have something like them at *Babylon*. They are said to have contained a square of four plethra, or 400 feet on each side, and to have consisted of terraces one above another, carried up to the height of the wall of the city, the ascent from terrace to terrace being by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile consisted of substantial arches upon arches, and was strengthened by a wall surrounding it on every side twenty-two feet thick. The floor of every terrace was thus formed. The arches were first covered with stones sixteen feet long and four broad, and over these were laid reeds mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, which was again covered with two courses of bricks, closely cemented together, with plaster; and sheets of lead being laid over these, served for a bottom to the mould of the garden, which was deep

deep enough to give root to the greatest trees, and such were planted in every terrace, besides other trees, plants, and flowers that were proper for a garden of pleasure. Upon the uppermost of these terraces was a reservoir, supplied by a certain engine with water from the river, which served to water all the gardens.

The other works attributed to *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Berosus* and *Abydenus* were the banks of the river, the artificial canals, and the great artificial lake, said to have been sunk by *Semiramis*. The canals were cut from the *Euphrates* to carry off the water when it overflowed into the *Tigris*. The lake was on the west side of *Babylon*, and according to the lowest computation, forty miles square and 160 in compass, and in depth thirty-five feet, as we read in *Herodotus*; or according to *Megasthenes*, seventy-five. This lake was dug to receive the waters of the river, while the banks were building on each side of it. But both the lake and the canal that led to it were preserved after that work was completed, being found of great use, not only to prevent all overflowings, but to keep water all the year, to be let out on proper occasions by sluices, for the improvement of the land. The banks or keys on each side of the river were built of brick and bitumen from the bottom of the river, and of the same thickness with the walls of the city itself. They extended, according to *Berosus*, twenty miles, probably reaching two miles and a half above the city, and as much below. Opposite to each street on either side the river was a brazen gate, with stairs leading down to the river, the banks having been raised considerably above the level of the streets. These gates were open by day, and shut by night. *Berosus*, *Megasthenes*, and *Abydenus*, attribute all these works to *Nebuchadnezzar*; but *Herodotus* tells us, the bridge, the banks, and the lake, were the work of *Nitocris* his daughter-in-law *.

The banks, artificial canals, and lake.

Whilst nothing seemed wanting to compleat *Nebuchadnezzar's* happiness, a frightful dream disturbed his repose, and filled him with great anxiety. He dreamed that he saw a great tree, the height of which reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth. While he was contemplating the tree, he saw a watcher come down from heaven, and order the tree to be cut down, but to leave the stump of it in the earth, which was to be exposed for some time to the dew of heaven. His wise men, astrologers, and *Chaldeans*, whom he consulted in the first place, not being able to give him any satisfactory interpretation of such an extraordinary vision, he at length revealed it to *Daniel*, who no sooner heard the dream, than *he was astonished for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him*. He at length told the king, who was very solicitous with him to utter the truth without fear or disguise, that the tree he saw was meant of himself, and by the fall of the tree was signified,

Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the tree.

* *Prideaux's Connect.* v. 1. and the authors cited by him.

that he should be driven out from the society of men, and become as a beast, in which state he should continue till he should be brought to a due sense of the supremacy and omnipotence of God, when the kingdom should revert to him once more which was meant by the stump he saw left in the ground. He then concluded with exhorting him to abstain from sin, and to shew mercy to the poor, that so he might procure to himself prolongation of peace and tranquillity.

His pride
and down-
fal.

Whether he was really penitent for some time upon *Daniel's* admonition, and on that account obtained a respite of the sentence, is uncertain; but we find that the dream was not fulfilled till about a twelvemonth after, when as he was walking in his palace, or as some think the fact may have been on the uppermost of the terraces of his hanging garden, and contemplating the glories of the city he had adorned, unable to contain the pride of his heart, he cried out, "*Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?*" He had no sooner vented himself in this insolent manner than there fell a voice from heaven, saying, "*O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken, the kingdom is departed from thee;*" and straight he was driven from the society of men, and dwelt with the beasts of the field, and eat grass as an ox, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles feathers and his nails like birds claws. It is generally supposed, that immediately losing his senses, he wandered about in the fields and there took up his abode with the cattle, till seven times or seven years, passed over his head; but concerning this astonishing change, and the duration of it, there is a great variety of opinions. After the expiration of the appointed time he recovered his senses, and the use of his understanding, and being restored to his throne, became greater and more powerful than ever. Being hereupon made fully sensible of the almighty power of the God of heaven and earth, who alone doth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, he did, by public decree, make acknowledgment hereof through all the *Babylonish* empire, praising his almighty power, and magnifying his mercy. During his disorder, it is said, his son *Evil-merodach* administered the government, and that he behaved so ill as to draw his father's most heavy displeasure on him, when he came to understand what he had done. To satisfy his injured subjects, he threw him into the prison where *Jehoiachin* the captive king of *Judah* had lain thirty-seven years*. After this he lived only one year, and died in the 43d year of his reign, or the 45th, reckoning from the time of his being taken into partnership with his father. He was one of the greatest princes that had reigned in the east for many ages before him. *Megasthenes* prefers him

His death.

* He rean. in Isaiah, xlv. 10.

for his valour to *Hercules*, and says, that at his death he prophesied of the conquest of *Babylon* by the *Persians*. But in this he spake no more than what he had been informed of in the interpretation of his dreams by *Daniel* the prophet, who had assured him that it would speedily come to pass.

He was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach*, who, by a false step he took in his father's life-time, may, perhaps, be said to have laid the foundation of that animosity in the *Medes* and *Persians*, which brought on the dissolution of the *Babylonian* empire. While, on occasion of his marriage with *Nitocris*, he went to hunt on the frontiers of *Media*, he formed an army of the garrisons of the places upon the borders, and wantonly invaded *Media*. *Astyages* the *Mede*, attended by his son *Cyaxares*, his grandson *Cyrus*, then near 16 years of age, and such troops as could be assembled on so sudden an emergency, marched out to meet him, determined to repel force by force. The parties engaging, *Evil-merodach* was routed, and pursued home to his own borders with great slaughter, which happened about 21 years before *Nebuchadnezzar's* death*. *Evil-merodach*, as soon as he was settled on his throne, released *Jehoiachin* king of *Judah* out of prison, where he had been confined near 37 years, and treated him ever afterwards as a king. We know nothing farther concerning him, except that indulging himself in sloth and wickedness, he was treacherously murdered by his sister's husband *Neriglissar*, after he had reigned two years.

Evil-merodach.

Neriglissar, who is represented as the chief of the conspirators against *Evil-merodach*, usurped the throne. This prince, jealous of the growing power of the *Medes* and *Persians*, dispatched ambassadors into *Lydia*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, and even to the *Indies*, and by bribing some and persuading others, he prevailed upon them to enter into an alliance with him against *Cyaxares*, who had then succeeded to the throne of *Media*. *Cyaxares*, to oppose this confederacy, called for his nephew *Cyrus* out of *Persia*, who arriving with a body of 30,000 *Persians*, was appointed commander in chief both of the *Medes* and *Persians* in the impending war. About four years after, both parties took the field. *Neriglissar* was at the head of 20,000 horse, 200 chariots, and foot proportionable; and was attended by *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* with 10,000 horse, and upwards of 40,000 light armed foot; the *Phrygians* sending him 40,000 foot, mostly pikemen, and 8000 horse, under *Artamas* their king; and *Aribæus*, king of *Cappadocia*, bringing 6000 horse and 30,000 foot, and *Maragdas* the *Arabian* conducting 10,000 horse, 100 chariots, and a great number of slingers. The army of *Cyrus* did not amount to above a third of that under the *Babylonian* king, till they were joined by a considerable reinforcement under *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, who in the beginning of the rupture had revolted from the *Medes*,

Neriglissar.

War between him and the *Medes* and *Persians*.

His confederate forces.

* *Cyropæd.* l. i.

He is defeated and slain by the Medes.

Laborosoarchod succeeds him.

He is murdered by his own subjects.

Nabonadius or Belshazzar.

but had been subdued the year before by *Cyrus*. The *Indians* only offered their mediation, which had no effect. *Cyrus* having also subdued the *Chaldeans*, who are said to have inhabited the mountains next to *Armenia*, and consequently must have been *Assyrians*, led his army into the enemies territories, and a fierce battle soon after ensuing between him and the confederates, the *Assyrian* army was totally defeated, and *Neriglissar* was killed in the action. Great part of the *Babylonians* and their allies the following night abandoning their camp, *Cyrus* next day took possession of it, and of all their baggage.

The death of *Neriglissar* was a great loss to the *Babylonians*, for he was a prince of great courage, conduct, and wisdom, which appeared by the great preparations he made for the war. But nothing made the *Babylonians* more sensible of the loss they had suffered than the tyrannical government of his son and successor *Laborosoarchod*, who was in every respect quite the reverse of his father, being addicted to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice. Two acts of his cruelty towards two *Babylonian* lords, *Gobryas* and *Gadates*, are particularly mentioned. The only son of the former he slew at a hunting match, to which he had invited him, for no other reason but because he pierced with a dart a wild beast which the king had missed. The other he caused to be made an eunuch, because one of his concubines had commended him as an handsome man. These two acts of cruelty drove the two noblemen, with the provinces they governed, over to *Cyrus*, who soon after appeared before the walls of *Babylon*, but having in vain endeavoured to draw the king to a battle, withdrew his army. *Laborosoarchod* upon his retiring gave a loose to all the wicked inclinations that were predominant in him; insomuch that his own subjects, no longer able to bear his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and murdered him in the ninth month of his reign. As he did not compleat a year, he is omitted in the canon.

Nabonadius the chief of the conspirators succeeded him in the throne. He is called by *Herodotus*, *Labynitus*; by *Abydenus*, *Nabannidochus*; and by the prophet *Daniel*, *Belshazzar*. He was the son of *Evil-merodach* by *Nitocris*, and grandson of the great *Nebuchadnezzar*. As he ascended the throne in his youth, and was wholly addicted to his pleasures, his mother *Nitocris*, who was a woman of extraordinary parts, took the burden of the government upon herself, and did all that was in her power to preserve the tottering empire. While *Cyrus* and *Cyaxares* were employing themselves in several campaigns, in reducing the frontier places, she was using her utmost endeavours to fortify the country against them, and especially the city of *Babylon*. She perfected the works which *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun for that purpose, raised strong fortifications on the side of the river, and caused a wonderful vault to be made under it leading from the old palace to the new, twelve feet high, and fifteen wide. She likewise built a bridge cross the *Euphrates*, and dis-

seve-

several other works, which were afterwards ascribed to *Nebuchadnezzar*.

Cyrus in the mean time, having persuaded *Abradates*, governor of *Elam* or *Susa*, to revolt to him, and having likewise defeated *Cræsus*, and made himself master of *Sardis*, and of all the countries from the *Ægean* sea and the *Mediterranean* to the *Euphrates*, in the sixteenth year of *Nabonadius*, marched with a numerous and victorious army against *Babylon*. *Nabonadius* ventured to try the fate of a battle, but being defeated, retired into his capital, where he was immediately blocked up, and closely besieged by *Cyrus*. The siege of this important place was no easy enterprize. The walls were of a prodigious height, the number of men to defend them very great, and the city was stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years*. *Cyrus* however, not discouraged by these difficulties, prosecuted his design, and perceiving it to be impracticable to take the place by storm, caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and that his troops might not be over fatigued, divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month to guard the workmen at the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their high walls and magazines, insulted *Cyrus* from the ramparts, and looked upon all the trouble he gave himself as so much unprofitable labour.

This immense ditch being finished in about two years, *Cyrus* resolved to put in execution a design of turning aside the river, which stratagem seems to have been first suggested by *Chrysfantas*, one of his generals, though then seemingly rejected by *Cyrus*, that nobody might have any suspicion of his intention. Being informed that a solemn festival was soon to be celebrated in the city, and that the *Babylonians* were accustomed, on that occasion, to spend the whole night in drinking and debauchery, he thought this a most favourable opportunity for surprizing them. Accordingly, upon the approach of the appointed day, he sent a strong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the great lake, which was dug for receiving the superfluous waters of the river, with orders to break down the great dam between the lake and the canal, and to turn the whole current into the lake. At the same time he appointed one body of troops at the place where the river ran into the city, and another where it came out, ordering them to march in by the bed of the river as soon as they should find it fordable. Towards the evening, he opened the head of the trenches on both sides of the river above the city, that the water might discharge itself into them. By this means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was soon drained, so that at night the two bodies of troops entered the channel, the one commanded by *Gobryas*, and the other by *Gadates*.

* Herod. l. 1. Cyropæd. l. 7.

The *Babylonians*, notwithstanding they were besieged, did not omit their accustomed riot, and *Belshazzar* himself that very night gave a magnificent entertainment to a thousand of his lords, at which were also present his wives and concubines. In the heat of his wine he ordered the gold and silver vessels which had been taken from the temple of *Jerusalem*, to be brought out, and as an insult upon the God of *Israel*, he, his whole court, and all his concubines, drank out of them, and celebrated the praises of their idols. God in the midst of their riot did, in a very extraordinary and wonderful manner, express his wrath against the impious king, by causing a hand to appear on the wall, and thereon write a sentence of immediate destruction against him. The king, who saw the hand, but understood not the writing, was instantly filled with amazement and terror, and while his knees were smiting against each other, he called aloud to bring in the wise men and astrologers. None of them however being able to read or expound the writing, *Daniel*, by the advice of the queen-mother *Nitocris*, was sent for, and spoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He boldly reproved him for his many iniquities and transgressions against the great God of heaven and earth, and told him, that on that account the hand-writing was a sentence from heaven against him, and that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*.

He takes
the city
by a stratagem.

Belshazzar slain,
and an
end put
to the
Babylonian
empire,
Bef. Ch.
538.

This denunciation was instantly fulfilled, for the troops sent into the city by *Cyrus*, finding the gates that separated the streets from the river all left open through negligence, occasioned by the general riot, penetrated to the palace without opposition and surprizing the guards, cut them in pieces. Those who were in the palace opening the gates to know the cause of the confusion, the *Persians* rushed in, took the palace, and killed the king, who, sword in hand, came out to oppose them. *Belshazzar* being slain, and those who were about him put to flight, the rest submitted, and the *Medes* and *Persians* became masters of the place. The taking of this imperial city put an end to the *Babylonian* empire, and fulfilled the prophecies uttered by *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Daniel*, against that profligate people, and their proud metropolis *.

* *Isaiah* xiii. xiv. xxi. xliii. xlv. xlvii. *Jerem.* xxv. l. li. *Dan.* v. xi.

The history of the antient PHRYGIANS, TROJANS, LYCIANS, LYDIANS, &c.

S E C T. I.

An account of ASIA MINOR.

AS the several small kingdoms which we propose to treat of in this place, were antiently comprehended under the name of *Asia Minor*, we shall premise a general description of that country. The learned archbishop *Usher* looks upon the ascertaining the various acceptations of the word *Asia*, as one of the most difficult points in history, there being a seeming contradiction between the sacred and prophane writers as to the provinces comprehended under the name of *Asia*, which cannot be reconciled without a very careful distinction of times and places. In reading the antient historians or geographers, we frequently meet with the following terms, namely, the *Greater* and *Lesser Asia*, *Asia Proper*, or *Asia* properly so called, the *Lydian Asia*, the *proconsular Asia*, the *Asiatic Diocese*. The vast continent known by the general name of *Asia*, was divided by the antient geographers, first into the greater and lesser *Asia*. The lesser, commonly called *Asia Minor*, comprehended a great many provinces, and part of it was again distinguished with the name of *Asia Proper*, namely *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Eolis* and *Ionia*, which two last were comprehended partly in *Lydia* and partly in *Mysia*. This tract was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, extending from *Galatia* to *Propontis*; on the east by *Galatia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*; on the south by part of *Lycia*, and the *Rhodian* sea; and on the west by the *Hellespont*, the *Ægean*, *Icarian*, and *Myrtoan* seas.

Asia Proper.

As *Asia Proper* is but a part of *Asia Minor*, so the *Lydian Asia* is only a part of *Asia Proper*, which was antiently called *Mæonia*, and *Asia*, a *Lydian* king named *Asias*, according to the people of that country, having communicated his name to the whole continent*. *Asia*, in this acceptation, comprehends *Lydia*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, according to the description above-mentioned, and is that *Asia* spoken of in the *Acts*, and *St. John's* revelation. In the former we read the following account of *St. Paul's* journey; *When they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, after they were come to Mysia, they essayed to go into Bithynia; but the spirit suffered them not. And they passing by Mysia came down to Troas.* Here it is plain that *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, *Mysia*, *Bithynia*, and *Olympena*, where *Troas* was situated, are

The *Lydian Asia*.

* Cic. in orat. pro Flac. Pompon. Mela. l. 1. Plin. l. 5. Herod. l. 1. Diod. Sic. l. 4. Strabo, l. 13, 14.

in express terms distinguished from the Proper *Asia* of the *Romans*, as is likewise *Caria*, by what we read elsewhere in the same book, ch. 20. What remains of *Asia Proper*, together with the seven churches mentioned in the revelations, were properly the *Lydian Asia*, or *Lydia*. *Laodicea* indeed is placed by some in *Caria*, by some in *Phrygia*, and by others in *Lydia*, the confines of those countries having been so often altered, that it was not possible, as *Strabo* witnesses, to ascertain their exact boundaries.

The *Proconsular Asia*.

The *Proconsular Asia*, according to the distribution of *Augustus*, comprehended the following countries, *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Caria*, *Mysia*, *Phrygia*, and the *Proconsular Hellespont*; and this is *Ptolemy's Asia Proper*. *Pontus* and *Bithynia* were also made a prætorian province by the same emperor, and *Asia* a consular, containing all that part of *Asia* which lay on this side the river *Halys* and mount *Taurus*. In the time of *Constantine* the *Proconsular Asia* was much abridged, and seems then to have been much the same with the *Lydian Asia* above-mentioned.

The *Asiatic Diocese*.

At the same time was established a new division termed the *Asiatic Diocese*, which is sometimes taken in a more strict sense, as distinct from the *Proconsular Asia*, and sometimes in a more extensive sense, as comprehending also that province. In the reign of *Theodosius* the younger, all *Asia* consisted of eleven provinces, three whereof, namely, the *Proconsular proper*, the *Consular Hellespont*, and that of *Rhodes*, with the islands called *Cyclades*, were under the jurisdiction of the proconsul of *Asia*. The other eight, namely, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Salutaris*, *Phrygia pacatiana*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pisidia*, which made up what was properly called the *Asiatic Diocese*, were under the lieutenant or *Vicarius* of *Asia* *. This country is justly counted among the finest and most fruitful of the earth, and is highly extolled by antient writers, chiefly by the *Romans*, for the fertility of the soil, temper of the climate, nature of the seasons, excellence and variety of its productions and fruits, in all which respects it was preferred by *Tully* to all the countries of the then known world †. The common epithet by which the Latin poets distinguish this from other regions, is that of *rich*, alluding not only to the richness of the soil, but also to the wealth and opulence of the inhabitants, which may be easily judged of from the immense sums that some of the *Roman* governors are said to have extorted from them, namely, *Mark Antony*, whom we are told by *Plutarch*, squeezed from the inhabitants of *Asia Minor*, in the space of one year, the sum of 20,000 talents.

Its present division.

This country is at present divided into four parts, namely, *Natolia* or the western part, *Caramania* the southern part, *Aladulia* the eastern, and *Amasia* the northern part. By the *Turks* the whole country is called *Nadolu*, and they divide it

* See Usher in his Geographical and Historical Disquisition of Asia, properly so called. † Cic. pro Q. Ligario.

into five parts, under the government of five Beglerbegs, who reside at *Cotyæum*, *Tocat*, *Trabezond*, *Marosch*, and *Iconium*. These are divided into smaller governments, denominated from the city or town where the governor resides.

S E C T. II.

The history of the PHRYGIANS.

THE works of those authors who have treated particularly of the *Phrygian* history, namely, *Democritus*, *Hermesianactes*, *Timolaus*, *Aretazes*, and *Cornelius Alexander* *, not having reached us, we are left quite in the dark as to some of the most material points of that history. Not to trouble our readers with the various and uncertain etymologies of the name of *Phrygia*, we shall only present them with the opinion of *Bochart*, who supposes that the country was so called from a Greek verb, signifying to burn or dry, which, according to him, is a translation of its Hebrew name *Gomer*, derived from the verb *Gamar*, importing, among other significations, to burn or consume. Part of *Phrygia*, washed by the rivers *Cayster* and *Mæander*, was distinguished by *Strabo* and *Diodorus* with the epithet of *burnt*, probably from the dryness of the soil, which they tell us is impregnated with sulphur, bitumen, and other combustible substances. The appellation which at first was peculiar to one part might, in length of time, become common to the whole country †. The true boundaries of the country, according to *Strabo*, are impossible to be fixed. He tells us, that the *Trojans*, *Mycians*, and *Lydians*, are by the poets all blended under the common name of the *Phrygians*, which *Claudian* even extends to the *Pisidians*, *Bithynians*, and *Ionians* ‡. *Phrygia* proper, according to *Ptolemy*, was bounded on the north by *Pontus* and *Bithynia*; on the west by *Mysia*, *Troas*, the *Ægean* sea, *Lydia*, *Mæonia*, and *Caria*; on the south by *Lycia*; and on the east by *Pamphylia* and *Galatia*; extending from the 37th to the 41st degree of north latitude, and from the 56th to the 62d of longitude. The inhabitants of this country mentioned by *Ptolemy* are the *Lycaones* and *Anthemisenii* towards *Lycia*, the *Cyddeses* or *Cydisses* towards *Bithynia*, and between these the *Peltini* or *Speltini*, the *Moxiani*, *Phylacenses* and *Hierapolitæ*. To these we may add, the *Berecynes* mentioned by *Strabo*. The country is commonly divided into the greater and lesser *Phrygia*, called also *Troas*; which division did not take place till *Troas* was subdued by the *Phrygians*.

The origin of the name undetermined.

Its divisions.

* Plut. de fluv. & Laert. in Democrit. † Boch. Phaleg. l. 3.
Strab. l. 12, 13. Diod. l. 3. ‡ L. 2. in Eutrop.

In the reign of *Constantine* the Great, the greater *Phrygia* was divided into two governments, the one called *Phrygia Pacatiana*, and the other *Phrygia Salutaris*.

Its soil and climate.

Being for the most part a plain country, covered with a deep rich soil, and plentifully watered by small rivers, it abounded in all sorts of grains. It was also well stocked with cattle, having large plains and pasture grounds. The air was antiently reckoned most pure and wholesome, though it is now in some parts thought extremely gross, great part of the country lying uncultivated, owing to the oppressive government of the *Turks*.

The cities of note.

The cities of note in *Phrygia Major* were, *Apamea*, seated at the confluence of the *Marsyas* and *Mæander*, a famous mart, and the metropolis of all *Phrygia*, till the above-mentioned division of *Constantine* took place. It was built by *Antiochus Soter*, and named from his mother *Apamea*, having also the appellation of *Cibotos*, or ark, to distinguish it from eight other cities of the same name in other countries.

Laodicea, now *Eskihissar*, seated on the banks of the river *Lycus*, a few miles south west from *Apamea*. It was first called *Diospolis*, afterwards *Rheas*, and at last *Diacæsarea*, and *Laodicea*. This city was famous for its wool, which was universally preferred, on account of its softness, and was besides of a very extraordinary blackness. With this the inhabitants carried on a very considerable trade, and were accounted the most wealthy people of all *Asia Minor*. A few ruins only of this once populous and flourishing city are now to be seen*. *Hierapolis*, now called *Bambakkale*, stood about twenty miles north from *Laodicea*. It was famous for its mineral waters, which, according to *Strabo*, petrified within the space of a year, when exposed to the air, and yet were endued with such a virtue, as to render the fields they watered exceeding fruitful, and afford a present remedy against innumerable distempers to such as used them. Some footsteps of what it once was are to be seen in the many heaps of ruins and fine pillars in the fields where it stood†.

On the borders of *Phrygia* towards *Cappadocia* stood *Gordium*, the seat of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*, and famous for the *Gordian* knot, which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. Not long after the death of *Gordius* it was reduced to a poor beggarly village, as *Strabo* calls it, and continued in this despicable condition till the triumvirate of *Augustus*, when it was again made a city, and called *Juliopolis*, by one *Cleo*, famous robber, native of that place, who raised his fortune by serving with his troop of banditti sometimes the chief of one party, and sometimes the chief of another‡.

* Spon's Account of the Seven Churches, l. 3.
l. 13. sub fin. † Id. l. 12.

† Strabo

Colosse, now *Chonos*, on the south side of the *Mæander*, to the inhabitants of which *St. Paul* wrote that epistle which is part of our canon.

Sipylus, the residence of king *Tantalus*, and therefore called also *Tantalus*. It is observable, that four cities, namely, *Sipylus*, *Archæopolis*, *Colpe*, and *Lebade*, were successively built on the same spot, and destroyed by earthquakes.

Synnada, noted for its marble quarries, was, by *Constantine* the Great, declared the metropolis of *Phrygia Salutaris*.

Besides these and several other cities of less note, mentioned by the antients, there were in later times some of no small account, such as *Sagua*, where the father of *Ottomon*, first king of the *Turks*, resided; *Chara-chisar*, by the Greeks called *Melampyrus*, or the black tower, *Cilleuxa*, *Einégiol*, &c.

Among the most remarkable rivers of this country is the *Mæander*, now *Madre* and *Mindre*, so celebrated by the antients for its windings and turnings that all obliquities are from thence called *Mæanders*. According to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, it rises from a lake on the top of the hill *Celænæ*, and after 600 windings, by which it seems to flow back to its fountain head, empties itself into the *Archipelago*, between *Priene* and *Miletus*. The chief rivers.

From the same source flows the river *Marsyas*, which at first falls with great noise between rugged rocks and precipices, and afterwards joins the *Mæander* at *Apamea*. The river *Lycus* springs from mount *Olympus*, and discharges itself also into the *Mæander*, a little below *Laodicea*. *Sangarius* or *Sangaris*, springs from the hill *Dyndymus*, washes *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, and empties itself into the *Black sea*. *Phryx*, now *Sarabat*, divides *Phrygia* from *Caria*, and disembogues itself into the *Hermus*. This river, much celebrated by the poets for its golden sands, takes its rise near *Dorylaum*, and falls into the *Archipelago* near *Smyrna*. There are also *Mysias*, *Orga*, *Obri-ma*, and several others.

The *Phrygians* deemed themselves the most antient people in the world, and were even looked upon as such by the *Egyptians* in the time of *Psammitichus*, who thought the dispute fully determined by the accents uttered by the children nourished by goats, which expressions in the *Phrygian* language were found to signify bread *. The antiquity of the Phrygians.

As to the origin of the *Phrygians*, some suppose them descended from *Togarmah*, one of *Gomer's* sons; and of this opinion are *Josephus* and *St. Jerom*, who add, that they were known to the *Hebrews* under the name of *Tigrammanes*. *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Eustathius*, led by the similitude of names, a deceitful guide, derive them from the *Brygians*, a people of *Macedonia*, who passed over into *Asia Minor*. But allowing the *Brygians* and *Phrygians* to be the same people, it is more Their origin.

* *Diod. Sic. l. i.*

probable that they peopled *Phrygia* before they passed into *Macedonia*. According to *Bochart*, *Gomer* planted *Phrygia*, which word is the Greek translation of his name. *Josephus* makes *Gomer* the 'father of the *Galatians*, but by the *Galatians* he must necessarily mean the *Phrygians* inhabiting that country, afterwards possessed by the *Galatians*. According to the best authorities we may therefore look upon them as the descendants of *Gomer*.

Their character,

They are described as a superstitious, voluptuous, and effeminate race, without any prudence or forecast, and of such a servile temper, that nothing but stripes and ill usage could make them comply with their duty. They are said to have been the first inventors of divination, by the singing, flying, and feeding of birds. Their music, commonly called the *Phrygian* mood, is alleged by some as an argument of their effeminacy.

Government,

Their government was monarchical; but some time before the *Trojan* war we find the country divided into several petty kingdoms, and read of divers princes reigning at the same time. That *Phrygia* was subdued either by *Ninus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, or by the *Amazons*, as we read in *Suidas*, is not sufficiently warranted. *Gordius*, we are told, was chosen king, by the advice of an oracle, as the best means to put an end to their intestine broils, whence we may conclude, that some time before his accession to the crown an aristocratical, or democratical form of government had been introduced.

Trade and

Their trade must have been considerable, for *Apamea* was the chief emporium of all *Asia Minor*, and was resorted to by merchants from the neighbouring islands. *Syncellus* informs us, that the *Phrygians* were for 28 years masters of the sea, on which element none but trading nations ever prevailed. The country was stocked with many choice and useful commodities, and was well able to afford considerable exports.

Language.

We have no set form of their laws; and as to their learning, we may, from what has been said, allow them a competent skill in geography, geometry, and astronomy; and add to these, a more than ordinary knowledge of music. Their language, according to the opinion of some, bore a great resemblance to the Greek; but the contrary is manifest, from the few *Phrygian* words that have been transmitted to us, and carefully collected by *Bochart* and *Rudbeckius*. *Strabo* likewise declares, that it is difficult to discover any similitude betwixt the two languages. *Gothofredus Lakemaherus*, after observing that *Homer* in several passages distinguishes the language of the Gods from that of men, endeavours to shew that the poet, by the language of the Gods, meant the Greek, and by that of men the *Phrygian*.

Their religion.

The antient *Phrygians* were a very superstitious people, and had many idols; but the goddess *Cybele* seems to have been their principal deity. She was called *Cybele*, *Berecynthia*, *Dyndymene*, from *Cybelus*, *Berecynthius*, *Dyndymenus*, all hills of *Phrygia*, and *Idæa* from mount *Ida* in *Troas*, because on these hills she was worshiped in a particular manner. Our readers

Cybele their chief deity.

will

will find the fabulous genealogy of this goddess in *Arnobitus* *, *Eusebius* †, *Livy* and *Ovid* ‡, which is full of absurdity and contradiction. She was pictured sitting in a chariot drawn by four lions, crowned with towers, holding a key in her hand, and attired with a garment, seeded with flowers of different colours. The mythologists by *Cybele* mean the earth, taking her crown of towers to be an emblem of the towns and cities built thereon. By the key is meant that the earth, which, during the winter, is in a manner locked up, begins to open in the spring, and the seeds to shoot up. Her garment, variegated with flowers of divers colours, is a symbol of the earth, beautifully enamelled with all kinds of flowers. The lions that draw her chariot denote her empire over all sorts of animals, which she both produces and nourishes. Finally, *Saturn*, that is Time, is supposed to be her husband, to signify that the earth produces nothing but in time. *Eusebius* and others are of opinion, that *Cybele* was a woman famous for remedies against such distempers as young children are subject to, and that on this skill or knowledge are grounded all the stories that are related of her.

Cybele had her peculiar priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices. Her priests were called in the *Phrygian* language *Cubeboi*, because when seized with their frantic fits they used to throw themselves on their heads. The *Greeks* and *Latins* named them *Curetes*, *Corybantes*, which is the Greek translation of the word *Cubeboi*, and *Galli*, from the river *Gallus*, flowing through *Pessinus*, where she had a magnificent temple. They were also stiled *Idæi dactyli*, being called *Idæi*, according to *Sophocles*, as quoted by *Strabo*, because they inhabited mount *Ida*, and *Dactyli* from the Greek word *dactylus*, signifying a finger, they being at first ten, the number of a man's fingers. *Herodotus* brings the *Curetes* out of *Phœnicia* with *Cadmus*. *Bochart* brings them from *Palestine*, and thinks they had the name of *Curetes* from the *Crethim* or *Cerethites* among the *Philistines*; and Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion that having followed *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, they settled some in *Phrygia*, some in *Crete*, in *Rhodes*, in *Samothrace*, in *Eubœa*, in *Lemnos*, and in *Ætolia*, under different names. These *Curetes* making themselves armour, used to dance in it at the sacrifices with great noise of pipes, and drums, and swords, which they struck upon one another's armour, keeping time, and forming some kind of harmony, which is reckoned the origin of music in *Greece*, both by *Solinus* and *Isidorus*.

Her
priests, ce-
remonies,
and sacri-
fices.

The ceremonies performed by them in honour of their goddesses were the following: at stated times they used to carry her statue about the streets, dancing and skipping round it, and after they had with violent gesticulations worked themselves

* Contra gentes, l. 8. † Præpar. Evang. l. ii. 4. ‡ Liv. Dec. iii. l. 9. Ovid's Fasti.

up to the height of frenzy, they began to cut and slash their bodies with knives and lancets, appearing seized with a divine fury. They also annually wrapped up a pine tree in wool, and with great solemnity carried it into the temple of the goddess, which ceremonies were used in commemoration of her bewailing the untimely death of her favourite *Attis*, who had laid violent hands on himself. The victims immolated in honour of the *Phrygian* goddess, were a bull, or a she-goat, whence the sacrifice was called *Taurobolium*, or *Criobolium*. At *Rome*, a sow was yearly sacrificed to her, and the ceremony performed by a priest or priestess sent for out of *Phrygia* on that occasion. Her priests (those at least who were known under the name of *Galli*) were all eunuchs. They abstained from bread, and were not allowed to drink wine. They held oaths to be unlawful on all occasions, which tenet, some tell us, was common to all the *Phrygians*.

Other
deities of
the *Phry-*
gians.

Besides *Cybele*, who was the peculiar deity of *Phrygia*, the *Phrygians* had divers other idols. *Apollodorus* relates, that while *Bacchus* was travelling through *Phrygia*, he was purified by *Cybele*, instructed in her mysteries, and presented by her with a stole, which was the first he ever used. The *Phrygians* stiled him *Sabazios*, and his priests and temples *Saboi*. *Adagyus* was another of their gods, and is supposed by *Bochart* to be *Hermaphroditus*, the son of *Venus* and *Mercury*. The *Cabiri* or *Cabires* are by some also supposed *Phrygian* deities, and to have taken their name from *Cabyrus*, a hill in *Phrygia*; but *Bochart*, with more appearance of truth, derives their name from the *Hebrew* word *Cabir*, signifying great or powerful. Some confine the number of the *Cabiri* to two, namely, *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, but *Mnaseas* enumerates four, *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Pluto*, and *Mercury*.

Their
history.

We have no where among antient writers any regular and connected account of the *Phrygian* kings. A few scattered relations concerning them we meet with in different authors; but not sufficient to enable us to fix the date of their reigns and actions with any certainty.

Nannacus.

The first king of *Phrygia* we find mentioned in history is *Nannacus*, *Annacus*, or *Cannacas*, who, according to *Suidas*, reigned before the flood of *Deucalion*. He lived to a very great age, for it is recorded of him, that when he was above 300 years old, he sent to enquire of all such oracles as were in any repute, how long he should live. The oracles unanimously answered, that at his death all things were to perish; whereupon, repairing with his subjects to the temples of the gods, he strove with many sighs and tears to appease their wrath, and avert the impending calamities; whence to weep like *Nannacus* became a trite expression, to signify an extraordinary grief or sorrow. Not long after *Nannacus* died, and the flood of *Deucalion* ensued, which was attended with the destruction of mankind.

Midas appears next, of whom all we can say is, that he re-*Midas.*
sided at *Pessinus*, where, according to *Diodorus*, he built a mag-
nificent temple, and appointed yearly sacrifices to be performed
there in honour of *Cybele*, who, according to *Hyginus*, was
his mother.

The next king we read of is *Manis*, a prince, as *Plutarch* in-*Manis.*
forms us, of such prowess and virtue, that the word *Manic*,
derived from his name, became synonymous with *great* among
the *Phrygians*.

After these reigned *Gordius*, who was raised from the plough *Gordius.*
to the throne. It is said, that while he was one day ploughing,
an eagle settled on the yoke, and continued there all day. The
art of divining being in a manner hereditary to all the inhabi-
tants of *Telmessus*, a city of *Lydia*, he went thither to have the
prodigy explained, and upon his approaching the city, was met
by a most beautiful young woman, who entering into conver-
sation with him, and being informed of the prodigy, told him,
that nothing less than a kingdom was presaged by it, and there-
withal offered herself ready to share with him in wedlock, the
hopes which she had inspired him with. This offer seemed to
him the greatest happiness that could attend a crown; he there-
fore readily complied with her request, gratifying at the same
time his own inclination. Not long after, civil commotions
breaking out among the *Phrygians*, they were advised by the
oracles, as the most proper means of restoring tranquillity, to
commit the government to a king, and to confer the crown on
the first man who should visit in a cart the temple of *Jupiter*,
after their return. The ambassadors had scarce delivered the
answer of the oracle, when *Gordius* appeared riding in his
cart, and was immediately proclaimed king of *Phrygia*. *Gor-*
dus acknowledging the crown from *Jupiter*, consecrated in his
temple the cart to *regal majesty*, which was adored as a god-
dess by the *Phrygians*, and other nations. To the beam of
the cart he fastened a knot, woven with so much art and so
perplexed, that the monarchy of the world was promised by
the oracles to him who should untie it. *Alexander* the Great
having attempted in vain to unloose it, cut it at last with his
sword, and thereby either fulfilled or eluded the oracle. *Gor-*
dus built the city of *Gordium*, which was his residence, and
that of all the princes of the *Gordian* family.

He was succeeded by his son *Midas*, of whom it was recorded *Midas II.*
that when he was a child a swarm of ants was observed very
busy one day while he was asleep, in conveying their stores of
wheat into his mouth, which was interpreted by the oracles
to presage immense riches. The prediction was compleatly
fulfilled, for by all the antients he is said to have been one of
the richest princes that ever reigned. *Strabo* says, he drew vast
treasures from mines of metal on mount *Bermius*. He is said
by *Arrian* and *Justin* to have been instructed by *Orpheus* in the
mysteries of religion, and to have filled *Phrygia* with new
deities, temples, priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices. He intro-
duced

duced the custom of mourning for the dead; and by annually renewing his lamentations over his deceased mother, brought the *Phrygians* by degrees to worship her as a goddess *. *Cleobulus Lyndius*, one of the seven sages of *Greece*, honoured his monument with an epitaph, which is falsely ascribed to *Homer* †. By his wife, named *Hermodica*, who is greatly celebrated by *Heraclides*, for her beauty and wisdom, he had three sons, *Gordius*, *Ancharas*, and *Otreus*. Nothing has rendered his name more famous than the Greek proverb, *Midas has asses ears*; but what gave rise to this saying is variously alleged. The poets tell us, that in a trial of skill between *Pan* and *Apollo*, rivals in the art of music, *Midas* injudiciously gave the preference to *Pan*, whereupon *Apollo* clapt a pair of asses ears on his head. But, according to *Conon*, *Midas*, to secure himself in the possession of *Phrygia*, employed a great many spies, who told him whatever his subjects spoke of him, which occasioned the saying, that *he had long ears*, or the ears of asses, who are said to be endowed with a sense of hearing superior to all other animals ‡.

Gordius II. After *Midas* reigned his eldest son *Gordius*, concerning whom it is only said that he surrounded the city *Gordium* with a wall. His brother *Ancharus* is celebrated for the love he bore his country, having even sacrificed his life for the public welfare, by leaping into a destructive gulf, which the oracle had declared would not close till the most valuable thing in human life were thrown into it. His example was long after followed in a parallel case by *Curtius* the Roman.

Otreus. *Otreus* is stiled by *Homer* king of all *Phrygia*, and said to have been contemporary with *Anchises*, whence we may conclude he succeeded his brother *Gordius*.

Lityerses. *Lityerses* reigned at *Celænæ*, and is described as a rustic, unfociable, and inhuman tyrant. *Sositheus*, the tragedian, paints him as one of an insatiable and canine appetite, having in one day, as this poet writes, emptied three large baskets of bread, and drank out twelve gallons of wine. For his cruelties he was put to death by *Hercules*; however, his memory was cherished by the reapers of *Phrygia*, for reaping was his favourite employment.

Midas III. *Midas III.* is next mentioned as king of all *Phrygia*. He usurped the throne in the following manner. One night, under pretence of offering a solemn sacrifice to the gods, he marched out of the town of *Gordium*, attended by a great company of *Phrygians*, playing on all sorts of musical instruments, but at the same time with swords and daggers concealed under their garments. The citizens, led by their curiosity, and not suspecting any treachery, followed them out of the town, when the conspirators all on a sudden fell upon them sword in

* Suidas ελεγος.
vit. Planud.

† Plat. in Phæd. Laer. in Cleob. Plut. in
‡ Conon apud Phot. Bibliot.

hand, seized the city, and, in the terror and confusion, no body daring to oppose them, they proclaimed *Midas* king of *Phrygia* *.

He was succeeded by *Gordius* III. whose son *Midas* IV. reign- *Gordius*
ed next. He was the first among foreign princes that sent do- III.
nations to the oracle of *Delphi*, and the present that he sent, *Midas* IV.
which was a seat or tribunal, is commended by *Herodotus*, in
whose time it was to be seen, as a piece of most exquisite work-
manship.

In the reign of *Midas* V. who is next mentioned, the *Cim-* *Midas* V.
merians being driven out of *Europe* by the *Scythians*, invaded
Asia Minor, possessed themselves of *Sardis*, and made a most
dreadful havock of the *Lydians*, *Paphlagonians*, and *Phrygians*. *Bef. Ch.*
Midas not finding himself in a condition to oppose so powerful 635.
an enemy, and foreseeing the many evils with which he was
threatned, thought best to prevent them by putting an end to
his unhappy days, by drinking off a large cup of bull's
blood †. And this is the first time we find this sort of death
mentioned in history. *Adrastus*, the son of *Midas*, having unfor-
tunately killed his brother, was banished from *Phrygia*, and
repaired to the court of *Cræsus*, king of *Lydia*, who received
him with the greatest hospitality. Happening accidentally like-
wise to kill *Atys*, the favourite son of *Cræsus*, he was so grieved,
that he laid violent hands on himself ‡. In him ended the
royal family of *Phrygia*, which then became a province of the
Lydian monarchy, till *Cræsus* was conquered by *Cyrus*.

* * * * *

S E C T. III.

The history of PHRYGIA MINOR.

THIS tract was antiently stiled *Troas*, *Teucria*, and *Dar-* Its diffe-
dania, from kings that reigned in that country. It was also rent
named *Idæa*, from mount *Ida*, and *Phrygia* from the *Phrygians*, names.
who were masters of great part of it, some say before, others
after, the destruction of *Troy*.

The country was divided into two parts; 1. The ma- Its divi-
ritime, called *Hellepontica*, from the *Hellepont* extending sions.
along the coast from the town of *Percote* to the promontory
Leëtum or *Leëtôn*, opposite to the north side of the island *Lesbos*.
This part was properly called *Troas*, though the *Trojan* king-
dom extended from the river *Asopus* to the *Caicus*, including not
only *Troas* but the greater and lesser *Mysia* ||. 2. The inland
part, called *Epiëtetus*, extended to the neighbourhood of mount
Olympus in the greater *Mysia*.

Phrygia Minor, as comprehending both these provinces, was Chief ci-
bounded on the north by the *Propontis*, on the south by the ties.
Ægean sea, on the east by *Mysia Minor*, and on the west by the
Hellepont. On the coast were the cities of *Percote*, *Abydus*,

* Polyæn. Strat. l. 7.

† Strabo l. 1.

Eustath: in Odyf. λ.

‡ Herod. l. 1.

|| Strabo l. 13.

Troy.

Ruins to
be seen at
Troy.

Its rivers.

Arisba, *Dardanum*, *Rheteum*, *Sigeum*, *Troy* or *Ilium*, *Larissa*, *Colonaë*, *Alexandria*, and *Troas*. At *Abydus*, famous for the poetical story of *Hero* and *Leander*, *Xerxes* built his bridge over the *Hellepont*, and most of *Alexander's* army landed when he invaded *Asia*. *Arisba* was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of *Alexander's* army, after he had passed the *Hellepont*. *Dardanum* was built by king *Dardanus*, and it is supposed by some that the *Dardanelles* borrowed their name from this city. *Troy* or *Ilium*, a city of great fame, and made immortal by the inimitable poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, was built by *Tros* king of that country, who called it *Troy* from his own name, and *Ilium* from that of his son *Ilus*. It was seated on a rising ground near mount *Ida*, and about five miles from the shore. There were scarce any remains of it in the time of *Strabo*, who says, that the new *Ilium* was 30 furlongs nearer the shore than the antient city. This new city was reduced to a village in the time of *Alexander* the Great, who caused the buildings to be repaired, and to be surrounded with a wall 40 furlongs in circumference. When the *Romans* first entered *Asia*, the new city was again become a village. As they pretended to be the genuine offspring of the antient *Trojans*, no cost nor pains were spared to restore it to its antient lustre, especially in the time of the *Cæsars*. *Augustus* sent thither a colony, embellished the city with many stately buildings, and enriched it with most ample privileges and exemptions. And of this *Ilium* are, without all doubt, the ruins there to be seen at present. *Bellonius* tells us, that he spent four hours in compassing the walls which were standing in his time, with the ruinous monuments of their turrets. Round the walls, he observed many marble tombs of most exquisite workmanship, with their covers entire. As to the so much celebrated rivers, *Xanthus* and *Simois*, he calls them small brooks, and adds, that in summer time they are quite dry; but *Sandys* thinks they are not so contemptible as *Bellonius* makes them. *Le Brun* speaks of great remains of a most noble structure which he visited at the distance of about five miles from the coast. The four gates of this great edifice at that time entire, were about 45 feet in height, and near them stood a wall of an extraordinary thickness, with 14 gates of a competent size. The vestiges of this magnificent structure took up 130 feet in length, and 100 in breadth. The harbour of *Troy*, so much spoken of by the antients, is now quite choaked up with sand.

The rivers which watered *Phrygia Minor* were the *Scamander* and *Simois*, greater, as *Mela* writes, by fame than by nature. The *Scamander* rises from mount *Ida*, and having received within its banks the *Simois*, which rises from the same mountain, discharges itself into the *Ægean* sea over against the island of *Tenedos*. It is said by *Herodotus* to have been drank up by the army of *Xerxes*. It was a custom among the *Phrygian* brides to bathe themselves before marriage in this river, using on that

occa-

occasion the following words; *Receive, O Scamander, my virginity.* But one *Cimon*, an *Athenian*, disguising himself like a river-god, and deflowering *Callirhoe*, a noble virgin, at that time betrothed when she came to the river, the superstitious ceremony was thereupon abrogated.

Ida is the only mountain of this country that deserves notice. Mount *Ida*. It is rather a ridge of hills than a single mountain; for it extends almost from the borders of *Mysia Minor* to the promontory *Leſtan*. The soil of this country was antiently extremely fertile, and at this day there are not wanting sufficient indications thereof, though it is now in part uncultivated and neglected.

Over-against *Troy* lay *Tenedos*, about two leagues from the shore. It was about eighteen leagues in circumference, had one city and two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Apollo Sminthius*. *Tenedos*. It was first called *Leucophrys*, and afterwards *Tenedos*, from *Tenes*, who carried a colony thither from the continent a little before the *Trojan* war. After the fall of *Troy*, *Pausanias* relates that the inhabitants were brought so low, that they gave themselves up to their neighbours. It has since been under the dominion of the *Persians*, *Athenians*, *Romans*, *Venetians*, and *Turks*.

Authors are not at all agreed as to the origin of the *Trojans*, The origin of the who were, without all doubt, a very antient people. Some make them *Samothracians* by descent; others *Greeks*, and tell inhabitants of us, that *Teucer*, according to them the first king of *Troy*, was by birth an *Athenian*. Some derive them from the island of *Lesser Crete*, from whence they suppose *Phrygia Minor* to have been *Phrygia*. peopled. Some will have them descended from the *Arcadians*; and others even of the *Italians*; which last opinion, tho' destitute of all probability, was embraced by *Virgil*, as most redounding to the glory of that country, and perhaps current among the *Romans* in his days. *Bochart* thinks that *Lesser Phrygia* was planted by *Askenaz*, the eldest son of *Gomer*, there being the footsteps of his name in the *Ascanian* lake, the city *Ascania* in *Lesser Phrygia*, and in the *Ascanian* islands on that coast. Besides *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, *Homer* mentions a king of that name who was at the siege of *Troy*. The *Pontus Euxinus*, he observes, was at first called by the *Greeks* *Axenus*, which he supposes to be a corruption of *the sea of Askenaz*. But whoever were the first inhabitants of this country, it is certain that in process of time their blood was mixed with that of foreigners, namely, of *Mysians*, *Samothracians*, *Greeks*, and *Cretans*.

As to their government, it appears to have been monarchical. Their government. and hereditary; for from *Dardanus* to *Priam* we find the father constantly succeeded by the son, or the elder brother by the younger. Their country, like most others, was at first parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; but in length of time these were either driven out by, or made tributary to, the *Trojan* kings; insomuch, that *Strabo* enumerates no fewer than nine

nine small kingdoms or principalities subject to *Troy*, besides the island of *Lesbos*. The *Trojans* themselves, according to *Ctesias* and *Diodorus Siculus*, were tributary to the *Assyrians*: but *Philostratus* tells us, in express terms, that they were allies, and no-ways vassals to that monarchy.

Religion.

Having no particular system of their laws, we shall therefore pass to their religion, which was in substance hardly different from that of the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, already described. Besides *Cybele*, whom they worshiped on mount *Ida*, they likewise adored *Apollo*, who had a temple in the citadel of *Troy* called *Pergamus*. In the citadel was also a temple to *Minerva*, whose statue, called the *Palladium*, was supposed to have fallen from Heaven into the temple before it was covered. This was a small wooden image of the goddess, holding in one hand a buckler, and a spear in the other, so contrived that they might be moved. The eyes likewise were made to roll in a threatening manner. The oracle declared, that the city of *Troy* could not be taken so long as it enjoyed this heavenly gift; which coming to the knowledge of the *Greeks*, *Ulysses* and *Diomedes* entered the city, under pretence of an embassy, and found means of stealing it away. All the *Roman* writers, however, assure us, that this *Palladium* was brought into *Italy* by *Æneas*, lodged first at *Lavinium*, afterwards at *Alba*, and at last removed to *Rome*, and deposited there in the temple of *Vesta*. The *Romans*, however, tho' they universally believed themselves masters of the true *Palladium*, could never shew how they came by it: for to say it was in *Troy* when the city was taken, is the same as to deny its boasted virtue of rendering the city impregnable in which it was lodged; and on the other hand, if the *Greeks* took it away, *Æneas* could not bring it with him into *Italy*. Some indeed allege, that the *Greeks* being warned by an oracle, restored it to *Æneas* after the city was taken. The opinions among the antients about this famous idol were very various. According to *Apollodorus*, when *Ilus* first builded the city, *Jupiter* being requested to signify his approbation, sent the *Palladium*. Others say, that *Chrysis*, daughter of *Pallas*, marrying *Dardanus*, brought him the *Palladium*, as part of her fortune*. *Lycophron* seems to insinuate, that the *Palladium* was a *Phœnician* goddess. Others say that it was made by a certain mathematician, and covered over with a human skin†.

Venus also is counted among the *Trojan* deities: but as to *Vesta*, whom *Æneas* is said by the poets to have carried into *Italy* with his household gods, we find not any footsteps of worship paid to her at *Troy*.

Among their other deities, we find mention made of *Apollo Sminthius*, so stiled from the *Phrygian* word *Sminthos*, signifying a field-mouse; this god, when worshiped by them, having delivered them from that sort of vermin, which had made a great

* Vide Rosin. Roman Antiq. Syntag. 11.

† Selden de diis Syr.

devastation in their fields. They also built a temple to him in *Amaxito*, a city of *Troas*, and by degrees his worship was introduced into *Mysia*, the isle of *Tenedos*, and other countries. The religious ceremonies of the *Trojans* may be supposed to have been much the same with those of the inhabitants of *Phrygia Major*.

The character we have of the *Trojans* is, that they were a brave and warlike people. They seem to have entertained a fond veneration for their deities, and a great respect for their princes. Their character,

We can say nothing particular touching the customs of the *Trojans*, their civil concerns, or their arts and learning. They are celebrated by the antients as one of the most polite and civilized nations of those days; and in the reigns of their later kings, those great encouragers of art and industry, arose to a very considerable pitch of splendor and magnificence. Their language was, in all likelihood, the same that was spoken by the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*. Their trade can only be guessed at from their situation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country. Their settlements in *Thrace*, in *Peloponnesus*, in *Sicily* *, in *Italy* †, in *Egypt* ‡, and in *Afric* §, are a convincing proof that they applied themselves pretty early to trade and navigation, which, in all likelihood, were the sources of the riches, splendor, and power, wherein they far excelled all the states round them. language and trade.

The first periods of the *Trojan* history are altogether fabulous and uncertain; nor are authors agreed in their accounts of *Teucer* and *Dardanus*, who are generally supposed the founders of the nation. *Servius* mentions out of *Nero's Troica* one *Cynthia*, king of *Troas*, long before *Teucer*, who is said by some to have been one of his descendants, and the son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, that is, born in *Phrygia* near the river *Scamander* and mount *Ida*. He ruled over all *Troas*, or *Phrygia Minor*, and is said to have been very fortunate and successful in all his undertakings; but what they were we find no-where specified. Having no issue male, he married his only daughter, by some called *Basia*, by others *Asia*, by others *Aarisba*, to *Dardanus*, settling the crown of *Phrygia* on him and his descendants. From this account he ought not to be reckoned the founder of the *Trojan* kingdom, but the last of a long series of kings, prior to those of the *Dardanian* family sprung from *Dardanus* and *Basia*. From *Teucer* the country obtained the name of *Teucris* ||. Others, however, following the opinion of *Virgil* †, suppose that *Teucer* was the son of *Scamander*, a native of *Crete*, from which island he retired, in the time of a great famine, with the third part of the inhabitants, and landing near the *Rhetæan*

* Pausan. l. 2 & 5.

† Strab. l. 6.

‡ Diod. Sic. l. 1.

§ Herod. 4.

|| Diod. Sic.

† Æneid iii. v. 104.

promontory, there built a city, in compliance with the oracle, which had ordered him to fix where he should be attacked in the night-time by an enemy sprung from the earth. This oracle he thought fulfilled by the vast numbers of mice that had annoyed him at his first landing; and immediately raised a temple to *Apollo Sminthius*, who was pictured treading under foot a mouse.

Dardanus. *Teucer* was succeeded by *Dardanus*, the son of *Corytus* king of *Samothrace*, and of *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas*. *Dardanus* succeeded to the throne of *Samothrace*, where he erected a stately temple, and instituted religious rites and ceremonies in honour of *Pallas* and the other gods, whose statues his first wife *Chrysis* had brought with her as part of her fortune. Having also enacted many excellent laws, and gained the reputation of a wise, just, and religious prince, he was invited to come over into *Phrygia* by *Teucer*, who, being stricken in years, gave him in marriage his only daughter *Basia*, and appointed him his heir and successor to the kingdom of *Phrygia*, which, after the death of *Teucer*, he ruled with the same moderation, equity, and religion, as he had done that of *Samothrace*. He was engaged in war with the neighbouring states, and extended the boundaries of his new kingdom by considerable acquisitions. Having built two cities, named *Dardania* and *Thymbra*, and settled the civil concerns of the kingdom, he applied himself intirely to religious matters. The *Palladium*, or, as others will have it, the *Palladiums*, were, by his orders, brought over into *Phrygia*; and as for the other images, they were left in *Samothrace* till the death of his brother *Iasius*, who governed that island in his absence. In what has been said we have followed *Homer*, *Manetho*, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Eusebius*, *Grillus*, *Cedrenus*, *Joannes Tzetzes*, &c. But *Virgil* and the poets, to flatter *Augustus*, make *Dardanus* the son of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, and affirm, that he went from *Hetruria*, or *Tuscany*, where his father was king, to *Phrygia* *. *Dardanus*, by his first wife *Chrysis*, an *Arcadian*, had two sons, *Idmus* and *Dimas*. By *Basia*, the daughter of *Teucer*, he had *Zacynthus* and *Erichthonius*. *Idmus* and *Dimas* inherited the territory of their grandfather in *Arcadia*, from whence, on account of the frequent inundations, they retired with colonies to *Asia*. *Zacynthus* planted a colony of *Phrygians* in an island of the *Ionian* sea, which he called by his own name. His only sister *Harmonia* married *Cadmus* founder of the *Theban* kingdom.

Erichthonius.

Dardanus, after reigning 64 or 65 years in *Phrygia*, was succeeded by his son *Erichthonius*, who, treading in the footsteps of his father, was revered by his subjects, and greatly respected by all the neighbouring princes. Being inclined to the arts of peace and maintaining a good understanding with his neighbours, he had an opportunity of heaping up immense riches,

* *Æn.* l. iii. v. 163. l. vii. v. 205.

which *Homer* takes notice of, without burdening the subject with taxes and impositions. After a reign of 46, according to some, or of 75 years, according to others, he left the kingdom of *Phrygia* to his only son *Tros* in a most flourishing condition.

In the very beginning of his reign *Tros* laid the foundations of *Tros*. a city, which soon became the most famous of all *Asia*. All the neighbouring princes, except *Tantalus* king of *Sipylus*, being invited to assist at the solemn dedication of the new city, the affronted monarch soon after wrecked his resentment upon the king's son *Ganymedes*, a youth of extraordinary beauty, and the darling of his father, who being sent with a splendid retinue to carry presents of great value to *Jupiter Europæus*, in passing thro' the territories of *Tantalus*, was not only detained, but abused by that vicious and impious king. This indignity the generous youth took so to heart, that he died soon after of pure grief. Others tell us that *Ganymedes* was killed in a battle against *Tantalus*, and his body not being found amongst the dead, the poets feigned that he had been taken up into Heaven by *Jupiter*; but the fable, according to *Natales Comes*, was invented by the *Greeks*, to give a kind of sanction to the unnatural lust that greatly prevailed among them. *Tros* did not long outlive his beloved son: for the war against *Tantalus* proving unsuccessful, he was so loaded with affliction, that he died, in the 60th, or, according to others, in the 49th year of his reign. By his wife *Acalide*, or *Callirhoe*, he had three sons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Affaracus*, and one daughter, named *Cleomnestra*, or *Cleopatra*.

From these were descended the chief commanders of the *Tro-* The progeny of
jan troops, whose names are of great renown in antient history: we shall therefore give a succinct account of the progeny of *Tros*.
of *Affaracus* and *Cleomnestra*, *Ganymedes* having died without issue, and *Ilus* having succeeded his father on the throne of *Phrygia*. *Affaracus* had one son, named *Capys*, from whom the city of *Caphia* in *Arcadia* borrowed its name. He married one *Themis*, by whom he had *Anchises*, who was famous for the comeliness of his person; which gave rise to the fable of his amours with *Venus*. *Troy*, during his life, was twice taken and plundered. In the first siege, he is said to have behaved with great gallantry; but in the time of the second, he was worn out with old age and infirmities, occasioned by the lewdness and dissoluteness of his youth, to which his blindness is also ascribed. He had two sons, *Æneas*, who carried him out of the city when it was in flames, and *Elymas*, and one daughter, named *Hippodamia*, married to *Alcathous*, who fell in battle by the hand of *Idomeneus*. *Elymus*, according to *Suidas*, imparted his name to the *Elymei*, a people of *Sicily*. *Cleomnestra* had but one son, by name *Lyersus*, father to *Antenor*. As to *Lyersus*, antient history is quite silent; but *Antenor* is greatly commended for his prudence and wisdom. Being sent by *Priam* as an ambassador into *Greece*, the *Greeks* treated him more like a spy

spy than an ambassador; whereupon, returning to *Asia*, he inflamed *Priam* and his sons against that nation. However, some time after, he not only entertained in his house the *Greek* ambassadors that came to demand *Helena*, but protected them against the treacherous attempts of *Priam's* sons. He was sent on a second embassy to *Greece*, when, it is believed, he betrayed the trust reposed in him, as it is alleged he afterwards betrayed the city. It is agreed that the *Greeks*, when they stormed *Troy*, shewed a tender and friendly regard to him, and even caused the skin of a panther to be hung up before his gate, lest thro' mistake any violence should be offered to his house or person by the incensed soldiery. Many, however, clear him from all treachery, and put a more favourable construction on the kindness shewn him by the *Greeks*, saying, that they spared him merely in compliance with the laws of hospitality, which, in those days, were deemed sacred, even by the most savage nations. Be that as it will, the *Trojans* that remained in the country after the destruction of *Troy* were so prejudiced against him, that they obliged him to withdraw from *Troas*. He accordingly put to sea with a few *Trojans* and the *Heneti*, who were then driven out of *Paphlagonia*; and landing at the bottom of the *Adriatic* gulph, drove out the antient inhabitants, and settled his people in their room, under the common name of *Veneti*. He built a small town where he landed, and called it *Troy*, and is supposed also to have built *Padua*. *Antenor* had by his wife *Theano*, sister to *Hecuba*, *Iphidamas*, *Coon*, *Heliacon*, *Laodocus*, *Acamas*, *Archilocus*, *Polybus*, *Agenor*, *Laodamas*, *Demoleon*, *Glaucus*, and *Crino*. *Iphidamas* was brought up in *Thrace*, under the care of his grandfather, and came with twelve ships to the relief of *Troy*, where he was slain by *Agamemnon*, who also slew *Coon*, by whom he was dangerously wounded. *Heliacon* married *Laodice*, *Priam's* daughter. *Archilochus* and *Acamas* commanded, in conjunction with *Aeneas*, the troops of *Dardania*. *Agenor* attended *Hector* in his boldest undertakings, and was not afraid to encounter with *Achilles* himself. Nothing worth relating is mentioned of the others. As to *Theano*, *Antenor's* wife, *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* inform us, that she was the chief priestess of *Pallas*, and that she betrayed the *Palladium* to *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*.

Ilus succeeds to the crown of *Troy*.

Ilus, the eldest son of *Tros*, succeeded his father on the throne; and vigorously prosecuting the war against *Tantalus*, was so successful as to drive him out of *Asia*, and possess himself of his kingdom. *Pelops* the son of *Tantalus* having in vain endeavoured to recover his father's dominions, was obliged to follow him into *Greece*. *Ilus* having thus revenged the affront offered to his brother, applied himself intirely to civil affairs, and is said to have made a great many useful laws. He enlarged *Troy*, and adorned it with many stately buildings; and dying in the 40th year of his reign, left two sons, *Tithonus* and *Laomedon*.

Tithonus,

Tithonus, whom some believe to have been the son, and not His two the brother of *Laomedon*, was, from his earliest years, greatly sons, *Ti-* addicted to hunting; and betaking himself to a military life, *thonus* and went to serve among the *Assyrians*. His courage and conduct *Laomedon.* soon raised him to the first posts in the army, in which he acquitted himself so well, that he was ranked among the *Titanes*, or chief lords of the *Assyrian* monarchy, and made governor of *Persia*. When he heard that the *Greeks* had invaded *Phrygia*, he sent his son *Memnon*, at the head of a considerable body of chosen troops, to assist his countrymen, with the permission of *Teutamus* king of *Assyria*. *Memnon* was slain by the *Thessalians*; and soon after *Tithonus*, who was worn out with old age, died of grief. The comeliness of his person, his rising early in the morning, as being a great sportsman, the old age he lived to, and his pining away at last with grief, may have given rise to the many fables which the poets relate of him; which our readers may find in *Athenæus*, *Tzetzes*, *Natalis Comes*, and other mythologists.

His son *Memnon*, who was cut off before *Troy*, was a brave, wise, and experienced commander. He repulsed the *Ethiopians*, who had invaded *Egypt*; and having made them tributary to the *Egyptians*, and conquered part of their country, the *Egyptians* made him king of his conquests, and resigned the tribute to him. Returning to *Persia*, he was there made satrapa, or governor, and built the city *Susa*, and another, to which he imparted his own name. His statue near *Thebes* in *Egypt* was famous for the sound it was said to yield at the rising of the sun. *Pausanias* informs us that his sword was kept at *Nicomedia*, mentioning the fact as an argument to prove that the arms used by the antients were of brass. *Heliodorus* makes him the progenitor of the kings of *Ethiopia*. His brother *Emathion* lived with his uncle *Laomedon*, and was killed in the war that broke out between him and *Hercules*.

While *Tithonus* was serving the king of *Assyria*, his elder *Laomedon* brother *Laomedon* succeeded his father *Ilus* on the throne of succeeds *Phrygia*. He built the citadel of *Troy*, being assisted therein his father by *Apollo* and *Neptune*; that is, he carried on the work with *Ilus.* the treasures that were consecrated to them and lodged in their temples. Several inundations are said to have happened in his reign, and great numbers of the inhabitants to have been carried off by a plague, which were looked upon as punishments from the gods whose temples he had plundered. He treated *Troy* taken *Jason* and the other *Argonauts*, who had landed on the coast of by *Her-* *Troas*, in a very inhospitable manner; to revenge which affront, *cules.* *Hercules*, who was one of the *Argonauts*, returned, some time after, with twelve galleys to *Troy*, which he besieged, took and plundered, and slew *Laomedon*, and four of his sons. The poets feign that *Apollo* and *Neptune* built the walls of *Troy*; and being cheated of their wages by *Laomedon*, the one sent a plague, and the other drowned part of the country. *Laomedon*, to atone for his crime, exposed his daughter *Hesione* to a sea-monster,

monster, from which she was delivered by *Hercules*; but the king refusing him the reward he had promised, *Hercules* took *Troy*, killed the king, and gave *Hesione* in marriage to *Telamon*.

Priam
succeeds
Laomedon.

Priam, the only surviving son of *Laomedon*, succeeded to the throne, having been ransomed from the *Greeks* with a great sum of money. His first care, after his accession to the throne, was to encompass the city of *Troy* with a strong wall, to prevent such calamities as had happened in his father's reign. A mine of gold being discovered, in the beginning of his reign, near *Abydus*, he was thereby enabled to undertake and carry on many public works. He embellished the city with stately edifices, towers, castles, aqueducts, &c. Having reduced most of the neighbouring states, he was rather considered as sovereign of all *Asia Minor* than king of *Troas*. By his first wife *Arisba*, or *Alyxothoe*, he had but one son, named *Æsacus*; but by his second wife *Hecuba*, daughter to *Cisseus* king of *Thrace*, he had *Hector*, *Alexander* or *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, *Polites*, *Antiphus*, *Hipponous*, *Polydorus*, and *Troilus*; besides four daughters, *Creusa*, *Laodice*, *Polyxena*, and *Cassandra*. He had also many children by concubines, in all to the number of fifty.

Different
causes of
the *Trojan*
war.

His name will be ever memorable in history, for the war which happened in his reign between the *Greeks* and *Trojans*. As to the cause of this destructive war, it is agreed on all hands that the rape of *Helen* first kindled it; but what encouraged *Paris* to such an attempt, and induced his father *Priam* to stand by him, at the expence of so much blood and treasure, is not determined by antient writers. According to *Herodotus*, all the *Asiatics* had been long at enmity with the *Greeks*. The *Phœnicians* first carried off *Io*, daughter of *Inachus* king of *Argos*, with many other *Greek* women; and the *Greeks*, by way of reprisals, carried off *Europa*, daughter of the king of *Tyre*, and afterwards *Medea*, daughter to the king of *Colchis*; which encouraged *Paris*, in the next succeeding age, to ravish *Helen*; persuading himself that he should not be constrained to make any reparation. This relation, however, is frivolous, and seems invented by the *Persians*, to account for the animosity betwixt them and the *Greeks*. From *Thucydides* it is plain that the distinction of *Greeks* and *Barbarians* was not introduced even in *Homer's* time, and consequently highly improbable that the *Greeks* so long before, when they had not even one common name to distinguish themselves from other nations, should nevertheless look upon all of them as their enemies, by reason of an injury done by one. Others say that *Priam* sent two embassies to *Greece* to demand his sister *Hesione*, who was ill used by her husband *Telamon*; and that *Paris*, who went on the second embassy, was hospitably entertained by *Menelaus* king of *Sparta*; but nevertheless in his absence basely enticed away his wife. But it is hardly probable that *Priam* would send a solemn embassy to *Greece*, to claim his sister, after she had lived 30 years with her husband. We may therefore conclude, that *Paris* in ravishing

ravishing *Helen* never thought of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*; but falling in love with her, as she was the most beautiful woman in *Greece*, was prompted to do what in those days was commonly practised both by *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. Thus *Helen* herself had been stolen before by *Theseus*; and such practices of stealing women were so common, as *Thucydides* informs us, that none durst venture to live near the sea-coast. The same author tells us, that most of the princes of *Greece* being suitors to *Helen*, her father obliged them to bind themselves by an oath to rescue her, if she should be taken from her husband; and then giving her her free choice, she preferred *Menelaus*. Besides the oaths of those princes, the great power of *Agamemnon* doubtless influenced many of the *Greeks* to engage in the war, which was agreed to in a general assembly of all the princes of *Greece*; and this was the first enterprize the *Greeks* undertook with common consent. *Agamemnon* was appointed commander in chief of the whole army, and each prince was enjoined to send his quota of ships and troops to *Ægium*, a city in *Peloponnesus*, which was fixed upon for the place of the general rendezvous.

The best and most rational account we have of this great war, is that which we gather from *Homer*, whose historical accounts are attested and confirmed by most creditable historians, and by all the monuments of antiquity, namely, by the *Arundelian* marbles. *Homer* describes the state of *Greece* at that time, and informs us, that it was divided into a great many dynasties: he enumerates and names the several nations and princes that sided with the *Trojans*, and gives us an insight into the art of war practised in that age; discloses the laws and religion of the *Greeks*; gives us the character of their leaders; describes the situation of their country and cities, &c. all which are purely historical; so that his poems may deservedly be considered as the most antient history of the *Greeks*.

The number of ships employed by the *Greeks* in this expedition, according to *Euripides*, *Lycophron*, and *Virgil*, amounted to 1000. *Homer* enumerates 1186; and *Thucydides* raises the number to 1200. The *Beotian* ships, that were the largest, carried 120 men each; and those of the *Philoctetæ*, which were the smallest, carried 50 men each. Every man, excepting the commanders, was both a mariner and a soldier; so that supposing the fleet to have consisted of 1200 sail, carrying one with another 85 men, we shall find the *Greek* army to have been 102,000 men strong: no great army, considering that all the powers of *Greece*, except the *Acarnanes* alone, were engaged in this war. Against this army the *Trojans* held out ten years; but the *Trojans*, as *Homer* makes *Agamemnon* say, were not the tenth part of the enemies which the *Greeks* had to contend with; for all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and the greatest part of *Asia Minor*, sided with the *Trojans*; and *Rhesus* king of *Thrace* marched at the head of a considerable body to their assistance. Before the commencement of hostilities, the *Greeks* sent *Menelaus* and

Ulysses ambassadors to *Troy*, to demand *Helen* and the treasures which *Paris* had carried off with her. What answer they received we know not; but it is certain they returned without *Helen*, and highly dissatisfied with their reception at *Troy*.

Helen, according to some, never reached *Troy*.

According to the accounts of the *Egyptian* priests to *Herodotus*, *Helen* was not in *Troy*; but was detained in *Egypt*, whither her ravisher had been driven by stress of weather. *Proteus* the king of that country having ordered *Paris* to leave his dominions in three days, on pain of being treated as an enemy, took *Helen* and the treasures he had brought from *Greece* from him, in order to restore them to *Menelaus*. The *Greeks* thinking the *Trojans* only wanted to deceive them when they told them that *Helen* was never in their country, began the war; but after taking the city, *Helen* not being found, *Menelaus* then went into *Egypt*, where he was kindly entertained by *Proteus*, and had his wife restored to him. *Herodotus*, in proof of this tradition, alleges very reasonably, that if it had been in king *Priam's* power to restore *Helen*, he would certainly have done it, rather than suffer the unspeakable calamities that befel his family, his kingdom, and himself, during the course of the war. *Homer* even mentions the arrival of *Paris* and *Helen* in *Egypt*, and says that *Menelaus* went thither before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it is not likely he undertook at that time for pleasure. Nevertheless *Homer*, and with him all the *Greek* poets (after whom the *Latins* have copied) except *Euripides*, suppress the circumstance of *Helen's* not being in *Troy*, as too favourable to the *Trojan* cause.

The *Greeks* land in *Troas*.

The *Greeks*, after continuing a considerable time wind-bound, arrived on the coast of *Troas*, where, on their landing, they met with so warm a reception, that they began to be sensible of the difficulty of the enterprise. Being encamped in an enemy's country, they quickly found themselves distressed for want of provisions; the smallness of their vessels, which were without any decks, rendering them incapable of carrying such stores of provisions as were necessary to supply the army. They were therefore obliged to divide their forces, sending part of them to cultivate the ground in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, and part to rove about the seas, for the relief of the camp. All writers agree that the *Greeks* employed the first eight or nine years in scouring the seas, pillaging the coasts, and reducing such cities and islands as sided with the *Trojans*.

A plague in the *Grecian* camp.

At last the several parties that had been dispersed up and down the neighbouring countries and islands, being joined in one body, and well stored with provisions, approached the city, with a design to exert their utmost efforts to put an end to the tedious war. The *Trojans*, in the mean time, having been reinforced with considerable bodies both of mercenaries and allies, attacked the *Greeks*, upon their first investing the town, with an army scarce inferior to theirs in number. A plague soon after broke out in the *Grecian* camp, which *Homer* says was sent by *Apollo*, because *Agamemnon* refused to release the daughter of
one

one of his priests: but *Heraclides* on this passage informs us, that it was occasioned by the violent heats and pestilentious vapours raised by the sun, the *Greeks* being encamped among fens and marshes. The plague was soon followed by a quarrel between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*, *Agamemnon* having forcibly taken from *Achilles* his captive *Briseis*, to supply the place of the priest's daughter, whom he had restored, to appease the wrath of *Apollo*. *Achilles*, on this rupture, retiring with his forces to his ships, the *Trojans*, in the mean time, defeated the *Greeks* in several sallies, in one of which *Patroclus*, the friend of *Achilles*, was slain by *Hector*. His loss occasioned the reconciliation of *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*, who returning to the camp, revenged the death of his friend, by killing *Hector*; but was soon after slain himself by *Paris*. The *Greeks* at length made themselves masters of the city; but whether by force, stratagem, or treachery, is uncertain. All writers agree that it was taken by night; some alleging that *Aeneas* and *Antenor*, finding *Priam* unreasonably obstinate, concluded a separate peace with the *Greeks*, betraying the city into their hands. The poets tell us, that it was taken by the contrivance of a wooden horse, that is, according to some, the *Greeks* entered the city by the *Scaean* gate, over which was the picture or statue of a horse. Others think they entered the town thro' a breach made in the wall by some wooden engine called a horse. Having taken possession of the city, they laid it in ashes, the inhabitants that did not escape being either all put to the sword, or made captives. Thus ended the kingdom of *Troy*, after having stood, from *Teucer* to *Priam*, 296 years, according to the common computation.

The *Greeks*, in their return home, met with various adventures, and many of them were driven on far distant coasts. *Mnestheus* king of *Athens* died at *Melos*. *Teucer* the son of *Telamon* settled in *Cyprus*, where he built the city of *Salamis*. *Agamemnon* settled in *Cyprus*, where he built the city of *Salamis*. *Agamemnon*, who commanded the *Arcadians*, built in the same island the city of *Paphos*. *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles* settled in *Epirus*. *Ajax* the son of *Oileus* was lost. Many who got safe home were obliged to put to sea again, in quest of new seats, their territories having been seized by others during their absence. *Agamemnon* arrived safe at *Mycenæ*, where he was, soon after his arrival, murdered by his wife *Clytemnestra*. His son *Orestes*, however, revenged his death, by the murder of *Clytemnestra*, of *Ægisthus* her gallant, and of *Helen* their daughter; for which murders he was tried and acquitted by the *Areopagus*. The adventures of *Ulysses* are related by *Homer* in a fabulous manner; but that some years past before he got home, may have some foundation in history. On the whole, it appears that the war proved no less fatal to the conquerors than to the conquered.

As for the *Trojans*, the greatest part of those who escaped the general slaughter fled to distant regions. *Antenor* led a colony to the bottom of the *Adriatic* gulph. *Helenus*, one of *Priam's* sons, settled

settled in *Macedonia*, where he built the city of *Ilium*. Some say, that during the siege he went over to the *Greeks*, and shewed them in what manner they might easily master the city. All the *Roman* writers assure us *Æneas* settled in *Italy*, and there founded the kingdom of *Alba*, the *Cæsars* affecting to derive their pedigree from him, as the other *Romans* did theirs from the *Trojans* who accompanied him. Others think, that having gathered together the scattered remains of the *Trojans*, he rebuilt the city, and that his descendants and the descendants of *Hector*, reigned there till the country was subdued by the *Lydians*, who became so powerful as to over-run all *Asia Minor*. The learned *Bochart* has carefully collected several arguments of great weight to evince the arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy* to be a mere fable. *Strabo* assures us the families of *Hector* and *Æneas* reigned for many years in the city of *Scepsis*, about sixty furlongs from *Troy*. *Agathocles Cyziensis*, quoted by *Festus*, cites many authors affirming *Æneas* to have been buried in the city of *Berecynthia*, not far from *Troy*. *Homer* also supposes *Æneas* to have remained in *Phrygia*; for he introduces *Neptune*, assuring him that he and his posterity should reign over the *Trojans*. To these authorities *Bochart* adds two arguments of no small weight, namely, that *Venus*, *Apollo*, *Cybele*, &c. the chief deities of the antient *Trojans*, were for a long time quite unknown to the *Romans*, and that there is not the least similitude imaginable between the antient *Phrygian* and *Roman* language *.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the MYSIANS.

The extent of *Mysia*.

THIS small country is supposed to be so called from the *Lydian* word *Mysos*, signifying a beech tree, because that tree remarkably abounded here. It was divided into the lesser and greater *Mysia*. The lesser, or *Mysia Minor*, lay on the south-east side of the *Propontis*, having the two *Phrygias* on the south and east. The greater, or *Mysia Major*, had the *Ægean* sea on the west, *Phrygia Major* on the east, *Phrygia Minor* on the north, and on the south *Æolia*. What *Strabo*, whom we have followed, calls *Mysia Minor*, *Ptolemy* calls *Mysia Major*. *Abrettana*, the name of a part of *Mysia* near the river *Rhindacus*, is sometimes given to the whole country. The chief of the cities in *Mysia Minor* was *Cyzicus*, or *Cyzicum*, seated in an island of the *Propontis*, but joined to the continent with two bridges by *Alexander* the Great. This city,

* *Festus* voce *Roma*. *Bochart*. *Epist.* utrum *Æneas* unquam fuit in *Italix*.

when first known to the *Romans*, was one of the greatest and richest of all *Asia*, and hence was stiled by *Florus* the *Rome of Asia*. Among its many magnificent buildings, the chief temple is mightily cried up by the antients. The whole structure was of polished marble, and the joinings all covered with lines of gold. The pillars were four cubits thick and fifty high, each of one piece. In after ages this city made a glorious stand against *Mithridates*, who lost under its walls no fewer than 300,000 men, and after all could not conquer it. As for the beauty, greatness, riches and laws of this city, we refer our reader to *Appian* (in *Mithrid.*) It was ruined by an earthquake, and the fallen marbles and pillars were conveyed to *Constantinople* to embellish that city. At present it is little better than a village, and known under the names of *Chizico*, *Spiga*, and *Palormi* *.

In this country was also *Parium*, now a village. In this city, which is said to have received its name from *Parus* the son of *Jason*, was a naked *Cupid* deemed no ways inferior to the famous *Venus* at *Cnidos*. The antient *Parians* were a colony of the *Milesians*, and the more modern of the *Romans*.

Lampsacus, which was seated at the entrance of the *Propontis*, had a capacious and safe harbour, and a noble temple consecrated to *Cybele*. It was built, according to some, by the *Phocenses*, according to others by *Priapus*, who was a native of this city, and the most infamous of all the heathen deities. It was in antient times famous for its wine, and on that consideration given by *Artaxerxes* to *Themistocles* in his exile. *Priapus* was worshiped here in a particular manner, and his temple was a perfect sink of lewdness, a very school of the most unnatural lust. This city is still in a tolerable good condition, situated in a pleasant plain, and surrounded with vineyards which produce excellent wine. The *Greeks* call it *Lampsaco*, and the *Turks* *Lepseck*.

In midland *Mysia*, which according to *Strabo* lay between the river *Rhindacus* and mount *Ida*, *Stephanus* places the city of *Apollonia* on the banks of the *Rhindacus*. But according to others, it was seated on an island in a lake called *Abouillona*, 25 miles in compass, and 8 miles wide †.

The chief rivers in *Mysia Minor* are the *Rhindacus* and the *Granicus*; the first now called *Lartacho* and the other *Sousaughirli*. In this part of *Mysia* stands mount *Olympus*, one of the highest in *Asia*, and great part of the year covered with snow.

The city of greatest note in *Mysia Major* was *Pergamus*, seated on a spacious plain on the banks of the *Caicus*. It was the royal seat of the *Attalic* kings and of *Eumenes*, and enriched with a library containing 200,000 choice volumes. King *Eumenes* proposing to cause all the valuable books then extant

* Flor. l. iii. Plin. l. xxxvi. Xiphilin. in Dion. Hesych. Erasim. Chiliad.
† Tournefort.

to be transcribed, and being denied papyrus from *Egypt*, was obliged to have recourse to some other material, which gave occasion to the invention of parchment, thence called by the *Latins Charta Pergamena*. In *Pergamus* were likewise invented those costly hangings which we call tapestry, and the *Romans* name *Aulæa*, from *Aula*, a hall. This city was one of the seven churches mentioned in the Revelations.

On the coasts of the greater *Mysia* were seated the following cities, *Antandrus*, *Scepsis*, *Affus*, *Adramyttium*, *Pitane*, &c.

Origin of
the *My-
sians*.

The soil of this country is one of the finest and richest in *Asia*, and is celebrated as such by the antients. As to the origin of the *Mysians*, *Herodotus* informs us that they were *Lydians* by descent. Others derive them from the *Phrygians*, and tell us, that *Mysus*, their supposed progenitor, was not a *Lydian* but a *Phrygian*. According to *Strabo*, they originally came from *Europe*, from about *Bosnia* and *Bulgaria*.

Their cha-
racter.

Antiently they seem to have had the character of a warlike people*; but in after ages they became so degenerate, that they were looked upon as the most contemptible and insignificant nation on the earth; *the last of the Mysians*, being an expression among the *Greeks* to signify a person of no worth or merit. They were prone to tears, and on that account employed by the *Greeks* to attend their funerals†. Their language was in all likelihood the same as the *Phrygian* and *Trojan*, with some variation of dialect. We are quite in the dark as to their manners, customs, arts and sciences.

Religion.

Their religion was much the same with that of the neighbouring *Phrygians*. Their priests abstained from flesh, and were not allowed to marry; and it was a ceremony practised among them, to sacrifice a horse and eat his entrails before they were admitted to the priesthood.

Their his-
tory.

Their government appears in the early ages not to have been monarchical, as there is no mention of their kings till the *Argonautic* expedition. Their first king we find mentioned is *Olympus*, who is said to have married the niece of *Dardanus* king of *Troy*.

The next is *Teuthras*, who is said to have reigned over the *Mysians*, *Cilicians*, and *Ceteans*. By his first wife he had a daughter named *Agriope*, and afterwards marrying *Auge* the granddaughter of the king of *Arcadia*, he gave *Agriope* to her son *Telephus*, whom she had had by *Hercules*. *Tecmessa*, another of his daughters, was the captive of *Ajax* the son of *Telamon*.

As he had no son, he was succeeded by *Telephus* the natural son of *Hercules* by *Auge*, who in the *Trojan* war first sided with king *Priam*, but was afterwards prevailed upon by the *Greeks* to stand neuter. He had two sons, *Eurypylus* and *Latinus*, which last is said to have led a colony of *Ceteans* into

* Herod. l. vii. Plin. l. vii.

† Strab. l. xii. Æschyl. in Pers.
Italy.

*Italy**. *Eurypylus*, according to some, was killed in the *Trojan* war; according to others succeeded his father, or reigned over the *Cilicians*. His son *Arius* was slain in a single combat by *Amphialus* the son of *Neoptolemus*, who possessed himself of the kingdom of *Mysia*†. We read of no other kings of *Mysia* till many ages after, when the *Attalic* family reigned at *Pergamus*, which we shall speak of in its proper place.

S E C T. V.

The History of the LYDIANS.

ALL the antient writers agree that *Lydia* was first called *Lydia Meonia*, from *Meon* king of *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, and was whence so afterwards called *Lydia*, from *Lydus* the son of king *Atys*. *Bochart* denies that there ever were such persons as *Meon* and *Lydus*, and thinks this country, as well as *Ethiopia*, was called *Lydia* from the *Phenician* word *Luz*, which signifies to bend or wind, they being watered by the most remarkable winding rivers, the *Meander* and the *Nile*. The name *Meonia* he takes from a *Greek* translation of the word *Luz*; and according to *Stephanus*, the *Meander* was antiently called *Meon*.

The maritime part of this country was properly called *Lydia*, and the inland *Meonia*, in antient times; but when the *Ionians* had planted a colony on the coasts, and began to make some figure, that part was called *Ionia*, and the name of *Lydia* given to the antient *Meonia*, having on the east *Phrygia Major*, on the north *Mysia Major*, and on the south *Caria*. What the antients stile the kingdom of *Lydia*, was not confined within these narrow boundaries, but extended, especially under the latter kings, from the river *Halys* to the *Ægean* sea. Its boundaries.

The chief city of *Lydia* was *Sardis*, seated at the foot of mount *Tmolus* on the banks of *Pactolus*. It was utterly ruined by an earthquake, and rebuilt by *Tiberius*. There are still to be seen the ruins of a large palace and two magnificent churches, with a great many pillars and cornishes of marble.

Philadelphia, formerly the second city of *Lydia*, stood in a spacious and fruitful plain on the north side of mount *Tmolus*. In this city were antiently celebrated the common feasts of all *Asia*, as appears from an inscription quoted by *Spon*. This city, as well as *Sardis*, was one of the seven churches, and continued to make a good figure under the *Greek* emperors.

Thyatira, a colony of the *Macedonians*, as *Strabo* informs us, was situated in a pleasant plain not far from the river *Hermus*. It was another of the seven churches, and is at present a place

* Clorenus.

† Strab. l. xiii. Pausan. in Atticis.

of some trade for corn and cotton, and inhabited by about 5000 *Turks*.

Magnesia, by the *Turks* called *Guzithizar*, seated on the *Meander*, was formerly a city of great note, and is still a large, handsome, and well-built city. It was for some time the seat of the *Ottoman* empire, and is still the capital of *Carasia*.

Another city of the same name stood at the foot of mount *Sypilus*, which is the only mountain in *Lydia* of any note. *Plutarch* informs us, that *Sypilus* was likewise named the thunder mountain, because it thundered more frequently there than on any other mountain of *Asia*. Mount *Tmolus*, and in more antient times *Timolus*, was once very famous for its wine and saffron.

Among the chief rivers are the *Pactolus*, called by the antients *Chrysoorhoas*, from the colour of its sands, which shine like gold; the *Cayster*, celebrated by the poets for the swans that frequented its banks. It has almost as many windings, according to *Spon*, as the *Meander* itself; but neither have near so many, according to *Tournefort*, as the *Seine* below *Paris*.

Origin of
the *Lydi-
ans*.

As to the origin of the *Lydians*, nothing can be said with certainty. We know only that they were a very antient nation, as is manifest from their very fables; for *Atys*, *Tantalus*, *Pelops*, *Niobe*, and *Arachne*, are all said to have been the children of *Lydus*. *Xanthus*, as quoted by *Stephanus*, says, that *Ascalon*, one of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistines*, was built by *Ascalus* a *Lydian*. The government of *Lydia*, from the earliest antiquity, appears to have been monarchical; and their kings, as far as can be gathered from their conduct, seem to have been despotic, and their crown hereditary. We read of three distinct races of kings reigning over *Lydia*, namely, the *Atyadæ*, the *Heraclidæ*, and the *Mermnadæ*, the *Atyadæ* having all reigned prior to the *Trojan* war.

Their cha-
racter.

The *Lydians*, as to their character, must be considered at different times. Under *Cræsus*, and some of his predecessors, they were without doubt a warlike people; but *Cyrus* the Great, after he had conquered them, enjoining them to wear long vests, and apply themselves to such arts and callings only as had a natural tendency to debauch their manners and enervate their courage, they came by degrees a most voluptuous and effeminate race.

The soil of this country, by reason of the many rivers that watered it, was exceeding fruitful. It was also enriched with several mines, whence *Cræsus* is said to have drawn his immense wealth.

Religion.

The religion of the *Lydians* seems to have been much the same with that of the *Phrygians*, which we have already spoken of.

Manners
and cus-
toms.

Their customs, as *Herodotus* informs us, differed little from those of the *Greeks*; except that they used to prostitute their daughters, who after earning a competent dowry by this base means, were allowed to marry whoever they pleased. They punished

punished idleness as a crime, and inured their children from their very infancy to hardships. Their arms were long spears, and in horsemanship they far excelled all other nations. They were the first that introduced the art of coining gold and silver to facilitate trade, the first that sold by retail, that kept eating-houses and taverns, that invented public sports and shews, which were therefore called *Ludi* by the *Romans*.

There is no where any account of their trade; but when *Lydia* was in the meridian of its glory, it may well be supposed to have been very considerable.

Their first king whom we find mentioned in history is *Maf-* Their his-
nes, or *Manes*, who is said to have been the son of the earth; tory.
which in the language of the antients denotes him to have *Manes* the
been of mean extraction. *Heraclides* mentions an anonymous first king.
king of *Lydia* who was raised to the throne from the abject
condition of a journeyman or slave to a cartwright at *Cyma*,
the *Lydians*, probably from some answer of the oracle, paying
a sum of money for his ransom. This fortunate slave may
have been *Manes*, tho' we must own it is more likely that
their monarchy had been founded before this transaction.

Mafnes was succeeded by his son *Cotys*, and *Cotys* by his son *Coty-*
Atys. During the reign of the last, the country having been *Atys*.
afflicted with a great famine 18 years, the *Lydians*, on that oc-
casion, are said to have invented dice, balls, and other diver-
sions, to render them the less sensible of their calamity, amu-
sing themselves with play whole days without eating or drink-
ing, and spending the next day in feasting. This strange man-
ner of diverting their calamity, however, not succeeding, *Atys*
divided the whole nation into two bodies, who having cast lots
to determine which of them should leave their country in quest
of new settlements, that part who were obliged to remove,
took shipping at *Smyrna* under *Tyrrhenus* the king's youngest
son, and settled in *Umbria*, now called *Tuscany*, where they
took the name of *Tyrrhenians* from their leader.

Lydus, the elder brother of *Tyrrhenus*, succeeded his father on *Lydus*.
the throne, and gave his name to the country, which before
had been called *Meonia*.

Alcymus appears next, but it is uncertain whom he succeed- *Alcymus*.
ed. He is represented as an excellent prince, who consulted
chiefly the welfare of his subjects, who in gratitude assembled
in the seventh year of his reign, and offered up prayers and
sacrifices for his health and prosperity.

Adrymetes is mentioned by *Athenæus* as the first that employed *Adrymetes*.
women in such services as were assigned to eunuchs by other
kings.

Cambletes, or *Cambles*, a debauched prince, who murdered his *Cambletes*.
wife, and afterwards revenged her death by laying violent
hands on himself.

Tmolus, according to *Plutarch*, having ravished *Arrhipe*, one *Tmolus*.
of *Diana's* followers, was instigated by the goddess to throw
himself

himself headlong from a precipice, being buried on mount *Timolus* by his son and successor *Theoclymenus*.

*Theocly-
menus.*

After *Theoclymenus* reigned *Marsyas*, who is said by *Solinus* to have built the city of *Archippena* in *Italy*.

Marsyas.

Jardanes.

Marsyas was succeeded by *Jardanes*, a profligate prince, in whose reign all manner of lewdness prevailed in the kingdom of *Lydia* to such a degree, that *Omphale*, the king's only daughter, could not find shelter in the royal palace.

Omphale.

Omphale, on the death of her father, being by the unanimous votes of the nobles placed on the throne, punished with great severity all those by whom she had been formerly abused; and by causing the slaves all over the kingdom to be shut up with their mistresses, extended her revenge to the whole nation. In the mean time falling in love with *Hercules*, she gave herself entirely up to him, and had by him a son named *Alcaeus*.

Alcaeus.

According to some authors, *Alcaeus* succeeded his mother on the throne, being the first of the race of *Hercules*. After *Alcaeus* reigned *Belus*, *Ninus*, and *Argon*, which last transferred the royal seat to *Sardis*. *Herodotus* will have him to be the first of the *Heracidae* that reigned in *Lydia*, and says he was the great grandson of *Hercules* by one of *Omphale's* slaves.

Argon,

Leon, &c.

Argon was succeeded by his son *Leon*; *Leon* by *Adryfus*, who reigned 36 years; *Adryfus* by *Alyætes*, who reigned 14; and *Alyætes* by *Meles*, who reigned 12.

Candaules.

Bef. Ch.

735.

Candaules was the last king of this second race, which held the throne, during 22 generations, for 505 years. He lost by his imprudence both his life and kingdom; for thinking his wife, whom he passionately loved, the most beautiful of her sex, he extolled her charms above measure to *Gyges* his favourite, whom he even compelled to stand in a private place in his bedchamber, that he might see her naked when she undressed to go to bed. The queen having discovered him when he went out, suppressed her resentment till next morning against her husband, whom she suspected as the chief contriver of her dishonour. Sending next day for *Gyges*, she told him that he must atone for the crime he had been guilty of, either by suffering death himself, or by putting to death *Candaules* the contriver, to receive both her and the kingdom of *Lydia* for his reward. *Gyges* not being able to prevail with her to alter her purpose, accordingly murdered the king while he was asleep, and marrying the queen, took possession of the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by the answer of the *Delphic* oracle, which appeased an insurrection of the people, who had taken up arms to revenge the death of their prince.

Gyges.

Bef. Ch.

680.

Gyges, in gratitude to the oracle, sent many rich and valuable presents to *Delphos*, and among others six cups of gold weighing 30 talents, and greatly esteemed for their workmanship. He made war on those of *Miletos* and *Smyrna*, took the city of *Colophon*, and subdued the whole country of *Troas*. According to *Plutarch* and other writers, who make no mention of the queen, *Gyges* rebelled against *Candaules*, and slew him in an engagement.

ment. As to his fabulous ring mentioned by *Plato* and *Tully*, we refer the reader to *Tzetzes*, *Suidas*, *Philostratus*, &c.

Gyges, after reigning 38 years, was succeeded by his son *Ar- Ardyes.*
dyes, who carried on the war against the *Milesians*. The *Cim-*
merians, in his reign, over-ran all *Asia Minor*; but what bat-
 tles were fought between the *Lydians* and these invaders, we
 find no where mentioned. *Herodotus* only informs us, that they
 took possession of *Sardis*, but could never win the castle. *Ar-*
dyes reigned 49 years; and was succeeded by his son *Sadyattes*, *Sadyattes.*
 who reigned 12 years, being at war with the *Milesians* during
 the greatest part of his reign. His son and successor *Alyattes*, *Alyattes.*
 for the space of six years, waged a bloody war with *Cyaxares*
 king of the *Medes*, on account of some *Scythian* refugees, who
 having fled into his kingdom from *Media*, he refused to deliver
 up. This war was carried on with various success, and in the
 sixth year, while both armies were engaged, they were sud-
 denly struck with a panic by a total eclipse of the sun, which
 had been foretold by *Thales*. Both parties immediately retreat-
 ing, a peace was soon after concluded by the mediation of
Syenneſis king of *Cilicia*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*.
 The peace was strengthened by a marriage between *Aryenis*
 the daughter of *Alyattes*, and *Astyages* the son of *Cyaxares*. *Aly-*
attes next employed all his forces against the *Scythians*, and af-
 ter a war of some years, had the good fortune to rid his king-
 dom of such troublesome guests. He was attended with the like
 success against the *Smyrneans*, whom he worsted in several bat-
 tles, and at last made himself master of their capital and whole
 country. The war which his father had begun being still car-
 ried on against the *Milesians* in the 12th summer, the *Lydians*,
 while they were ravaging the *Milesian* territories, by accident
 burnt down the temple of *Minerva* at *Assesus*. *Alyattes* being
 soon after enjoined by the oracle of *Delphos* to rebuild that
 temple, sent to the *Milesians* to conclude a truce till the tem-
 ple should be rebuilt. *Thrasybulus* prince of *Miletus*, being de-
 sirous of a peace, caused all the corn in the city to be brought
 into the market-place, and ordered the people to revel and ban-
 quet in public; which appearance made the *Lydian* ambassa-
 dors conclude that the *Milesians* had great store of provisions.
Alyattes therefore granted him a peace, and ever after lived in
 friendship with the *Milesians*. He had two sons, *Cræsus* by a
Carian and *Pantaleon* by an *Ionian*.

Having reigned 57 years, he was succeeded by his son *Cræsus*, *Cræsus.*
 who enlarged his dominions so as to be no ways inferior to *Bef. Ch.*
 any prince of his time. *Cræsus* having reduced the *Ephesians*, 562.
 attacked under various pretences the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, oblig-
 ing them, and all the other *Greek* states in *Asia*, to pay him
 a yearly tribute. He also formed a design of equipping a fleet
 and attacking the inhabitants of the islands; but *Bias*, or ac-
 cording to some, *Pittacus*, arriving at *Sardis*, and telling him,
 as a piece of news, that the islanders had bought 10,000 horses
 to attack him by land, he thanked the gods for inspiring them
 with

with such a resolution, as his chief strength consisted in cavalry. *Bias* replying, that the islanders had no such intention, but would be as glad to hear of his fitting out ships as he was to hear of their buying horses, *Cræsus* reflected on the rashness of his design, laid it aside, and concluded an alliance with all the *Greeks* inhabiting the islands. Not long after he subdued the *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, *Maryandini*, *Chalybes*, *Paphlagonians*, *Thracians*, *Thynians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Pamphylians*, and all the nations that lay between *Lydia* and the river *Halys*. *Athenæus*, out of *Berosus*, mentions a signal victory he gained over the *Sacæans*, a *Scythian* nation. *Cræsus*, by these victories, having acquired great fame and renown, many wise men of that age went to *Sardis* on purpose to see him, and among others, *Solon* the *Athenian* lawgiver. *Solon* was entertained in the royal palace with great solemnity by *Cræsus*, who after shewing him all his wealth and magnificence, asked him who was the happiest man he had ever known, believing that he would give, without any hesitation, the preference to himself. *Solon*, who was an enemy to all flattery, answered, that *Tellus* the *Athenian* was the happiest man he had ever seen, who had many sons and grandsons, who all survived him; and after having enjoyed all the happiness which the condition of mortals is capable of, ended his life in a most glorious manner in the field of battle after he had gained a victory. He was buried at the expence of the public in the place where he fell, and yearly honours were paid to his memory. *Cræsus* hoping at least to obtain the second place, again asked him who was the happiest man after *Tellus*. *Solon* replied, *Cleobis* and *Biton*, two *Argians*, who were victorious in the *Olympic* games. When their mother, who was a priestess of *Juno*, was obliged to go to the temple of the goddess, the oxen which should have drawn her chariot not being at hand, her two sons took hold of the yoke and drew the chariot the space of 45 furlongs. The mother being greatly honoured by the people on account of the piety of her sons, begged of the goddess that she would reward her children with what she thought would be most advantageous for them. The two sons fell both asleep, and died in the temple; and the *Argians*, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made and dedicated at *Delphi*. *Cræsus* shewing himself highly dissatisfied with *Solon* for preferring the condition of private men to that of so rich and powerful a prince as he, the philosopher informed him, that it was impossible to judge of the happiness of any man before death, and that all things ought to be measured by their end. Whereupon he was dismissed by *Cræsus* as a man of little penetration. Not long after the departure of *Solon*, *Cræsus* lost his favourite son *Atys*, who was accidentally killed at the chace of a wild boar, by *Adrastus* son of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*, who was then a refugee at *Sardis*. This loss was no small allay to his happiness; but after he had continued disconsolate for two years, the conquest of *Cyrus*, and the growing power of the

Persians,

Persians, again roused up his martial spirits. Judging it expedient to check as soon as possible the ambitious designs of *Cyrus*, he sent directly to the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, and to several *Grecian* oracles, to make a trial of their knowledge, that he might know which of them to advise with. He ordered each of the ambassadors to ask the oracle he was sent to, on a certain fixed day, *what Cræsus was then doing at Sardis*. The *Delphian* oracle alone giving a true and satisfactory answer, he immediately offered to the *Delphic Apollo* a sacrifice consisting of 3000 oxen, and heaping up beds of gold and silver, vessels of gold, and rich apparel, he burnt them all together, commanding the *Lydians* to follow his example. So much gold was melted on this occasion, that 117 tiles were made out of it, whereof the longest were six spans in length, the shortest three; but all one span in thickness. These, with a golden lion weighing ten talents, and a great number of other most valuable presents, *Cræsus* sent to the *Delphic* oracle, enjoining his ambassadors to enquire whether he should undertake a war against the *Persians*. The oracle answered, that *if Cræsus passes the Halys, he will put an end to a vast empire*; which was capable of being interpreted either of *Persia* or *Lydia*. *Cræsus*, however, without hesitation, interpreting the answer to his own advantage, strengthened himself with alliances, and raising what forces he could, marched into *Cappadocia*, then belonging to the *Persians*, before his allies could join him. Having taken the city of *Pteria*, he allowed his troops to ravage the country; but *Cyrus* advancing, a general engagement ensued, in which, however, neither party could claim the advantage. Both sides remaining inactive next day, *Cræsus* began to reflect, that as his army was much inferior in number to that of *Cyrus*, it would be imprudent to risk a second engagement, and therefore he marched back to *Sardis*, where he disbanded his troops, ordering them to reassemble at the end of five months, when he expected succours from the *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, *Athenians*, and *Lacedemonians*. *Cyrus*, however, pursuing him with the greatest expedition, appeared to his great surprise in the plains of *Sardis*, where, in a second battle, *Cræsus* was defeated, and *Sardis*, about 14 days after, being taken by storm, *Cræsus* himself was made prisoner, and an end put to the *Lydian* kingdom, which continued subject to the *Persians* till they also were conquered by the *Macedonians*. In the taking of the town, *Cræsus* himself would have been killed, had not his second son, and *Cræsus* who till that time had been speechless, upon seeing the *Persian* ready to strike the blow, instantly cried out, *kill not Cræsus*. Being conducted to *Cyrus*, the conqueror ordered him to be put in fetters, and placed on a great pile of wood, with a design to burn him and fourteen young *Lydians* in honour of the gods. *Cræsus* then recollecting the words of *Solon*, that no man can truly be called happy before his death, pronounced thrice that great philosopher's name. *Cyrus* hearing him, and being informed what induced him to invoke *Solon*, caused him to be taken down

Sardis
taken by
the *Persians*,
Cræsus made
prisoner.
Bef. Ch.
549.

down from the pile, and ranked him among his friends and counsellors. *Xenophon*, however, makes no mention of this treatment, but says, that *Cyrus* received his royal prisoner when he was first presented to him, with great kindness and humanity*.



S E C T. VI.

The History of the LYCIANS.

The
bounda-
ries of
Lycia.

THIS country was at first called *Mylias*, or *Tremila*, from the *Myliæ*, a people of *Crete* who settled here †, and afterwards *Lycia*, from *Lycus* the son of *Pandion* king of *Athens*. The proper *Lycia* was bounded on the south by the *Mediterranean*, on the north by *Phrygia Major* and part of *Pamphilia*, by *Caria* on the west, and *Pamphilia* on the east. The most remarkable cities on the sea-coasts are *Telmessus*; *Patara*, afterwards called *Arsinoe* by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, after his wife, and famous for the oracle of *Apollo*, who is said to have resided here the six winter months in the year; *Myra*, which was the metropolis of *Lycia* when a *Roman* province, and consequently in the christian times an archbishop's see; *Olympus*; *Phaselis*, which city, in the time of the *Romans*, was an infamous nest of pirates, and all swift vessels were denominated from them *Phaselis*. In midland *Lycia*, *Strabo* reckons the following towns: *Pinara*, *Cragus*, *Tlos*, *Simena*, &c. The people in this part of the country were called *Xanthians*, from the chief river *Xanthus*. Besides the famous mountain *Taurus*, which begins in this province and extends to the eastern ocean, there was also in *Lycia* the mountain *Chimæra* which vomited flames. The soil of the country is very fruitful, and the air reckoned very wholesome.

The ori-
gin of the
Lycians.

The *Lycians*, according to *Herodotus* and others †, were descended of the *Cretans*; *Sarpedon*, who had been driven out of the island by his brother *Minos*, settling in *Mylias* with those *Cretans* who had followed him, and driving out the *Mylians* and *Solymi* the antient inhabitants, founded a new kingdom. After the death of *Sarpedon*, they took the name of *Lycians*, from *Lycus* an *Athenian* refugee who had fled thither. *Plato* and *Diodorus Siculus*, however, reckon the *Lycians* among the *Greek* nations in *Asia* §. They were antiently a very powerful and warlike people, considering the smallness of their country. According to *Pliny*, they had 36 large and populous

* Herod. l. i. Xenoph. Cyrop. Polyæn. Plut. in Solon. † Herod. l. i. c. 173. & l. vii. c. 92. ‡ Herod. l. i. Strab. l. xiv. Pausan. l. vii. § Plat. in Minos. Diod. l. v.

towns, and extended their power on the seas as far as *Italy*. They are highly commended by antient writers for their sobriety and manner of administering justice. All matters of consequence were canvassed and determined by a majority of votes in a general assembly or diet, composed of deputies from their chief cities, some sending three, others two, and the least one deputy. Whence we may conclude, that their government, at least in latter times, either was not monarchical, or their monarchs no ways absolute. This form of government they maintained even under the *Romans*, but with this difference, that their decrees had no validity unless confirmed by the *Roman* governor or senate*. At first their government seems to have been either monarchical or aristocratical; for we read of the families of *Bellerophon*, *Sarpedon*, *Lycus*, *Telephus*, and *Pandarus* reigning in *Lycia* at one and the same time. Be that as it will, in process of time all *Lycia* became subject to one prince†. This nation was first subdued by *Cræsus*, and afterwards conquered by *Cyrus*. Those of *Xanthus* opposed the *Persian* general *Harpagus* with incredible bravery. Being overpowered with numbers, and forced to retire into their city, they shut up their wives, children, slaves, and all their riches in the castle, to which they set fire; and then engaging themselves by a solemn oath to die together, they returned to the field of battle, renewed the fight, and were all killed to a man. The *Lycians* continued to be governed by their own kings even after they were subdued by the *Persians*, to whom they paid an annual tribute. They fell with the *Persians* under the power of the *Macedonians*, and afterwards of the *Seleucidæ*; but *Antiochus* the Great being confined by the *Romans* beyond mount *Taurus*, they granted *Lycia* to the *Rhodians*, and afterwards declared it a free country. The emperor *Claudius*, provoked at their domestic dissensions, at length reduced their country into the form of a province.

Their customs differed little from those of the *Cretans*, from whom they were descended: but they had one custom peculiar to them; for they took their names not from their fathers but their mothers. Besides, if a free-born woman married a slave, her children enjoyed all the privileges of citizens; but on the contrary, if a man of ever so great a family married a slave or foreigner, their children were incapable of enjoying any honours, or bearing any public employment‡. They preserved the *Cretan* religion as well as customs.

The names and succession of their kings are all buried in obscurity. We find mention only of three of their kings. Their history.

Amisodarus, who is fabled to have nourished the monster *Chimæra*.

Jobates, whose daughter *Sthenobæa* was married to *Prætus* king of the *Argives*. She having in vain solicited *Bellerophon*

* Strab. l. xiv.

† Herod. l. vii.

‡ Idem. l. i.

to comply with her unchaste desires, falsely accused him to her husband, who sent him with letters to *Jobates*, desiring him to revenge the affront offered to his daughter by the death of the bearer. *Jobates* exposed *Bellerophon* to several hazardous expeditions, in hopes that he would be cut off by that means; not chusing to embrue his hands in the blood of a stranger: but the young prince being always successful, *Jobates* was reconciled to him, and discovering the calumny, gave him his other daughter in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom. Many years after reigned *Cyberniscus*, who was one of *Xerxes*' admirals in his expedition against *Greece*.



S E C T. VII.

The History of the antient CILICIANS.

Cilicia
whence so
called.

Its extent.

CILICIA, according to the *Greek* writers, borrowed its name from *Cilix* the brother of *Cadmus*, who they say settled in that country. According to *Josephus*, who is followed by *Stephanus*, *Zonaras*, and *Hierom*, it was antiently called *Tarsis*, from *Tarshish* the son of *Javan*, who first peopled this part of *Asia*. *Bochart* derives the name of *Cilicia* from the *Phœnician* word *Challekim*, signifying a stone, part of *Cilicia* being very stony, and at this day called by the *Turks* *Tas Wileieth*, that is, the stony province. *Cilicia* is bounded on the east by mount *Amanus*, which separates it from *Syria*, on the west by *Pamphilia*, on the north by *Cappadocia* and *Armenia Minor*, and on the south by the *Mediterranean*. It is now called *Caramania*, having been the last province of the *Caramanian* kingdom that held out against the *Ottoman* race, and is on every side, except towards the sea, surrounded by steep and craggy mountains.

By the antients the whole country was divided into *Cilicia Aspera*, or *Trachæa*, on the west, and *Cilicia Campestris* on the east. The cities in the first rocky part mentioned by the antients are *Sydra*, *Nagidus* a *Samian* colony, *Animurium*, *Arsione*, *Gelenderis*, *Aphrodisias*, *Holmus* or *Holmia*, *Sarpedon*, *Lephyrium*, and *Sebaste*, seated on a small island. There were also *Seleucia* on the banks of the *Calycadmus*, *Domitianopolis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Lamus*.

In *Cilicia Campestris* stood *Soli*, or *Solæ*, built, according to some, by the *Rhodians* and *Argians*, but according to *Laertius*, by *Solon* after his departure from the court of *Cræsus*, and peopled by *Athenians*, who in process of time losing the purity of their language, became so remarkable for their rude pronunciation and absurd expressions, that any impropriety of speech was called a *Solecism*. Others, however, derive the word *Solecism* not from *Solenses* in *Cilicia*, but from the *Solii* in *Cyprus*. The capital of this province was antiently *Tarsus*, the native city

city of *St. Paul*. Some think it was founded by *Tarshish* the son of *Javan*; but *Strabo* reckons *Sardanapalus* its founder, an antient monument being found in those parts with this inscription, *Sardanapalus the son of Anacyndaraxes built the cities of Anchiale and Tarsus in one day*. At present it is called by the *Turks Hamsa*, and by the *Greeks Tersia*; tho' the *Tersians*, to ingratiate themselves with *Julius Cæsar*, changed the antient name of their city to that of *Julio polis*. Not far from *Tarsus* stood *Anchiale*. Here were also *Anazarbum*, *Epiphania*, *Mopsuestia*, *Iffus*, famous for the battle between *Alexander* and *Darius*; *Alexandria*, built by *Alexander* the Great at the straits leading into *Syria*, which being conveniently situated for trade, soon became one of the most flourishing cities in the world. It is at present called *Scanderoon* and *Alexandretta*, and by *Ptolemy* is placed, tho' improperly, in *Syria*. The rivers of note in *Cilicia* are the *Pyramus*, the *Cydnus*, famous for the rapidity of its stream and coldness of its waters; the *Calycadnus*, the *Lamus*, the *Sarus*, the *Pinarus*, &c. which discharge themselves into the *Mediterranean*, called in this place the sea of *Cilicia*.

Cilicia Campestris, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, was one of the most fruitful countries of all *Asia*; but the western part equally barren, tho' famous even to this day for an excellent breed of horses. The air, tho' reckoned very wholesome in the inland cities, is dangerous on the coasts to those that are not accustomed to it.

The first inhabitants of this country, who, according to *Josephus*, were the descendants of *Tarshish*, were in process of time driven out by a colony of *Phœnicians* under *Cilix*. It was also peopled in part afterwards by *Syrians* and *Greeks*, whence in some places the *Cilicians* used the *Greek* tongue, and in others the *Syriac*; but the predominant language of the country was a dialect of the *Persian*. The origin of the Cilicians.

The *Cilicians* are said to have been a rough race of people, unfair in their dealings, cruel, great liars, and were in the *Roman* times entirely addicted to piracy. Their vessels infested the whole *Mediterranean* sea for many years, and they were become so formidable, that *Pompey* himself did not think it beneath his greatness to undertake a war against them, which he ended in the space of one month, having at the same time attacked them both by sea and land, with 500 ships and 130,000 men. Their manners,

The *Cilicians*, before they were settled in *Cilicia*, were governed in antient times by their own kings, and divided into two petty kingdoms, namely, the *Theban* and the *Cyreneffian*, which were confined to the territories of each city. After their possessing *Cilicia*, we find no mention made of their kings till the time of *Cyrus*, to whom they voluntarily submitted, being governed, however, by their own kings till the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* *. government, and history. Upon the death of *Alexander* the Great, it

* Xen. Cyrop. l. vii. Diod. l. xvi. Curt. l. ii.

fell to the share of *Seleucus*, and continued under his descendants till it was by *Pompey* reduced to a *Roman* province. *Cicero*, who was the second governor of it, having reduced several strong holds on mount *Amanus*, was saluted by the army he commanded, *Imperator* or General. Being thus brought wholly under subjection, it was first divided into *Cilicia Campestris* and *Trachæa*, the former becoming a *Roman* province, and the latter being governed by kings appointed by the *Romans*. But the royal line becoming extinct in the reign of *Vespasian*, this also was made a province of the empire, and the whole divided into *Cilicia Prima*, *Cilicia Secunda*, and *Isauria*; in which state it continued till the division of the empire.

The first of the *Cilician* kings mentioned by the antients is *Eetion*, who reigned at *Thebes* before he possessed *Cilicia*. He assisted *Priam* against the *Greeks*; but was killed by *Achilles*, with seven of his sons, in defence of his capital *. The famous *Andromache*, *Hector's* wife, was his daughter. In *Lyrnessus*, at the same time, reigned *Evenus*, mentioned by *Homer*. His sons, *Mines* and *Epistropus*, who succeeded him, were both killed by *Achilles*. *Syennesis I.* is mentioned as a *Cilician* king, who was a mediator between *Cyaxares* and *Alyattes*. *Syennesis II.* assisted *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Greece*. *Syennesis III.* much against his will, joined *Cyrus the Younger* against his brother *Artaxerxes*. After his death, there is no mention of kings, but only of governors of *Cilicia*, appointed by the *Persians*; whence it is supposed he was the last who reigned in *Cilicia* before the country was subdued by *Alexander*.

* *Homer Iliad. ζ.*



B O O K VI.

The History of the MEDES and PERSIANS.



C H A P. I.

The History of MEDIA.

S E C T. I.

The description of MEDIA, and an account of the Median government, laws, religion, &c.

THIS country derives its name from *Madai* the third son of *Japhet*, as is plain from Scripture, where the *Medes* are constantly called *Madai*. Some prophane writers derive its name from *Medus*, the son of *Medea* and *Jason*. According to *Ortellius*, it was also called *Aria*; and *Sextus Rufus* tells us, that in his time it was known by the name of *Medena*. Its name,

It was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by part of the *Caspian* sea, on the south by *Persis*, *Susiana* and *Affyria*, on the east by *Parthia* and *Hyrkania*, and on the west by *Armenia Major*, which, however, may more properly be reckoned a part of its northern boundary, as *Affyria* is part of its western. In antient times it was divided into several provinces; but by a later division, these were reduced to two only, the one called *Media Magna*, the other *Media Atropatia*, or simply *Atropatene*. *Atropatene* was that part which lay between mount *Taurus* and the *Caspian* sea, so called from one *Atropatus*, who being governor of this province in the time of *Darius*, withstood *Alexander the Great*, and transmitted the country to his posterity, who held it in *Strabo's* time. This tract was inhabited by the *Cadusians* and *Caspians*, a savage race, originally sprung from the *Scythians*. Its chief cities were *Gaza*, *Sanina*, *Fazina*, and

and *Cyropolis*. To the south-east of *Atropatene* lay *Media Magna*, in which stood *Ecbatan*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, *Regeia*, *Arsacia*, &c. *Ecbatan*, the metropolis of all *Media*, and the seat both of the *Median* and *Persian* monarchy, was built by *Dejoces*, called in the book of *Judith Arphaxad*. The walls of this city, according to *Herodotus*, were seven in number, all of a circular form, and gradually rising above each other by the height of the battlements of each wall, the ground rising by an easy ascent, and favouring the design. The outermost was 178 furlongs in circuit, and had white battlements. The battlements of the second were black, of the third purple, of the fourth blue, and of the fifth deep orange; but the two innermost, as serving more immediately for a fence to the royal person of the king, were embellished above the others, the one being covered with silver, and the other with gold. Tho' this account favours somewhat of romance, yet that *Ecbatan* was a great and powerful city, is confirmed by good authority. In the book of *Judith* we read that the walls of the city were 70 cubits high and 50 cubits broad, built of hewn and polished stone, each stone being six cubits in length and three in breadth: that the towers on the gates were 100 cubits in height, and the breadth in the foundation 60 cubits. *Diodorus*, we have seen, carries back the building of this city to the fabulous times of *Semiramis*. It is now so completely ruined, that our modern travellers are at a loss where to look for its situation. According to the most probable opinion, *Tauris* is the antient and famous *Ecbatan*, tho' no magnificent ruins are discovered in its neighbourhood.

Laodicea is counted by *Strabo* among the cities of *Media*, and placed by *Pliny* near the confines of *Persia*. *Apamea* is sometimes by *Strabo* adjudged to *Media*, and sometimes to *Parthia*. *Ragea*, or *Rageia*, is called by *Isidorus* the greatest city of *Media*. By *Nicanor*, who repaired it, it was called *Europus*, by which name it was known to *Ptolemy*; but in the book of *Tobit* it is called *Rages*, and placed in the neighbourhood of *Ecbatan*. In process of time it became the seat of the *Parthian* kings, who gave it the name of *Arsacia*, or *Arsace*.

Its chief mountains and *Affyria*, and *Zagius*, also on the confines towards *Affyria*, and rivers, now called *Adilbegian*. On the borders of *Persia*, according to *Ptolemy*, stands *Parachotria*. The *Orontes*, in the neighbourhood of *Ecbatan*, the *Jasonius*, and the *Coronus*, are, in the strictest sense, mountains of *Media*, as arising in the very heart of the country. The rivers of note are, according to *Ptolemy*, the *Straton*, the *Amardus*, the *Cyrus*, and the *Cambyfes*. As to the *Caspian* straits, or *Pylæ Caspiæ*, the opinion of authors concerning their situation is very different; but, according to the best authorities, they lay on the confines of *Media* and *Parthia* *.

* Strab. l. ii. Arrian, l. iii. Isodor. Characenus. Dionys. Perieget. ver. 1039.

The northern parts of *Media*, lying between the *Caspian* soil and mountains and the sea, are very cold and barren, the snow lying on the mountains, according to *Chardin*, nine months in the year. The present inhabitants make their bread of dried almonds, and their drink of the juice of certain herbs. The southern parts are productive of all sorts of grain and necessaries for life, and withal so pleasant, that the country adjoining to *Tauris* is called the garden of *Persia*. There are here very extensive plains, among which that of *Nysa* is often mentioned and celebrated by the antients, for the numerous studs of horses that were kept in it for the use of the *Persian* monarchs.

The climate in the northern parts is exceeding cold and inhospitable, owing to the vapours arising from the *Caspian* sea, and to the great number of marshes, where innumerable swarms of insects are bred; so that, according to *Ælian*, when the king of *Persia* was to make a progress thither, the inhabitants, for three days before his arrival, were employed in clearing the country of the scorpions and venomous insects. The southern provinces enjoy a very wholesome air, tho' liable to heavy rains and violent storms, especially in the spring and autumn. Besides the cattle and game of all sorts, which the inland provinces abound with, some of them have been, for many ages, remarkable on account of the various sorts of excellent wines they produce, especially the neighbourhood of *Tauris*, where no fewer than 60 different kinds of grapes, all of an exquisite flavour, are to be tasted at this day.

The *Caspian* sea, which is the northern boundary of *Media*, The *Caspian* sea. was called by the antients indifferently the *Caspian* and the *Hyr-canian* sea, from the *Caspians* and *Hyrceanians*, whose shores it washed. Both antient and modern geographers had but a very imperfect knowledge of the true situation, extent, coasts, and bays, of the *Caspian*, before the discoveries made in the beginning of this century by *M. Vanverden*, who, by orders of the great czar *Peter* of *Muscovy*, formed a very exact chart of this sea, from observations made by him on the spot. *Ptolemy*, and even *Herodotus*, knew that the *Caspian* was surrounded on all sides by land, without any visible efflux or communication with other seas. *Ptolemy*, however, was greatly mistaken as to its extent from west to east, which he made no less than 23 degrees and an half. His mistakes were observed, and in some degree redressed by *Abu'lfeda*, an *Arabian* prince and able geographer. *Abu'lfeda's* observations were greatly improved by *Bourrous*, *Olearius*, and *Jenkinson*; but the true dimensions of this sea were not ascertained till the late observations above-mentioned; by which we are assured that it lies between the 37th and the 48th degrees of north latitude, and does not exceed three degrees forty-two minutes in its greatest longitude.

The *Persians* call this sea *Kulsum*, or the sea of *Astracan*, the *Russians* the sea of *Gaulenskoï*, the *Georgians*, *Sowa*, the *Armenians*, *Soof*. It receives the great river *Volga* and near 200 others

into its bosom, and yet it is never greatly increased or diminished, nor observed to ebb and flow. It being constantly full, and its waters being salt and of the same colour with those of the ocean, it hath been from thence supposed that it must necessarily have a subterraneous communication with some other sea. Some believe it communicates with the *Baltic*, others with the *Persian* gulph; of which last opinion is father *Avril*, a modern traveller, who, in confirmation thereof, relates that over-against the province of *Xilan* in *Persia* are two immense whirlpools, which, with an incredible rapidity and frightful noise, suck in and swallow whatever comes near them: that the shores in this neighbourhood are covered with willows; and about the latter end of autumn a great quantity of willow-leaves are found floating on the shores of the *Persian* gulph, where none of those trees are found to grow.

The origin of the *Medes*.

Though the first inhabitants of *Media*, as we observed, were the descendants of *Madai* the third son of *Japhet*, yet in process of time several colonies from the adjacent countries settled among them, being invited thither by the fruitfulness of the soil, which gave rise to the various tribes into which this people was antiently divided.

Government.

Their government was originally monarchical, like that of the other primitive nations, and they seem to have had kings of their own in the earliest times. One *Hydaspes*, according to *Lactantius*, reigned over the *Medes* long before they were conquered by the *Assyrians*; and *Diodorus* tells us, that *Pharnus* king of the *Medes* was defeated and taken prisoner by the first *Assyrian* monarch *Ninus*. But what regard ought to be paid to his account we have already observed. Their kings, in the latter period of their monarchy, were quite absolute, and controuled by no law; nay, they claimed an equal respect with the gods themselves.

Their character, custom, and manners.

The *Medes* were once a very warlike race; but in process of time became one of the most effeminate nations of *Asia*. They used the same armour and weapons as the *Persians*, whom they are said to have taught the art of war, and afterwards a taste for luxury, which occasioned the downfall of both empires. Polygamy was so far from being disreputable among them, that they were bound by law to maintain at least seven wives; and those women were looked upon with contempt who maintained fewer than five husbands. In war they poisoned their arrows with a bituminous liquor called *Naptha*. The arrow being steeped in it, and shot from a slack bow (for a swift and violent motion took off from its virtue) burnt the flesh with such violence, that water rather increased than extinguished the malignant flame. Dust alone could put a stop to it, and in some degree allay the unspeakable pain it occasioned. They are likewise said to have bred a number of large dogs, to whom they used to throw the bodies of their parents, friends, and relations, when at the point of death, looking upon it

as dishonourable to die in their beds, or be laid in the ground*.

Some writers charge the *Medes* with being the first authors of making eunuchs; but others impute this execrable practice to the *Persians*; and *Stephanus* says, that it took its rise in the city *Spado*: but this is certainly a mistaken opinion, since we find eunuchs in vogue among the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, long before such a piece of wanton luxury can be supposed to be known either to the *Medes* or *Persians*. When they were to strike alliances, the parties tied together the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood starting to the extremities, was by a slight cut discharged. This they mutually sucked; and a league thus confirmed, was esteemed most awful.

As the laws and religion of the *Medes* were much the same with those of the *Persians*, we shall treat of both conjunctly when we come to the *Persian* history. Here we shall only observe, that when a law was once enacted, it was not in the king's power to repeal it, or to reverse a decree he had once made; whence the laws of the *Medes* are in holy writ called unchangeable.

They paid their kings the highest respect imaginable, putting them upon a level even with their gods. They thought it an high offence either to spit or laugh in their presence, and honoured them with the title of *great king*, or *king of kings*, which stile was afterwards adopted by the *Persian* monarchs, and their proud successors the *Parthians*. When they appeared in public, which seldom happened, they were always attended by music and numerous guards, consisting of the prime nobility; and their wives, children, and concubines, were part of their retinue, even when they headed their armies in the field.

As to their arts, learning, and trade, the antient writers leave us quite in the dark. Tho' their country abounded with many excellent productions, yet it would seem that they never applied themselves greatly to trade, from the character which the prophet *Isaiah*, chap. xiii. gives them of despising gold and silver, and delighting in the bloody trade of war.



S E C T. II.

The history of the MEDIAN Kings.

IN the chronology of the *Medes* we may distinguish three remarkable occurrences, which will give birth to as many different æras. First, the recovery of their liberty, after they had been subdued by the *Assyrians*: the rise of their kingdom,

* Strabo, l. ix. Xenophon. *Cyropæd.* l. i. Bardefan. ap. Euseb. præp. Evan. l. vi.

after some years of anarchy; and the beginning of their empire, which, it is agreed on all hands, rose on the ruins of the *Assyrian* monarchy. The *Medes* we find in subjection to the *Assyrians* in the reign of *Tiglathpileser*, who transplanted the inhabitants of *Damascus* to *Kir* in *Media*; we may therefore conclude that they had been subdued by his father *Pul*, who appears from Scripture to have been the first that extended the *Assyrian* empire.

About 60 years after they shook off the *Assyrian* yoke, in the reign of *Sennacherib*, probably taking advantage of his long and distant absence on the confines of *Egypt*, or of the sudden slaughter of his army upon his approach to *Jerusalem*, and by dint of arms defended their liberty against the power of the *Assyrians*, which was now in its decline. These are the troubles which prevented *Tobit* from going into *Media*, according to his custom.

Tho' they had thus asserted their independancy of the *Assyrians*, yet having no supreme chief, they fell into a kind of anarchy, which gave *Esarhaddon* the son of *Sennacherib* an opportunity of again subduing part of their country. In these times of confusion, *Dejoces*, the head of a district, having distinguished himself by his abilities as a judge, was at length, 10 years after, with universal consent, declared king, about 700 years before Christ. From this time to the destruction of *Nineveh* by his grandson *Cyaxares*, *Media* may be properly stiled a kingdom, and *Cyaxares* may be called the founder of their empire, which lasted till two years after the taking of *Babylon*, when *Darius* the *Mede* died, and was succeeded by *Cyrus*.

We shall give our readers a short account of the fabulous history of the *Medes*, according to *Ctesias*, *Diodorus* his transcriber, and their followers. The *Medes*, they tell us, were governed by kings of their own before the early days of *Ninus*, the pretended founder of the *Assyrian* monarchy, who took *Pharnus* the *Median* king prisoner, and crucified him, with his wife and seven children. *Semiramis* next invaded *Media* with a mighty army, founded *Ecbatan*, made several large and elegant gardens, and performed several other exploits, which we have already mentioned. About 1300 years after, the *Assyrian* empire being dissolved, and *Nineveh* being destroyed, by *Belesis* governor of *Babylon* and *Arbaces* governor of *Media*, the *Medes*, who had all this while continued subject to the *Assyrians*, now declared *Arbaces* their king.

Pharnus,
first king
of *Media*.

Arbaces.

Arbaces is said to have subdued all *Asia*, and to have reigned 23 years, and is represented as a prince of great generosity and gratitude, he having pardoned *Belesis*, who had fraudulently taken possession of the immense treasures concealed in the ashes and ruins of the palace of *Nineveh*.

Mandauc
es.

*Mandauc*es, the son of *Arbaces*, succeeded his father, and reigned 50 years; but being of a peaceable disposition, and his subjects desirous of some respite, he did nothing worthy of notice in the warlike way. The next prince was *Sofarmus*, who

Sofarmus.

after

after reigning 30 years, was succeeded by *Artias*, by some called *Arbycas*, by others *Cardiccas*. From the syllables *Arti* in his name, he is supposed to have been a great and glorious prince, the word *Arti* denoting greatness, according to the interpretation of *Herodotus*, in the *Persian* name *Artaxerxes*. How long he reigned is uncertain.

After him came *Arbianes*, in whose reign the *Cadusians* revolted, by the instigation of one *Parsodes* a *Persian*, who had been the king's favourite and prime minister; but upon a sentence being pronounced against him, had fled with 1000 horse and 3000 foot to the *Cadusians*. Before the war broke out, *Arbianes* died, after a reign of 20 years.

His successor *Artæus*, in the beginning of his reign, assembled an army of 800,000 men, to reduce the *Cadusians*; but was shamefully defeated by *Parsodes*, whose army consisted only of 200,000 men. *Parsodes* being then declared king by the *Cadusians*, inspired his new subjects with an irreconcilable hatred against the *Medes*, whom they continued to harass for several generations, till their empire was transferred to the *Persians*.

Artynes, the following prince, reigned 22 years; but did nothing worth mentioning.

In the reign of *Artibarnas*, or *Artabanus*, his successor, the *Parthians* revolting, put themselves under the protection of the *Sacæ*, a people inhabiting mount *Hæmodus*, which separates *India* from *Scythia*. This occasioned a war of many years between the *Medes* and the *Sacæ*, who were then governed by the famed *Zanara*, a princess no less celebrated for her courage and conduct in war, than for her beauty. After she had for many years harassed the *Medes*, a peace was at length concluded between her and *Artibarnas*, on the following conditions: that the *Parthians* should submit to the *Medes*, and the *Sacæ* and *Medes* quietly enjoy what they possessed in the beginning of the war*.

We now proceed to the genuine history of *Media*, as it has been transmitted to us by authors of a quite different character. The *Medes* having thrown off the *Assyrian* yoke in the reign of *Sennacherib*, lived some time without a king; but their state being soon involved in the greatest anarchy; and injustice, rapine, and violence, every-where prevailing, they unanimously declared *Dejoces* king. *Dejoces*, in the times of the confusion, had raised himself a great character, by administering justice in his district with great impartiality; so that the inhabitants of the other districts at length flocked to him, as the only person from whom they could expect a redress of their grievances. When he had rendered himself thus necessary, he then craftily declined interfering any further in public affairs, so that the licentiousness again prevailing worse than before, the *Medes*,

* Diod. Sic. l. ii.

Dejoces
chosen
king.
Bef. Ch.
710.

in a general assembly of the whole nation, were persuaded by the secret partizans of *Dejoces* to confer the sovereign power upon him, as the only person who could restore the public tranquillity.

Dejoces being established on the throne, threw off the mask, and reigned with rigour; tho' perhaps such a conduct may have been absolutely necessary to bring the nation into any order or discipline. In the beginning of his reign he obliged his subjects to build him a magnificent palace, which he strongly fortified, and chose out from among his people such persons as he judged fittest to be his guards. Having thus provided for his own security, he united the several districts into which the *Medes* had been divided during the anarchy, and not only built *Ecbatan*, in Scripture called *Acmetha*, which we have already described, but caused several other cities to be founded.

He next applied himself to the composing of laws for the good of the state; and to cause himself to be revered by his subjects, he ordered that none but his officers should be admitted to his presence, by whom all matters were to be transacted, and all petitions received. But tho' he kept himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people, who were thereby induced to think him of a superior nature to themselves; he was nevertheless informed of every thing that happened in his dominions, maintaining for that purpose many emissaries in all the provinces of his government, who brought him a particular account of every transaction. By this means no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law. In the end of his reign, *Dejoces* proposed to extend the limits of his new kingdom, and with this view invaded *Assyria*; but the *Assyrian* monarch *Saosduchinus*, or *Nebuchadonosor*, attacking him in the plain of *Ragau*, he was totally routed and slain, after reigning, according to *Herodotus*, fifty-three years. *Nebuchadonosor* following his blow, reduced several cities of *Media*, and among the rest *Ecbatan*, which he almost intirely destroyed *.

Phraortes. *Phraortes*, the son and successor of *Dejoces*, was of a warlike disposition, and not satisfied with the kingdom of *Media*, from which he had expelled the *Assyrians*, according to *Herodotus*, he invaded *Persia*, which he reduced: but from the prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* it would appear that *Persia* was not conquered by the *Medes* till several years afterwards; and the conquest may therefore be supposed to have happened in the reign of his son *Cyaxares* †. However, after a series of conquests, he made himself master of almost all *Upper Asia* lying between mount *Taurus* and the river *Halys*. He also conquered great part of *Assyria*, and even laid siege to *Nineveh*: but here his good fortune abandoning him, he perished, with the greater part of his army, after having reigned twenty-two years.

* Herod. l. i. Judith. passim. † Jerem. xxv. 25. xlix. 35.

Cyaxares, the son and successor of *Phraortes*, was a brave and enterprising prince. Having established himself on the throne, and raised a powerful army of well disciplined troops, he resolved to revenge the death of his father and grandfather, by the destruction of *Nineveh*. The *Assyrians* endeavoured to oppose him on the frontiers; but being defeated, fled into *Nineveh*, where they were immediately closely besieged. *Cyaxares*, however, was obliged to abandon his design, and to withdraw his troops to defend his own dominions against the *Scythians*, who, under *Madyas* the son of *Protothyas*, were ready to enter *Media*, having pursued the *Cimmerians* from the *Palus Meotis*. He marched with all dispatch towards his frontiers to oppose them, and hazarding a battle, was totally routed, after a long and bloody engagement. The conquerors having no other enemy to contend with, over-ran not only all *Media*, but the greater part of *Upper Asia*, and from thence they extended their conquests into *Syria* as far as the confines of *Egypt*, where they were met by *Psammitichus* the king, who prevailed upon them, by intreaties and presents, to proceed no farther *. In this expedition the *Scythians* possessed themselves of the city of *Bethshean*, in the territories of the tribe of *Manasseh* on this side the *Jordan*, and held it as long as they continued in *Asia*, whence it is called *Scythopolis*, or the city of the *Scythians* †. They also plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Ascalon*; for which sacrilege, the guilty persons, and their posterity, were afflicted with emroids, according to the account of the *Philistines*, who from thence appear not to have forgot the punishment which their ancestors had suffered for detaining the ark ‡.

The *Scythians* invade *Asia*.

After the *Scythians* had continued masters of the upper *Asia*, They are namely, of the two *Armenia's*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis*, forced to *Iberia*, and great part of *Lydia*, for 28 years, *Cyaxares* finding himself unable to expel them by force of arms, resolved to root them out by treachery. He accordingly invited the greatest part of them to a general feast, which was given in every family, and each landlord making his guest drunk, in that condition massacred him; by which expedient the kingdom was delivered from those oppressive strangers; for we do not find that those who remained raised any commotions in *Media*. The *Medes* now repossessing themselves of the provinces they had lost, once more extended their empire to the banks of the *Halys*.

Soon after this massacre, *Cyaxares* was engaged in a war with the *Lydians*, the occasion of which is thus related by *Herodotus*. Several *Scythian* refugees were entrusted with the education of divers *Median* youths, whom they were to instruct in the use of the bow, and in the *Scythian* language. These strangers went frequently to hunt, and were ever accustomed to return

A war betwixt *Cyaxares* and the *Lydians*.

* Herod. l. i. ii.—vii. Strab. l. i. † Syncel. p. 214. ‡ Herod. l. i.

with some game; but one day happening to come home with empty hands, *Cyaxares* treated them with most opprobrious language. In resentment for this usage they killed one of the youths committed to their care, dressed his flesh like venison, and served it up to *Cyaxares* and his guests, and then flying to *Sardis*, implored the protection of *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* immediately demanded the *Scythians*, but the king of *Lydia* refusing to deliver them up, a war of six years ensued between the two nations with various success. Whether the *Scythians* who fled to *Lydia* were not rather the remains of those who had escaped the massacre than any new colony from *Scythia*, we think may be justly doubted. In the sixth year of the war, while the *Medes* and *Lydians* were in the heat of an engagement, there happened an eclipse of the sun, which is said to have been foretold by *Thales* the *Milesian* (A). Both parties equally terrified with this uncommon event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated, and soon after concluded a peace by the mediation of *Labynetis*, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, and *Syennesis* king of *Cilicia*. This peace was strengthened by a marriage between *Aryenis* the daughter of *Halyattes* and *Astyages*, the eldest son of *Cyaxares*, of which marriage was born, the ensuing year, *Cyaxares*, who, in the book of *Daniel*, is called *Darius* the *Mede*.

Cyaxares, about the same time, entered into a strict alliance with *Nebuchadnezzar*, which he confirmed, by giving him his daughter *Amyite* to wife, and, in conjunction with the *Babylonians*, resumed the siege of *Nineveh*, which, after a long defence, they took and levelled with the ground, as we have before related. The destruction of this proud metropolis, the *Jews* ascribe to the *Chaldeans*, the *Greeks* to the *Medes*, and *Tobit*, *Polyhistor*, *Josephus*, and *Ctesias* to both. It laid the foundation of the two collateral empires, as we may call them, of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which rose on the ruins of the *Assyrian* monarchy.

While *Nebuchadnezzar*, after the reduction of *Nineveh*, was prosecuting his victories westward in *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*, *Cyaxares* fell upon the *Assyrian* provinces of *Armenia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, which he subdued with great slaughter

(A) As to the appearance of the eclipse on this occasion, authors are in general agreed; but they differ greatly in fixing the æra of the transaction. *Pliny* places it in the 4th year of the 48th Olympiad; *Clemens Alexandrinus* in the 50th Olympiad. The solar and lunar tables of *Ptolemy*, which are the same with those of

Hipparchus, place this eclipse on the 4th year of the 44th Olympiad. But according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, it fell upon the 28th of May, in the year of *Nabonassar* 163, which is the same year mentioned by *Pliny*. *Chron. of ant. kingd. amend.* *Plin. l. i.* *Alex. Strom. l. i.*

of the inhabitants. Having also subdued *Persis* and *Susiana*, and erected the kingdom of *Media* into a powerful empire, he died in the 40th year of his reign, and left his dominions to his son *Astyages*.

Astyages in scripture is called *Ahasuerus*. The same year that his son *Cyaxares* was born, he gave his daughter *Mandane*, whom he had by a former wife, to *Cambyfes* a *Persian*, from which marriage sprung *Cyrus* the founder of the *Persian* monarchy, and the restorer of the *Jews* to their country, their temple and former condition. He was born but one year after the birth of his uncle *Cyaxares*, and consequently was in the 61st year of his age, when *Babylon* was taken. Though the reign of *Astyages* lasted 35 years, yet we find no particulars of it recorded in history, except his repulsing the *Babylonians*, who, under the conduct of *Evil-merodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, had made an inroad into his country, as we have related in the history of *Babylon*.

Cyaxares the son and successor of *Astyages*, was scarce seated on his throne, when he found himself engaged in a bloody war with *Neriglissar* king of *Babylon*. This war was carried on with great slaughter on both sides by *Cyaxares* and his nephew *Cyrus*, and concluded with the taking of *Babylon*; but as it was entirely managed by *Cyrus* for 20 years, we shall defer the relating of these important events till the reign of that great and glorious prince. As for *Cyaxares*, he is said in Scripture to have taken the kingdom after the reduction of *Babylon* and death of *Belshazzar*; for *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, allowed him the honour of the first rank. He himself nevertheless having the command of the army, and the whole management of affairs, was looked upon as supreme governor of the empire; and hence it is, that in *Ptolemy's* canon no notice is taken of *Cyaxares*; but *Cyrus* is placed immediately after *Nabonadius* the last *Babylonian* king. That a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* upon the death of *Nabonadius*, or *Belshazzar*, is expressly mentioned in scripture, where the *Medes*, before the reign of *Cyrus*, are always placed before the *Persians*, as the *Persians* in the reign of *Cyrus* and his successors are placed before the *Medes*. Though most of the *Greeks*, who received their information from the *Persians*, take no notice of *Cyaxares*, yet *Josephus*, who was better informed, tells us, that *Darius with his ally Cyrus destroyed the kingdom of Babylon*. The same author adds, that this *Darius* was the son of *Astyages*, and that he was known to the *Greeks* by another name. Now if we ask the *Greeks* the name of *Astyages's* son, *Xenophon* will tell us that he was called *Cyaxares*.

After the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares*, in concert with *Cyrus*, settled the affairs of their new empire, dividing it into 120 provinces, the government of which they conferred on those who had distinguished themselves during the war. Over these governors were appointed three presidents, who residing constantly at court, were to receive accounts of what happened

Daniel appointed one of the chief presidents.

He is miraculously preserved in the lions den.

The Median empire transferred to the Persians.

happened in several provinces, and dispatch the king's orders to the immediate officers. Of the three presidents *Daniel* was appointed the chief, an honour which he highly deserved, not only on account of his great wisdom, but likewise of his age and consummate experience; for he had now served the kings of *Babylon* full 63 years, in the quality of prime minister. This employment advancing him to be next person to the king, the other courtiers envied his great merit and dignity, and would have compassed his ruin, had he not been miraculously preserved by that Providence which is ever watching over the safety of the just. As the only thing they could lay hold of to disgrace him at court, and make him incur the king's displeasure, was his attachment to the law of his God, they prevailed with *Darius* to issue out a proclamation, forbidding all persons to put up any petition whatsoever to God or man, except to the king, for the space of 30 days, upon pain of being cast into the lions den. *Daniel*, notwithstanding this wicked decree, did not omit his usual prayers to God; but being discovered and accused, as the laws of the *Medes* were unalterable, he was condemned to be thrown into the den of the lions, the king, who highly esteemed him, greatly regretting his fate. The lions, however, were miraculously prevented from hurting him; and the king next morning rejoicing to find him safe, was convinced of his innocence, ordered him to be taken out, and caused his malicious accusers, with their wives and children, to be thrown into the den, where they were instantly devoured by the lions.

About the same time, the famous *Darics* were probably coined out of the gold of the *Lydians* and other conquered nations. For we are told, that the author of this coin was not *Darius Hystaspes*, but a more antient *Darius*. Now there is no antienter *Darius* mentioned to have reigned in the east, excepting only this *Darius*, whom the Scripture calls *Darius the Median*. According to *Dr. Bernard*, the *Daric* weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but as it had very little alloy, it may be reckoned, according to the present proportion of gold and silver, to have been worth 25 shillings *. *Cyaxares* dying without any male issue, after he had reigned two years at *Babylon*, the empire devolved to *Cyrus*, who had married his only daughter; the *Persians* being then reckoned the imperial nation.

* Prid. Connect. part i. Bern. de pond. & mens. antiq. Suidas. Harpocrat. Scholiast. Aristoph.

CHAP. II.

The History of PERSIA.

SECT. I.

The description of PERSIA.

THE most antient name of *Persia* is that by which it is called by *Moses*, namely, *Elam*, from *Elam* the son of *Shem*, the father of its first inhabitants. *Herodotus* calls its inhabitants *Cephenes*; and in very antient times, *Hyde* informs us the people of this country called themselves *Artæi*, and the region wherein they dwelt *Artæa*, probably from the *Persian* word *Ard*, or *Art*, which signifies strong, brave, magnanimous. In the books of *Daniel*, *Esdras*, &c. we find the country called *Paras*, agreeable to the *Persian* name of *Pars*, or *Phârs*, by which the proper *Persia* is called at this time. It has also been called *Achæmenia* and *Arsaca*, from its antient kings. By the *Arabs* it is called *Agjem*, or the country of the *Barbarians*; by the *Armenians* it is stiled *Shahistan*, that is, the country of the *Shah*; and by the *Persians* themselves generally *Iroun*, or *Iran*.

The extent of *Persia* has been, in different ages, as various as its names. We shall first assign the boundaries of the *Persian* empire as they stood antiently, when it extended farthest; next we shall settle the boundaries of the modern *Persian* empire; and then we shall review the general provinces mentioned by antient writers, and give a short account of the condition they are now in.

As to the antient empire of the *Persians*, it reached in length from the *Hellepont* to the mouth of the river *Indus*, about 2800 *English* miles; in breadth from *Pontus* to the mouth of the *Arabian* gulph, about 2000 miles.

The modern *Persia*, that is, the dominions of the *Persian* crown, are in length about 1840 of our miles, extending from the mouth of the river *Araxes* to the mouth of the river *Indus*; and in breadth from the river *Oxus* to the *Persian* gulph, about 1080 miles. On the north they are bounded by the *Caspian* sea, the river *Oxus*, and mount *Caucasus*; on the east by the river *Indus* and the dominions of the great mogul; on the south by the *Persian* gulph and the *Indian* ocean; and on the west by the dominions of the grand signior.

The first province we shall mention in the antient division of this country, is *Gedrosia*, or *Cedrosia*. It was bounded on the east by *Guzarat*, a province of *India*; on the south by the *Indian* ocean; on the west by *Carmania*; and on the north by *Drangiana* and *Arachosia*. It was antiently inhabited by the *Arbitæ*,

bitæ, Parsiræ, Musarnæi, and the *Rhamnæ*; and its principal cities were, *Pasis, Arbis*, and *Cuni*. It is called at present *Makran*, and the principal modern cities are, *Firbk, Chalak*, and the port of *Guadal*. Mount *Becius*, or rather a ridge of mountains, runs thro' the middle of the province. From them springs the celebrated river *Arbis*, or *Arabis*, which, after a short course, empties itself into the *Indian* ocean. At its mouth stood a celebrated emporium called *the Haven of Women*, because, according to *Arrian*, it was first subject to the government of a woman. The soil of this province was sandy and barren, and the air intemperately hot; so that *Alexander's* army suffered excessively here, notwithstanding they built their huts with aromatic wood, and met with spices in profusion *.

Carmania.

West from *Gedrosia* was situated *Carmania*, being bounded on the south by the *Indian* ocean, on the north by *Parthia*; on the west by *Persis* and the gulph of *Persia*. It was inhabited by the *Isatichæ, Zuthi, Gadanopydres, Cameloboscei, Agdonites, Rhudianæ, Ares, Charadæ, Pasargadæ, and Amoxæi*; and contains the modern provinces of *Chirman* and *Ormas*. Its antient cities were, *Camana*, now *Khirman*, still a considerable place, and famous for the excellent scymitars made there; *Alexandria*, built by *Alexander* the Great; *Armuzæ*, or *Armuzum*, on the shore of the gulph, giving name to a promontory, and to the island of *Ormuz*. This province is divided into *Carmania* proper and *Carmania* the desert; which last lies towards the north, and has scarce a town or a village in it, its soil being an inhospitable sand, its air hot and unhealthy. *Carmania* proper is a better country; and tho' mountainous, yet is watered with several rivers. At this day it is particularly remarkable for producing sheep which bear the finest wool in the world, the fleece, about the month of *May*, falling off of itself, and leaving the sheep quite naked. Dependant on this province is the little but famous island of *Ormuz*, in compass about twenty miles, full of rocks, and destitute of all necessaries, except salt, of which there is such plenty, and so hard, that 'tis said houses are built thereof. Formerly it was the emporium of this part of the world; but even in its most flourishing state, the inhabitants were obliged to have their water from the continent; and the air in summer was so excessively sultry, that people were forced to live in grotts, and to lie in water †.

Drangiana.

Drangiana was a small province, and was bounded on the south by *Gedrosia*, on the east by *Arachosia*, on the north by *Aria*, and on the west by *Carmania* the desert. It derived its name, as some say, from the river *Drangius*, and is called by the modern *Persians* *Sigestan*. Its antient inhabitants were the *Darandæ* and the *Batrii*; and according to *Ptolemy*, it contained ten considerable cities, the most famous of which were *Aria* and

* Voyag. de Tavernier & Chardin. Arrian, l. vi. Strab. l. xv.

† Ptol. l. vi. Arrian. Tavernier, ut sup.

and *Prophthasia*, which last is now supposed to be called *Sistan*. The province is every-where hilly; and therefore has never been very considerable. At present it is only famous for the report of its having been the birth-place of *Rustan*, the celebrated hero of oriental romances.

Arachosia is bounded on the west by *Drangiana*, on the north by *Paropamisus*, on the east by the river *Indus*, and on the south by *Gedrosia*. Its modern name is not well settled. It was inhabited of old by the *Arimaspi*, who were afterwards called *Margyetæ*, and then *Euergetæ*, the *Sidri*, *Ropultæ*, and *Eortæ*. *Ptolemy* reckons up thirteen cities in this province, the chief of which were, *Arachotos*, built on a lake of the same name by the famous *Semiramis*, supposed by some to be the city now called *Cabul*; *Alexandria*, built by *Alexander* the Great, and by others supposed likewise to be *Cabul*. We are informed by *Tavernier*, that there are now no towns of note in this province.

Paropamisus, bounded on the west by *Aria*, on the north by *Paropamisus*, on the east by the dominions of the mogul, and on the south by *Arachosia*, is called by the moderns *Sablestan*, including likewise the kingdom of *Candahar*. Its antient inhabitants were, the *Bolitæ*, *Aristophili*, *Ambantæ*, *Parietæ*, and *Parsii*; and its chief cities, *Ortospanum*, and *Naulibis*. Modern cities there are many of great note, some of them very wealthy, and adorned with beautiful and convenient caravanseras. This province derives its name from the mountain *Paropamisus*, a part of *Taurus*, which was falsely stiled *Caucasus*, to flatter *Alexander* the Great, that it might be said of him that he had passed that famous ridge of mountains *. The soil of this country in general is not over fruitful, and the province is full of hills.

Bactriana, or *Bactra*, now called *Chorassan*, was bounded on the south by *Paropamisus*, and on the north by *Sogdiana*. It was antiently inhabited by the *Salataræ*, *Zariaspcæ*, *Chomatri*, *Comi*, *Acinacæ*, *Tambyzi*, and *Thocaræ*, and, in the first ages of the world, was a very famous kingdom. In later times it boasted 1000 cities, the chief of which were *Bactra* and *Eleusini*, both royal cities, as *Ptolemy* tells us.

Margiana, now called *Estarabad*, is bounded on the west by *Margiana*, on the north by *Tartary*, on the south by *Aria*, and on the east by *Bactria*. Its antient inhabitants were, the *Derbicæ*, the *Massagetæ*, who came hither from *Scythia*, the *Parni*, the *Dacæ*, and the *Tapurni*. Its chief cities were *Nigæa*, or *Nisæa*, and *Alexandria*, afterwards called *Antiochia*, and after that *Seleucia*. The province is begirt with high mountains, and watered with pleasant rivers, and among the rest the noble river *Oxus*, so famous in *Greek* and *Latin* authors, by whom the country is celebrated for its fertility, especially in vines, some of the clusters

* Strab. l. ix. Arrian expedit. Alex. l. v. Tavernier.

of which are two cubits long, and the trees themselves so large, that two men can scarce fathom the trunk of one of them. It contains at present several cities of note; and *Estarabad*, its capital, is remarkable for the fine druggits and other excellent woollen goods manufactured there.

Hyrkania.

On the west of *Margiana* lies *Hyrkania*, which was bounded on the north and west by the *Caspian* sea, having *Media* also on the west, and *Parthia* on the south. It included the two modern provinces, *Mazandran* and *Kylan*; and its antient inhabitants were, the *Maxeræ*, *Astabenî*, and *Chrindi*. Its antient capital was called *Hyrkania*, and is still named *Hyrkana*. Modern places of note are, *Terhabad*, a port seated on a navigable arm of the sea, a fine city, much frequented by *Russian* merchants, *Ginu*, *Taralapeset*, *Ciarman*, and *Escresf*. The province is represented by antient writers as a country fruitful in wine, wheat, figs, and all other kind of fruits, abounding also with great store of cattle, and of wild beasts of almost every kind, even to a proverb; and the same account is also given by some modern travellers, tho' others represent great part of it as cold and barren *.

Aria.

Aria, now comprehended under the province of *Chorasan*, was surrounded by *Hyrkania*, *Margiana*, *Bactriana*, *Paropamisus*, and *Drangiana*, and was antiently inhabited by the *Nisæi*, *Astaveni*, *Musdorani*, *Cassiotæ*, *Obares*, *Elymandri*, and the *Borgi*. Its antient cities were, *Artacanda*, *Bitaxa*, *Alexandria*, inhabited by a colony of the *Macedonians*, and *Aria*, seated on the river *Arias*, thought to be the same with the present *Heri*, or *Herat*, which is large and populous. *Ptolemy* mentions 35 cities in this province, which was antiently very populous, tho' much subject to heats, and intermixed with deserts, heaths, and forests. The wine which it produced was of so strong a body, as to keep 80 or 100 years without diminution of colour or flavour.

Parthia.

Parthia, bounded on the west by *Media*, on the north by *Hyrkania*, on the east by *Aria*, and on the south by *Carmania* the desert, is surrounded on every side with mountains, and at this day called *Erak-agemi*. The antient *Parthians* are said to have been originally descended from the *Celtes*, who, being driven out of their own country, settled here, and had this name given them, which in the *Celtic* language signified *separated* or *put away*. According to *Ptolemy*, the province contained 25 large cities; and it certainly must have been very populous, since many cities and about 2000 villages are reckoned to have been destroyed by earthquakes. Its capital city was called *Hecatomplus*, from its having 100 gates, which by many is believed to be *Ispahan*, or rather *Spauhawn*, the present capital of *Persia* †. We shall afterwards be more

* Harris's Collect. of Trav. vol. ii. Chardin voyage. † Tavernier, Gemelli, Harris's Collect. v. i. Chardin, t. ii.

particular in our accounts of this province, and its famous capital.

Persis was bounded on the north by *Media*, on the west by *Persis*, *Susiana*, on the east by *Carmania*, and on the south by the *Persian* gulph. It is now called *Pars*, or *Phars*, and was antiently inhabited by the *Mesabatae*, *Rapsii*, *Hippophagi*, *Suzæi*, *Megores*, &c. Antient cities of note were, *Persepolis*, the noble metropolis of the antient *Persian* empire, *Axima*, *Marasium*, called now *Marazu*, *Toace*, the capital of a district of the same name, *Pasargada*, a noble city, built by *Cyrus*, and honoured with his tomb. The modern cities of note here are very numerous. This province, which is frequently mentioned by antient authors, is hilly and barren in the northern parts, its corn and fruits not being sufficient for the use of the inhabitants. The coast of the *Persian* gulph is likewise barren and very unhealthy, on account of the excessive heats: but between these lies a rich and pleasant country abounding with corn, fruit, and cattle. As to *Persepolis*, the antient capital of the *Persian* empire, *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that when it was taken by *Alexander* it was the richest city in the world. He allowed his army to pillage the city, and reserved to himself the plunder of the citadel, which had been amassed there from the time of *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Persian* empire. From thence he took 120,000 talents of gold; and so immense was the spoil, that the neighbouring nations were constrained to furnish mules and other beasts of burden, besides 3000 camels, to carry it off; for he had conceived such a dislike to the inhabitants of the city, that he was resolved to leave nothing in it of value.

Susiana was bounded on the north by *Assyria*, on the west by *Susiana*, *Chaldea*, on the east by *Persia*, and on the south by the *Persian* gulph. It is believed by some to have been the land of *Havilah*, called now *Chusistan*, inhabited by the *Elymæi* and *Cossæi*. Its capital was the famous city of *Susa*, the *Shushan* of the Scriptures, and once the royal seat of the *Persian* kings, who were wont to reside here part of the year. According to *Pliny* it was founded by *Darius Hystaspes*; but from Scripture it appears to have been built long before: and *Strabo* positively affirms; that it was built by *Tithonous*, the father of *Memnon*, who perished at *Troy*. It was hard to determine whether this noble city excelled in pleasantness, magnificence, or strength. It was seated on the confluence of the *Ulai* and the *Choaspes*; and in its palace, which *Diodorus* says was one of the noblest mansions in the universe, were preserved the records of the *Persian* empire, which were seized by *Alexander*, who took from thence 9000 talents of coined gold, and 40,000 talents of gold and silver bullion.

There are yet two other provinces of the modern *Persian* empire; but these we have already described, namely, *Curdistani*, and *Schirwan*, containing the antient *Assyria*, and *Schirwan*, of old styled *Media*. According to *Chardin*, there are reckoned in the dominions

dominions of *Persia* upwards of 500 considerable places, walled towns and castles, about 60,000 villages, and forty millions of souls.

The climate.

The air and climate of this country, considering its great extent, cannot be otherwise than varied; some parts, according to their different situation, being frozen with cold, and others burnt with heat, at the same time of the year. All along the coasts of the *Persian* gulph and the *Indian* ocean east, to the very mouth of the river *Indus*, the heat is, for four months, so excessive, that even those who are born in the country, unable to bear it, quit their houses, and retire to the mountains; so that at that season none are to be found in the villages but wretched poor creatures, left there to watch the effects of the rich, at the expence of their own health. The air is not only insupportably hot, but prodigiously unwholesome, strangers frequently at that season falling sick, and seldom escaping. The eastern provinces are also subject to great heats; and in the northern provinces, on the coast of the *Caspian* sea, the heat is full as great, is attended with moisture, and as unwholesome as on the southern coasts. The people here also retire, about the end of *April*, to the mountains, 20 or 30 leagues from the sea; and tho' their country, from *October* to *May*, is extremely beautiful and pleasant, yet they carry in their faces indelible marks of the malign influence of their summers, looking all of them of a faint yellow, and being without either spirits or strength. The moistness of the air is only in the northern parts; for the other provinces of *Persia* enjoy the dry air, the sky being perfectly serene, and hardly so much as a cloud seen to fly therein. The inhabitants derive from this purity of the element a clear and florid complexion, together with an excellent habit of body. Tho' it seldom rains, the heats are nevertheless mitigated; for in the night, tho' not a cloud be seen, there is a brisk wind, which lasts till within an hour of the morning, and gives such a coolness to the air, that a man may dispense with a tolerable warm garment. The winter in this kingdom begins in *November*, and continues till *March*, being very sharp and rude, and attended with frost and snow, which last descends in great flakes on the mountains, but never on the plains. In some mountains west from *Spauhawn*, where the snow lies eight months in the year, it is said white worms are found as big as ones little finger, which, if crushed, feel colder than the snow itself. From the month of *March* to that of *May* there are brisk winds. From *May* to *September* the air is dry, serene, and very hot, except in the nights; and in *September* and *October* the wind blows as in spring. Considering the length and coolness of the nights in the summer, and the shortness of the twilights, the heat at this season is as supportable at *Spauhawn* as at *Paris*. The great dryness of its air exempts *Persia* from thunder and earthquakes; but in the spring there sometimes falls hail, which does great mischief to the harvest, then pretty far advanced. The winds, however,

however brisk, seldom swell into storms or tempests; but on the other hand, on the southern coasts they are frequently poisonous and infectious *. People often find themselves struck by a south wind, says *Tavernier*, in such a manner, that they cry, *I burn*, and immediately fall down dead. *M. Le Brun* says, that he was greatly incommoded therewith while he was there; and that the people assured him the weather at some times was so excessively sultry as to melt the seals of letters.

There is perhaps no country in the world which, generally Mountain-speaking, is more mountainous than *Persia*; but these mountains are far from being advantageous, since many of them yield neither springs nor metals, and but a few of them are shaded with trees.

As to the rivers of this country, they are none of them navigable, except the *Araxis*. The streams of the other rivers are rendered less considerable than they otherwise would be, by being cut into many channels to water the grounds. This was practised antiently much more than of late years; and from hence, in a great measure, arises the mighty difference between the productions of antient and modern *Persia*. It would seem that these channels are daily lessening; for *Tavernier* was informed by a *Persian* nobleman, that within the space of 24 years no less than 80 channels had been choaked up in the territory of *Tauris*. Antient authors have given very confused and contradictory accounts of the river *Araxis*, not considering that there two rivers of that name in *Persia*, the one rising in *Armenia*, running thro' *Media*, and emptying itself into the *Caspian* sea, having a navigable channel, and is still called *Aras*; the other, at present called *Bendemer*, running thro' *Persis*, and emptying itself into the *Persian* gulph †. This gulph flows out of the *Indian* ocean, extending from the south-east to the north-west. It is also sometimes stiled *the Red Sea*, and *the Gulph of Aden*, of *Arabia*, and of *Balsora*.

From the few and inconsiderable rivers, and the great number of mountains without springs, it may be naturally concluded that the soil cannot be generally rich or fruitful. Here and there, however, the vallies are fertile and pleasant enough. The earth, in some places, is sandy and stony, in others, heavy and hard; but every-where so dry, that if it be not watered it produces nothing, not even grass. The scanty rains are not sufficient to keep even the best lands in a condition of bearing corn or fruits without further help. The oppressive government of the *Mahomedan* princes, and the want of people to cultivate the land, are looked upon by modern travellers as the two chief causes of the barrenness of the country, and that it does not answer the descriptions of *Q. Curtius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and other antients.

* Chardin, ub. sup. t. iii. † Harris's Collection of Trav. vol. iii.

Trees.

There is a great variety of trees to be found in *Persia*. The most common is the plantane, the willow, the fir, the cornil, the turpentine tree, the almond tree, and the wild chesnut. The plantane, according to the *Persians*, has a singular virtue against the plague and all other infectious diseases; and they positively assert that there has been no contagion at *Spauhawn* since the planting of vast numbers of these trees in its streets and gardens. The trees which bear gall-nuts, and those which produce gums, mastich, incense, and manna, are found very commonly in many parts of *Persia*.

Herbs and drugs.

The *Persian* herbs, especially such as are aromatic, exceed those of other countries. Most of our *European* roots, greens, &c. flourish here in great perfection, and would certainly be greatly cultivated if, as in *Europe*, men were by religion restrained, at some seasons, from eating flesh. As to drugs, *Persia* produces as many as any country of *Asia*. Manna, cassia, senna, the nux vomica, are common in most provinces; gum ammoniac is found in abundance on the confines of *Parthia*, and rhubarb to the north of *Bactria*, where the inhabitants eat it in common as we do beet roots. This rhubarb, however, is not so good as that which comes from *Tartary* on the borders of *China*. But the poppy of *Persia* is esteemed the finest in the world, both in respect of the beauty of its flower, and the strength of its juice, called by the *Persians* *afsoon*, from whence our word *opium*. Tobacco grows all over *Persia*, and saffron is cultivated in many provinces. The plant by the *Persians* called *biltet*, and supposed to be the *laserpitium* or *silphium* of Dioscorides, from whence drops the assafetida, is common every where. This juice or gum is in great request all over the east, and the *Indians* consume vast quantities of it, mixing it with their ragouts and sauces. Mummy of both sorts is a great *Persian* commodity; the first is taken from embalmed bodies, or such as are dried in the sands; the other is a precious gum which distils out of a rock. Of this last there are two mines in *Persia*, the one in *Carmania* the desert, which is the best, the gum of which cures, in 24 hours, almost any bruise, cut or wound. The *Persians* and *Arabs* call it *moum*, which literally signifies an unguent; and the *Persians* say, that the prophet *Daniel* taught them the use and preparation of it. Cotton is very common all over *Persia*; but there is a tree which somewhat resembles it, but is by far more rare, which produces a sort of silk very fine and soft, fit for various purposes.

Fruits.

In speaking of the fruits of *Persia*, melons, of which there are above twenty sorts, certainly claim the first place. The first is called *guermec*, that is, *forced by heat*, and is produced in the spring, being small and without any flavour. The people fancying them extreamly wholesome, on their first coming in, eat prodigious quantities of them; some eat twelve or thirteen pound weight each day; nay, an author of good credit affirms, that some eat thirty pounds of them at a meal, without

out feeling any inconvenience therefrom. For four months in the year the common people eat hardly any thing else; and Sir *John Chardin* says, that in *Spauhawn*, more of them are eat in a day than in all *France* in a month. After the melon the raisin deserves our notice, of which there are many different sorts in *Persia*. The most esteemed are the violet, the red, and the black. They are so large, that one of them is a good mouthful. The best grapes in the neighbourhood of *Spauhawn*, are found on the vines belonging to the *Gaurs* or antient *Persians*, who being permitted by their religion to drink wine, take the more pains to cultivate the vines. The dates of *Persia* are without comparison the best in the world, their syrup being sweeter and more pleasant than virgin honey. They grow in clusters on the palm tree, which is the highest of all fruit-bearing trees, and has no branches but at the very top, bearing fruit from 15 years growth till it is 200 years old. All our *European* fruits grow here in great perfection, particularly in *Bactria*, which produces finer and fairer fruit than any country in the world, and is particularly famous for its onions, which are prodigiously large and sweet as apples. Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that at an entertainment near *Spauhawn*, he saw fifty different kinds of fruit provided for one desert.

Rice is the universal aliment of all sorts of people in *Persia*. Grain. Their wheat is wonderfully fair and clean, and if their flour does not hold out from harvest to harvest, they make bread of barley and millet. They do not cultivate oats, and rye is only raised in the places where the *Armenians* are settled.

There are in *Persia* all the sorts of flowers to be found in Flowers. *Europe*, with many we have not, which are profusely scattered by nature. For several months the whole country is covered with them, as with a carpet, with the most vivid and delightful colours. The roses are most beautiful, and what is remarkable, the bushes often bear three different coloured roses on a branch, namely, yellow, yellow and black, and red.

Metals of all sorts, except gold and silver, are frequently Metals found in *Persia*, especially since the reign of *Abbas* the Great, and mine. who was at immense pains to search them out and make the best use of them. Minerals are also found in *Persia* in vast abundance. Sulphur and saltpetre is dug out of several mountains, and nothing is more common than to meet in this country with plains sometimes thirty miles in length covered entirely with salt, and others covered in like manner with sulphur or alum. Marble, free stone and slate, are found in some places in great plenty; but the richest mines in *Persia* is the *Turquoise*, called by the *Persians* *Phirouze*. There are two sorts of this precious stone, the one much more valuable than the other.

The horses of *Persia*, tho' not so much esteemed as those of Beasts *Arabia*, are the most beautiful in the east. Tho' there are tame and great numbers of them, yet considering how much they are wild. used, and the great demand made for them both by the sub-

jects of the mogul and the grand signior, they are held at a very high price, a fine horse being sometimes valued at 1000 crowns. Next to horses we may reckon mules, which are much esteemed here, and are very fine; and next to these we may justly place asses, of which they have in this country two sorts; the first, bred in *Persia*, being heavy and doltish as asses in other countries are; the other, originally of an *Arabian* breed, the most docile and useful creature of its kind in the world. These are only used for the saddle, because of their easy manner of going. Camels are numerous in *Persia*, and so much in esteem, that they are called *the land ships*, as it is by their means chiefly that the inland trade is carried on. The *Persians* make use of three sorts, a smaller, a larger, and a swifter kind of camel than are common elsewhere. These creatures are managed entirely by the voice, those who direct them making use of a kind of song, and according as they keep a quicker or slower time, the camel moves brisker or at its ordinary pace. As beef is little eat in *Persia*, their oxen are generally employed in ploughing and other sorts of labour. Sheep and deer are very common throughout all *Persia*; but hogs are only bred in a province or two near the *Caspian* sea. As to the beasts of chase, they are not so common here as in most of the countries of *Europe*; neither are there many wild beasts, except in the woods of *Hyrkania*, where there are great numbers of lions, bears, tygers, leopards, &c. However, neither here nor throughout all *Persia* are there any wolves; but the chakal, or jackal, is common every where, and has this peculiar quality, that it tears up dead bodies if the graves are not carefully watched. The dryness of the air prevents them from being much infested with insects; yet there are in some provinces prodigious numbers of locusts, which come in such clouds as to obscure the air. In some places of the *Persian* dominions are large black scorpions, so venemous, that such as are stung with them die in a few hours; in others are found lizards frightfully ugly, which are an ell long, and as thick as a large toad.

Birds.

The *Persians* have all the several sorts of fowl which we have in *Europe*, but not in such quantities. They are chiefly bred by *Armenians*, who have frequently capons fatted to such a degree, that they are killed for nothing but their grease. There are, however, immense numbers of pigeons both wild and tame. No country in the world has such a number of pigeon-houses, which are each six times as large as any we have in *Europe*. In the neighbourhood of *Spauhawn* they reckon more than 3000 of these pigeon-houses, chiefly erected for the sake of the dung, which is found to be the best manure for their favourite melons. The partridges of this country are the the largest and finest in the world, being generally of the size of our fowls. Their singing-birds are of the same kinds that we have in *Europe*. They have besides martlets and another bird called *noura*, which learn whatever words are taught them.

The

The nightingale is heard there all the year. The most considerable of the birds of a larger size is the pelican, which is as large as a sheep; its beak is from 18 to 20 inches long, and as thick as a man's arm, and when it opens its throat, the passage is large enough for a lamb. Tho' it chuses to nestle sometimes two days journey from a stream, yet its chief food is fish. There are in *Persia* various birds of prey, and the *Persian* lords being great lovers of falconry, are at great pains to have them taught to fly at game. Even the common people practise falconry much, for neither this, nor shooting nor hunting with dogs, is forbid to the meanest man in *Persia**.

As there are no great rivers nor lakes in *Persia*, the fresh-Fish. water fish are not very plenty. As to sea-fish, no country is better served; for the *Caspian* sea contains very fine fish, and the *Persian* gulf is supposed to have more fish in it than any other sea in the world.

Having now given a succinct account of the productions of Natural the air, earth and waters of *Persia*, we shall next speak of the rarities. natural rarities which are to be found in this large empire. The first we shall take notice of is a certain poisonous shrub, called by the *Persians* *gulbad-samour*, that is, the wind-poison-flower. It is affirmed, that wherever the wind blows over a number of these plants, it thence contracts a poisonous quality, which proves mortal to the next that respire it. There is likewise another shrub in *Carmania* the desert, of the fruit of which, when the asses happen to eat, they generally die. The very water that washes its roots is likewise held to be mortal. Some are of opinion that it is the *nerium* of our herbalists, and the same plant that was called by the *Greeks* *rhododendron*, and by the *French* is named *rosage*. The bezoar so much esteemed in medicine, is produced by the wild and tame goats that feed on the shore of the *Persian* gulph; but the very best is taken out of these creatures in the province of *Bactria*. The naturalists of *Persia* give it as their opinion, that the more dry and hard the food is on which the animal lives, the more salutiferous and efficacious the bezoar found in it proves. The eastern people held it heretofore to be one of the strongest counterpoisons: quacks, however, were those who commended it most, and its pretended virtues were never well supported by experience. Of late years it has much sunk in its reputation as well in the east as in *Europe*, and is reckoned no very extraordinary thing even in the class of sudorifics. The *abmelec*, or eater of locusts, is one of the most extraordinary birds described by travellers. The food of this creature is the locust or grass-hopper; it is of a black colour, with large wings, and of the size of an ordinary hen. They fly generally in great flocks. But what renders these birds wonderful is, that they are so fond of the water of a certain fountain in *Bactria*, that

* Chardin. t. iii. Tavern. t. ii. Gemelli. t. ii. Le Brun. t. i.

wherever

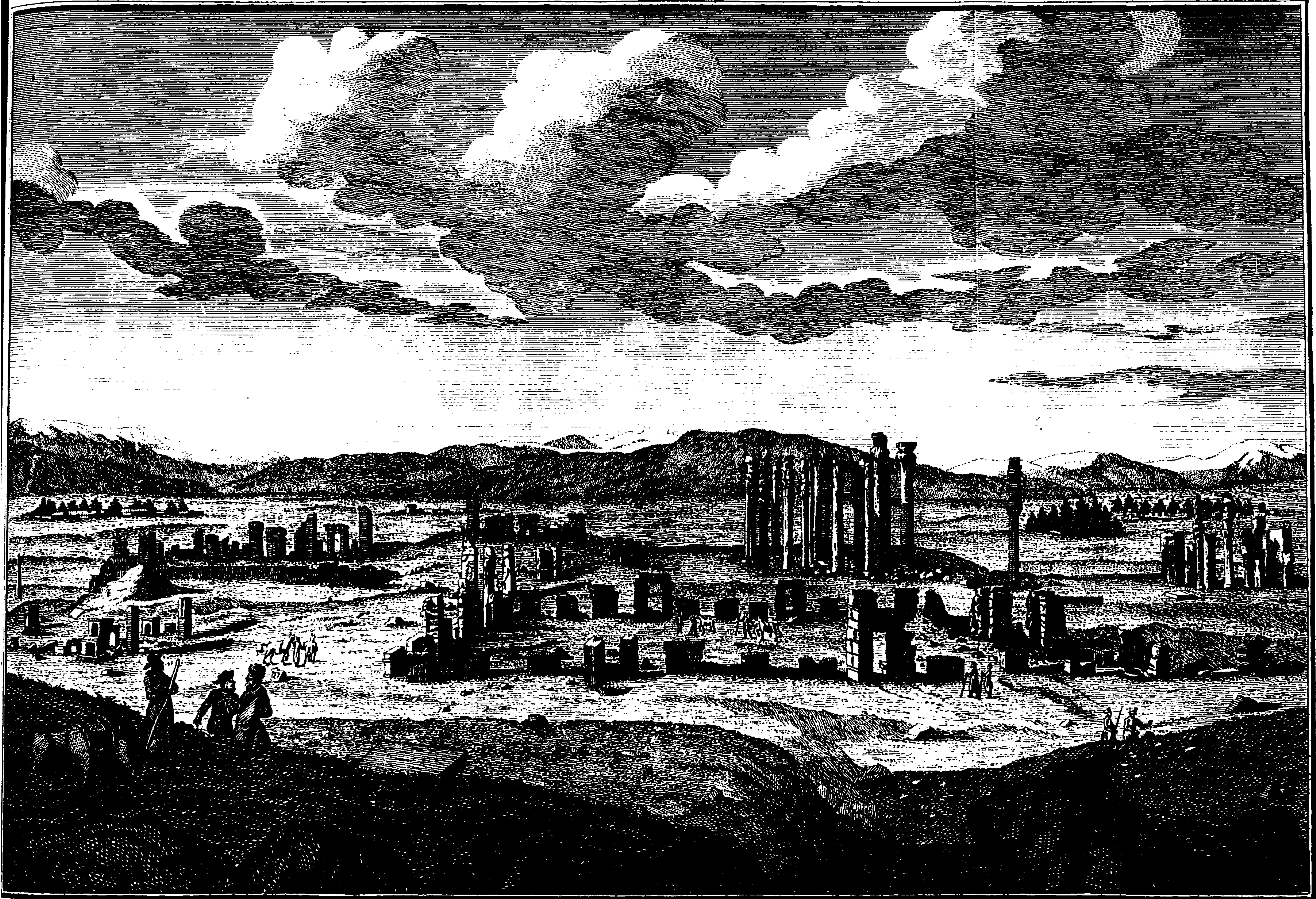
wherever that water is carried they follow; on which account it is carefully preserved, and wherever the locusts fall, the *Armenian* priests, who are provided with this water, bring a quantity of it and place it in jars, or pour it into little channels in the fields. The next day whole troops of these birds arrive, and quickly deliver the people from the locusts*. The river *Mahmoudker*, that is *Mahmoud the deaf*, is a surprizing natural rarity. At some distance from *Spaubawn*, near the top of a mountain, there is a range of rocks plain and equal for a considerable space; and through these rocks the river falls into a noble basin, partly wrought by the water itself, and partly formed by art. As one ascends the mountain, certain natural chinks shew the water at the bottom of it like a sleeping lake covered with rocks and mountains. It is thought to be of unfathomable depth, and when stones are thrown into it, they cause a most amazing noise, which almost deafen the hearers; whence the river is supposed to derive its name. Some are of opinion that this river derives its water not from springs, but from the snow on the tops of the mountains, which melting gradually, distils thro' the chinks of the rocks into the vast lake before-mentioned.

A description of *Persepolis*. We shall now pass to artificial rarities, and begin with the antient *Persepolis*, the venerable ruins of which are the admiration of modern travellers, and are a proof that this august metropolis was not inferior to any city in the world for grandeur and magnificence (A). The plain in which this famous city stood is one of the finest in *Persia*, and indeed in all the east, extending in length 18 or 19 leagues, and in breadth in

* Chardin. Tavernier. ut supra.

(A) As the nature of our work will not permit us to enlarge in our accounts of these noble remains, we must refer our curious readers to those noted travellers who have been very particular and diffusive in their relations. In *Harris's* collection of travels, our readers will find the curious accounts of Sir *Thomas Herbert*, and also a concise description of the ruins by Mr. *Geoffry Duckett*, and many years after by *John Albert de Mandelslo*. Sir *John Chardin*, in the second volume of his travels, has been very full in his accounts of them; and *Gemelli Careri*, in his travels round the world, has bestowed a whole chapter in his description of antient *Persepolis*. But of all travellers who have visited and described these ruins, M. *Le Brun* has been most particular, and seems to have been most exact. As he spent a long time in surveying, measuring, and drawing views of these fragments of antiquity, and was by profession a painter, his accounts therefore claim the chief notice, and have been chiefly followed by us. Besides travellers, several other writers of great eminence have left us their thoughts on this subject, particularly the most judicious Dr. *Hyde* in his learned book of the religion of the antient *Persians*.

some

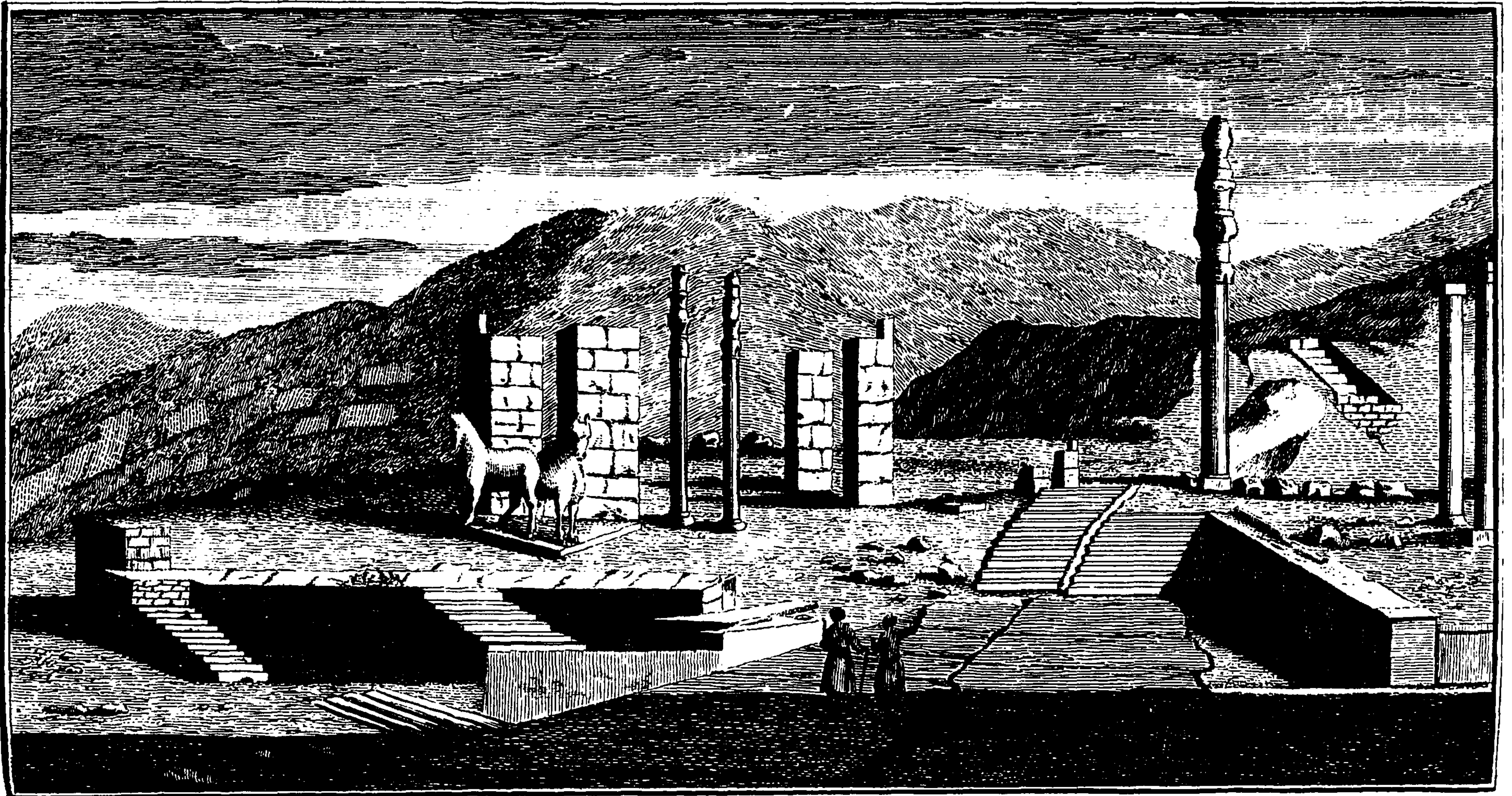


A View of the Ruins of the Palace of Persepolis to the East.

some places 2, in others 4, and in some 6 leagues. It is watered by the great river *Araxis*, now *Bendemir*, and by a multitude of rivulets besides. Within the compass of the plain are between 1000 and 1500 villages, without reckoning those in the neighbouring mountains, all adorned with pleasant gardens, and planted with shady trees. The entrance of this plain on the west side, consists of a range of mountains steep and high, forming two flat banks or terraces, which are perfectly plain and even, all of native rock. In this there are such openings, and the terraces are so fine and level, that one would be tempted to think the whole the work of art, if the great extent and prodigious elevation thereof did not make it evident, that it is a wonder too great for aught but nature to produce. The ruins of the city cannot be descried from hence, because the banks are too high to be overlooked; but on every side may be perceived the ruins of walls and of edifices which heretofore adorned this range of mountains. On the west and on the north the city is defended in the like manner; so that considering the height and evenness of these banks, *Chardin* remarks, that there is not in the world a place so fortified by nature. At the foot of the mountain is situated the antient palace of The ruins the kings of *Persia*, called by the inhabitants *Chilminar*, that of the antient pa-
 is, 40 columns. The walls of this stately building are still tinent pa-
 standing on three sides, and it has the mountain on the east. lace.
 The front from north to south extends 600 paces, and 390 from west to east, where it reaches quite to the rock. This terras or subassment is 21 feet high in some places, but in most 30 quite to the mountain. Before the west side are several rocks, which rise towards the north till they are on a level with the top of the subassment, appearing like a platform, extending 80 paces before it. It seems as if there had been a staircase and some buildings antiently without this curtain. Along the four sides of the terras runs a pavement 8 feet broad, of two stones joined together. Some of these stones are 8, 9, and 10 feet long, and 6 in breadth, but the rest are smaller. The principal staircase is not placed in the middle of the front, but much nearer the north end than the south. The staircase is composed of two flights of stairs, 42 feet asunder at bottom. Each of the two lower flights run up opposite to each other by the side of the wall, and the two upper flights turning the contrary way, lead to the top of the terrace. Each of the steps is 25 feet 5 inches long, 4 inches high, and 14 inches broad; so that nothing can be more commodious. The lower flights extend the whole length of the steps without the wall, and many of the steps in the upper flights were cut out of the native rock. When one has ascended this staircase, the first thing that salutes the eye are two great porticoes, and two columns 42 feet distant, in a strait line from the landing-place. These porticoes are 22 feet 4 inches in depth, and 13 feet 4 inches in breadth, each side being bounded by a large figure of an animal cut in bas relief, 22 feet in length from its fore to its hind

hind feet, and 14 feet and an half high. The breasts and fore feet of these animals project wholly from the stone; but their heads are entirely destroyed, and their bodies are very much damaged. The second portico, which is behind the first, is also adorned with the figures of four-footed animals, to which are added their heads facing the mountains, as those of the first portico looked towards the staircase. On the remains of the walls, which rise considerably higher than the animal figures that project from them, may be observed certain characters; but they are so small and so high, that nothing can be made of them. The figures are not carved out of one stone, but out of three joined together for that purpose. Between the two porticoes, which are distant from each other 92 feet, stand the two columns above-mentioned, which are still pretty entire, of white marble, fluted, and wonderfully beautiful as to their chapiters and other ornaments. They are 14 feet in circumference, and 54 high, and are distant from the first portico only 26 feet; so that from some remains still to be seen, it may be concluded that there were other two columns betwixt them and the furthest portico. Fifty-two feet southward from the last-mentioned portico, is a large cistern cut out of a whole stone 20 feet long, 17 feet 5 inches broad, and 3 feet above the earth. From thence, for a space of about 150 paces to the mountain, there is nothing to be met with, a small inflated column excepted, but wild heaps of broken stones.

South from these porticoes, at the distance of 172 feet, is another staircase, consisting of two flights of steps in the same manner as the former, the steps being 17 feet long, 3 inches high, and 14 inches and an half broad. Many of them towards the top, tho' cut out of the rock, are broken and destroyed. The whole elevation of this stair is not 7 feet. On the sides of the staircase are a great many figures in bas relief, particularly the figure of a lion tearing a bull, larger than the life. There is also on the side of one of the flights of steps a square space filled with characters, of which the highest rows are quite effaced. This landing-place, as the former, is paved with very large stones to the distance of 22 feet from the wall, where stood two rows of pillars each consisting of six columns in front, of which there is only one now remaining entire. Seventy feet 8 inches beyond these stand 36 columns, six in front and six in flank, at the distance of 22 feet from each other. There are still seven of these entire, with the bases of all the rest, but much broken and defaced. Seventy feet 8 inches west from these columns were twelve others, disposed in two rows, five of which are only remaining. From the fragments of the ornaments, which lie half interred, it appears that each of the columns was surmounted with the figure of a camel kneeling. Southward from the last-mentioned columns stands the edifice, most elevated of any in these ruins; and turning eastward towards the mount: in, the ruins of many buildings appear, which take up a great space, consisting of windows, some of them filled



(1.) The descent to the Columns.



5. The Portico to the East

ed with characters, passages, porticoes adorned with figures, &c. The edifice above-mentioned consists almost wholly of great and little porticoes detached from each other, now in ruins; the ground covered with the fragments is about 147 feet square. Under some of the porticoes, on each side, are the figures of a man and two women, from the knees upwards, their legs being covered with earth. In others are seen the figures of men combating with wild beasts, and various other figures. Some of them are very remarkable for the number of figures they contain, exhibiting, as some suppose, a royal audience, where the king appears sitting on his throne, with a footstool, a person holding a kind of umbrella over his head, a petitioner before him, and his guards with shields, lances, &c. attending him. Behind this edifice one finds another of much the same kind, except that it is 38 feet longer; and 100 feet south from thence, the last ruins of these edifices are found, consisting chiefly of porticoes and enclosed spaces of ground. Between these two ruins are certain subterraneous passages, in which the inhabitants imagine great treasures are hid; but *M. Le Brun*, who entered them, rather thinks they were intended for carrying off water, or some such like purpose.

Some learned men have imagined from the processions delineated on the walls, the vases in the hands of many of the figures, the several tablets of unknown characters, and hieroglyphical representations still to be seen in these ruins, that this ancient structure was a temple dedicated to the deities worshipped in *Persia*. Others, with much greater reason, are of opinion, that these ruins are the sad remains of the ancient palace of *Persepolis*, which they think strongly confirmed by the descriptions of that noble pile of building left us by ancient authors. On the whole it may be presumed, that whatever this edifice was, it was actually erected by the kings of the first race, since nothing seen there carries the aspect of later times; but whether *Cyrus* was the founder, or whether this palace was begun by *Darius* and finished by *Xerxes*, is a point not easily, if at all, to be determined. The traditions of the natives with respect to these antiquities, are generally represented by travellers as confused, extravagant, and not to be depended on; which censure, perhaps, may be in a great measure owing to the ignorance of the *Europeans* in the history of those eastern countries as written by the orientals, who are not always so fabulous and incoherent as they are represented. The accounts of the ancients concerning this famous city and palace, are to the following purpose. According to *Diodorus*, this stately palace was surrounded with a treble wall. The first was sixteen cubits high, adorned with many sumptuous buildings and lofty turrets. The second was like to the first, but as high again. The third was four square, sixty cubits high, all of the hardest marble, and so cemented as to continue to the latest time. On the four sides are brazen gates, near to which are palisades of the same metal twenty cubits high. On the

east side of this citadel, about 100 feet distant, stood a mountain called the royal mount, in which were cut the sepulchres of the kings out of the solid rock. In this citadel were magnificent lodgings, both for the king and his soldiers, of excellent workmanship, and treasury chambers most commodiously contrived for the laying up of money. *Alexander* having here made a sumptuous feast in commemoration of his victory, he and his guests, after they were all drunk, set fire to the noble structure at the persuasion of some prostitutes who were present at the entertainment*. Many later writers have copied the account of this author. *Plutarch*, in his account of this transaction, agrees almost wholly with *Diodorus*. *Arrian* says, that *Alexander* seized at *Passargada* on the treasures laid up there by *Cyrus*; and then adds, "the royal palace of the *Persian* monarchs he burnt much against the will of *Parmenio*;" but he is alleged in his own vindication, that he thereby avenged the injuries his countrymen had formerly received from the army of *Xerxes*, who had caused the idol temples of *Greece* to be burnt. This is also the account of *Strabo*, and according to *Curtius* *Persepolis* was at this time also destroyed; but in this he is plainly mistaken; for *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, and the author of the book of *Maccabees*, mention *Persepolis* as standing in the days of *Antiochus*†.

A most remarkable mountain. At two leagues distance from these ruins there is a famous mountain, seated between two of the finest plains in the world, and called by the inhabitants by several names. Sometimes they stile it *Kabreston-Gauron*, that is, the sepulchre of the *Gaurs*; sometimes *Nachs Rustan*, the picture of *Rustan*; and sometimes *Tackt-Rustan*, that is, the throne of *Rustan*. This *Rustan*, as we observed, is the *Hercules*, or rather the *Amadis*, of the easterns; for the stories they tell of him are alike fabulous and romantic. This mountain, tho' an entire rock, and harder and capable of a better polish than marble, is smoothed by art, and on its sides, which are perfectly perpendicular, are figures represented in bas relief with great skill and beauty. The first of these, which is about the height of a pike from the ground, represents a combat between two knights mounted on horseback, each of them having an iron mace in his left hand. One of them has a bonnet on his head, and holds out in his right hand a large ring of iron, of which the other knight seems to take hold with his right hand. All these figures are gigantic; and as to the meaning of the piece, it is thus explained by eastern traditions and the *Persian* poets. One of these horsemen, they say, was *Rustan*, or *Rustem*, the son of *Sal the White*, the son of *Sam*, the son of *Noramon* king of the *Indies*; the second, *Rustan* the son of *Tabmour* king of *Persia*. These two princes, after being engaged in long and

* Diod. l. xvii. c. 7. † Idem. l. xix. Strab. l. xv. Ar. exped. Alex. 1 Mac. c. vi. 2 Mac. c. ix.

body wars, at length agreed to determine their quarrels by combat in this manner. One agreed to extend a ring of iron, which the other was to lay hold of, and whoever should wrench the ring from the other, should be esteemed the conqueror, and should be obeyed for the future by him who lost it. They say too, that the king of *Persia*, who is represented in the figure with a long beard, vanquished the king of the *Indies* in this engagement. Not far from this piece of sculpture are two others representing human figures, the first, two men on horseback holding a ring; the second, two men meeting another on horseback in a saluting or supplicating posture. At a small distance from these figures is the first tomb, and 60 paces further there is a second tomb; 30 paces from thence a third, and at the distance of 100 paces a fourth, which is the last. Near the third tomb are two inscriptions of the same characters as those at *Persepolis*. There are many other curious representations carved on this mountain, some perfectly whole and sound, and others much decayed. From what has been said concerning these stupenduous monuments of antient magnificence, we may justly conclude, that the antient *Persians* equalled, if not excelled, their eastern neighbours in a taste for the arts.



S E C T. II.

Of the antiquity, government, customs, arts, learning and trade of the antient PERSIANS.

BOOTH sacred and prophane writers agree that the *Persians* The first were a very antient nation, and were originally descended inhabi- from *Elam*, or *Elymus*, the son of *Shem*, from whom the coun- tants of try first fixed in was called *Elam*, or *Elymais*. By degrees, *Persia*. as their numbers encreased, they spread themselves into *Susiana* and other adjoining provinces, as appears from *Daniel*, who places *Susa*, the metropolis of *Susiana*, in the province of *Elam**. All the *Greek* interpreters by *Elam* understand *Persia*, and in the *Acts* the *Persians* are called *Elamites*.

The government of *Persia* was monarchical, and the crown Their go- hereditary. The kingdom of *Elam* seems even to have been vernment. pretty powerful in the time of *Abraham*, the king having made an excursion so far west as *Canaan*. *Elam*, in the time of *Jeremiah*, must have been a great and potent kingdom; as is plain from the prophecy, where he foretels the increase of *Nebuchad- nezzar's* dominions, particularly by the conquest of *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, by the *Greeks* called *Eulæus* †.

* Joseph. Antiq. Dan. c. vii.

† Jerem. 49.

The majesty of their kings.

But to consider *Persia* as the second of the four great empires, its monarchs were under no controul, but governed by their own arbitrary will and pleasure. They were revered by their subjects as gods, none daring to appear before their throne without prostrating themselves on the ground with a kind of adoration. *Sperchies* and *Bulis*, both *Lacedemonians*, and also *Conon* the *Athenian*, according to *Justin*, refused to comply with this ceremony. *Ismenias* the *Theban* declined it by purposely letting his ring drop, and then throwing himself on the ground to take it up*; and *Valerius Maximus* informs us, that the *Athenians* put *Timagoras* to death for paying this veneration to a *Persian* monarch. In the time of *Apollonius*, none were allowed to appear before the king who had not prostrated themselves before his image. While they were in the king's presence, they were to hold their hands within their sleeves so long as the audience lasted. For neglecting this ceremony, *Antosases* and *Mitræus*, as we read in *Xenophon*, were put to death by *Cyrus* the younger. None were suffered to enter the royal palace without the sovereign's leave, except the princes who slew the impostor *Smerdis*. What respect and obedience his vassals paid him, we learn from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Xerxes* being once in great danger by sea, many, at the king's desire, strove who should be first in leaping over board to lighten the vessel, and save their prince's life at the expence of their own. They all lived in no less dread of the king's wrath than of the anger of the gods, and were ready at the least intimation given them by their prince to become their own executioners. The crown was hereditary, and bestowed on the eldest of the deceased prince's sons. The coronation was celebrated at *Pasargada* by the priests, who bore a great sway in the court of *Persia*; and in the beginning of the ceremony, which was performed in the temple of the goddess of war, the king cloathed himself with the garment which *Cyrus* the founder of the *Persian* monarchy had worn before he was raised to the throne. Being thus attired, he used to eat some figs, with a small quantity of turpentine, and drink a cupfull of sowar milk. The *Tiara* or crown was then placed on his head by one of the grandees, in whose family that right was hereditary, and deemed the greatest honour a subject could enjoy. Round the tiara the king wore a purple and white band or diadem; for nothing else is meant by the word diadem in the antient writers, but a band of this nature wreathed round the forehead. The king's birth-day was kept as sacred, and celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence. His death was bewailed by shutting the tribunal of justice for five days; and that fire which was worshiped in families, was, on that occasion alone, extinguished. The king abode, according to the season, at *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Ecbatan*. *Susa* was his winter re-

* *Ælian* var. hist. l. i.

sidence. *Strabo* and *Pausanias* compare the walls of this city even with those of *Babylon*; and according to *Cassiodorus*, they were cemented with gold, which account deserves no credit. It was called *Susa* from the many lilies which grew in its neighbourhood; and being sheltered from the northern winds by a high ridge of mountains, was very agreeable during the winter: but in summer, the heat was so parching, that the inhabitants were forced to cover their houses with earth two cubits deep. The *Persian* kings sometimes removed to *Pasargada*, and sometimes to *Persepolis*, which at last became their ordinary residence. Their court or palace had many gates, and each gate a body of guards. To these messengers were sent from the most remote provinces of the empire, when any thing happened worthy of the king's knowledge. They also received immediate intelligence of any sudden commotion by means of fires, which were always ready to be lighted when occasion required, at small distances from each other; so that in one day they could receive notice of any tumult, rebellion, or invasion in what part soever it happened in that vast empire.

The king's palace, which was deemed sacred, was extremely magnificent, and furnished with utensils of inestimable value. The walls and the roofs of the rooms were all covered with ivory, silver, amber or gold. The throne was of pure gold, supported by four pillars richly set with precious stones. Its canopy was a vine of gold, presented to *Darius* by *Pythius* a *Lydian*, who, after the king of *Persia*, was accounted the richest man in the world. The body and branches of this vine were enriched with jewels of great value, and the clusters of grapes were all of precious stones*. The king's bed was likewise of gold; at its head was placed a coffer containing 5000 talents, called his bolster, and another at the foot containing 3000 talents. Adjoining to the king's palace were large gardens, and parks stocked with all sorts of game for his diversion. *Tully* tells us out of *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus* the Great planted and cultivated one of these delicious gardens with his own hands. *Alexander* enriched them with trees and plants out of *Greece*. The *Persian* kings drank no other water but that of the *Euleus* or *Choaspes*, the water of which river was carried about with them in silver vessels whithersoever they went. They drank only *Calybonian* wine made at *Damascus* in *Syria*, and touched no bread but what was of the wheat of *Assos* in *Phrygia*, and their salt was brought from *Egypt*. Their table was daily served with somewhat of the product of each nation subject to them; and the magnificence of their public feasts exceeded, as appears from scripture, what we read of in histories of other nations. During their repast their ears were feasted with the harmony both of vocal and instrumental music, and 300 women, of the sweetest and melodious voices, were in con-

* Herod. l. vii. Athen. l. xii. Budæus de Ass. l. iv.

stant attendance to divert the king at his unbended hours. It was likewise their business to lull him asleep with the melody and variety of their notes, and recreate his mind as soon as he awaked in the morning. Most of the *Persian* kings were so dissolved in pleasures, that they scarce minded any thing besides the gratification of their voluptuous appetites; and *Xerxes* was not ashamed to propose, by a public edict, an ample reward to any one who should devise a new pleasure*. Their lust and voluptuousness sufficiently appear from the book of *Esther*; and *Tully* adds, that the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of some of their favourite concubines, one city being obliged to supply them with ornaments for their hair, another for their necks, &c. The king's children, more particularly the eldest, were presently after their birth committed to the care of eunuchs. At seven years old they learned under experienced instructors to ride and hunt, which were looked upon as the most manly exercises. At the age of fourteen they were put under the discipline of four learned preceptors, of whom one was to teach them prudence, another justice, the third temperance, and the fourth fortitude†.

The customs and manners of the *Persians*.

We shall now relate the manners and customs of the antient *Persians*, before they were enervated and depraved by wealth and luxury. They had a particular care of the education of their children above any other nation. A son was not admitted to the presence of his father, but was brought up by women of the best character, till he attained the age of five years. At five years old, the children of those who could afford it, were committed to the tuition of learned masters or mages, who carefully taught them, more by examples than precepts, the practice of justice, patience, sobriety, abstinence, and all other virtues. The utmost pains was taken to implant in their breasts an aversion to all manner of vice, especially to lying and contracting of debts. They were taught also to ride, to shoot with bows, and to fight on horseback. They were brought up with such an awful respect for their parents, that they never offered to sit down in their presence. Every father had power of life and death over his own children, but was restrained by the laws from exercising such severity for small faults, or for one crime alone. The *Persians* were antiently all trained up to military exercises, and were particularly expert at handling the bow. According to *Herodotus*, they taught their sons from the age of five years to that of twenty chiefly three things, to manage a horse, to use the bow with dexterity, and to speak truth. The *Persians* esteemed a numerous issue the greatest blessing, and such as could shew a numerous offspring, received presents from the king. In their diet they were very temperate, and generally lived very sparingly; but they were always

* Valer. Max. c. ix. Cic. Tusc. quest. & de senect. Cyrop. l. i. Brisson Pollit.

† Xen.

inclined

inclined to drinking, and used even to debate the most important matters over their cups; but the master of the house where they met to consult, proposed the same subject the next day before they tasted any liquor, when the resolutions taken the day before were approved or rejected. No nation was ever more ready to adopt foreign customs. Upon conquering the *Medes* they assumed their dress; after they had subdued *Egypt*, they used the *Egyptian* armour, and as *Herodotus* owns, they imitated the *Greeks* as soon as they became acquainted with them, in the worst of vices. They were indulged several wives, besides as many concubines as they were able to maintain. They bare such respect to their parents, that they thought it impossible a man should ever put to death his father or mother, whence no punishments were assigned by their laws for such a crime. If any one was accused of such an inhuman deed, he was always declared by the judges spurious or supposititious. To affirm a falsehood, was accounted the utmost infamy, and next to that, the being in debt; because it exposed a man to the necessity of lying. These customs, with several others, *Herodotus* tells us that he can with certainty affirm to be true.

The most severe punishment among the *Persians* was that of Their shutting the offender up between two boats, with his head, punish- his feet and hands exposed. On his face, which was placed full ments. in the sun, they poured honey, which inviting the flies and wasps, tormented him no less than the swarms of worms that were ingendered in his excrements, and devoured his body to the very entrails. That he might not die soon by starving himself, the executioner forced him to eat what was necessary to support nature, by torturing him with sharp irons which he thrust into his eyes. Such as were convicted of high treason, were condemned to have their right hand and then their head struck off. But by the antient laws of *Persia*, the king was restrained from putting any man to death for a single crime. Poisoners were pressed to death between two stones.

The *Persians* were remarkably jealous of their wives and Their concubines. It was death to touch any of the king's women, marriages to speak to them, or even to come near them or their coaches and incest- as they travelled. They were allowed to marry their own tuous com- sist-ers or daughters; and *Minutius Felix* reproaches them with merce. marrying or criminally conversing with their mothers. This incestuous custom they observed also in other countries, where they were on that account abhorred by the inhabitants.

The first that caused gold and silver to be coined in *Persia*, Their was *Darius* or *Cyaxares*, the son of *Astyages*, or as he is called in money. scripture, *Darius* the *Mede*, who after the taking of *Babylon*, coined those famous pieces of gold called *darics*. They were stamped on one side with an archer cloathed in a long robe, and crowned with a spiked crown, holding a bow in his left hand and an arrow in his right, and on the other side was the effigies of *Darius*. They were of the same weight and value with the

Attic stater, and also with the *Cræssei*, the gold coin of *Lydia*, these last being probably recoined into *darics* upon the downfall of the *Lydian* kingdom.

Their arts
and sciences,
&c.

The *Persians* seem to have made no great advances in learning before the time of *Zoroastres*, whom they call *Zerduشت*, or *Zaratush*, who is supposed to have flourished under *Darius Hystaspis*, and was the greatest mathematician and philosopher of the age he lived in. The *Mages* having been instructed partly by him and partly by *Hystaspes*, the father of *Darius*, in mathematics and natural philosophy, were reputed above all others skilled in those arts. This knowledge, however, was locked up among the priests, and seldom communicated to any except those of the royal family, whom they were bound to instruct.

Before the founding of their empire by *Cyrus*, they seem never to have cultivated trade and commerce. They had no money among them till after the conquest of *Lydia*, nor any cloathing but skins. Water they used for drink, and had neither wine nor any other thing but what their barren country produced.

Their soldiery.

By their continual exercise of riding and hunting, they inured themselves to the toils of war. They never laid aside their swords, quivers and bows, but when they went to repose, and had them even then always ready at hand. As soon as they were able to bear arms, they were obliged to enter themselves on the list of soldiers; but received no pay till the age of twenty. And in time of war they were all bound, on pain of death, except such as were disabled by age or otherwise, to appear under their respective standards, and attend the king in his expeditions*. In the time of *Herodian*, they neither used mercenaries nor maintained a standing army; but were all obliged, when occasion required, to repair to their colours, and had no other pay or reward but the plunder they took from the enemy†.

Their armour and discipline.

In war they wore on the head a tiara or head-piece, so thick as to be proof against all kinds of offensive weapons; on the body a coat of mail wrought in likeness of scales, and embellished with sleeves of various colours, their thighs were defended with cuisses; their shields, or rather targets, were of wicker; their javelins short, their bows of an uncommon length, and their arrows of reeds. They wore their swords, which were very short, upon their right thigh. Their horses were also covered with armour or thick hides, as we read in *Xenophon*, *Curtius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, &c. They were sure marksmen; however, in the time of *Procopius*, their arrows did but small execution, which he ascribes to the slackness of their bows; whereas no shield or armour was proof against the *Re-*

* *Ammian. Marcel* l. xxiii. *Strab.* l. xv. *Herod.* l. i. & iv.

† *Herodian.* l. iii. & v.

man arrows. Before they took the field there was a general muster, when each man threw an arrow into a basket, and when they returned from the campaign they again passed in review, when each man took an arrow from the basket, which till their return had been kept carefully sealed. By counting the remaining arrows, they knew what number of men the campaign had cost them. Among them it was disreputable to appear in public but on horseback; on horseback they transacted all their private and public affairs, held their assemblies, visited their friends. When they went on any expedition, their wives, mothers, children, &c. followed the camp; which custom was observed among all the eastern nations, they imagining it was a great incitement to them to behave with gallantry in any enterprize. When they intended to make war on any nation, they sent heralds to demand of them earth and water; that is, to command them to submit and acknowledge the king of *Persia* as the sovereign lord of their country. This form of declaring war, according to *Plutarch*, they borrowed from the *Medes*, who seem therein, as in many other things else, to have imitated the *Assyrians*. In time of action the king was always in the centre; and when the signal was given by sound of trumpets, it was followed by an universal shout of the whole army. The royal banner was a spread-eagle of gold carried on the point of a long spear. They used no stratagems, nor cared for any advantages that were not owing to their valour. They never fought in the night, unless attacked by the enemy, nor marched before the sun-rising. Duels or single combats were in use among them, as is plain from the stories of *Darius* and *Polydamas*.

As to their laws, they are greatly commended by *Xenophon*, Their who prefers them to those of any other nation; observing that laws. other lawgivers only appointed punishments for crimes committed, but did not take sufficient care to prevent men from committing them; whereas the main design of the *Persian* laws was, to inspire men with a love of virtue and abhorrence of vice, so as to avoid the one and pursue the other, without regarding either punishment or reward. To attain this end, parents were not allowed by their laws to give their children what education they pleased, but were obliged to send them to public schools, under the care of men of the first quality and best characters, where virtue was taught them in the same manner as the sciences are taught among other nations. From seven to seventeen, the youths were allowed no other food but bread and cresses, and no other drink but water. There were particular laws against ingratitude, and whoever had done any good office, if he did not meet with a suitable return, could bring an action against the ungrateful person, who upon conviction, was punished with great severity. The *Persian* kings frequently heard causes themselves, both civil and military; and tho' transcendentally vicious in other respects, were nevertheless

theless very tender in point of justice and equity. After hearing the merits of the cause with great attention, they took several days to consider and advise with such as were conversant in their laws before they gave sentence. When they sat on life and death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeached, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life, and condemned or cleared him according to his general character. Their humanity and good-nature towards criminals is very remarkable. Thus *Artaxerxes Longimanus* ordered that the turbans of the condemned persons should be struck off instead of their heads; that the strings with which they tied them should be cut instead of their ears, and their garments whipt instead of their persons. The judges were all men of unblemished characters, and well skilled in the laws of the kingdom. Their employment was for life, and they were called *royal judges*, some of them attending the king whithersoever he went, and others administering justice at stated times in different provinces.

The royal revenues. As to the *Persian* revenues, it is plain from all the antient writers, both sacred and profane, that each province had its peculiar treasure and treasurer. In the city of *Damascus*, *Alexander* found 2600 talents, and silver uncoined to the value of 200 more; in *Arbela* 4000 talents, in *Susa* 40,000 talents and 9000 *darics*; in *Persepolis* 120,000 talents; in *Parsagada* 6000, and in *Ecbatan* 180,000*. These immense sums arose from the tributes which each province was yearly obliged to pay according to the assessment of *Darius Hystaspis*, who was nicknamed the merchant, from the imposing of those taxes and other things of the like nature. The sum total of the king's revenues, according to the computation of *Herodotus*, amounted to 14,560 *Euboic* talents, besides other smaller sums. These revenues were gathered at first from the provinces of *Asia* only; but in process of time, the islands of several provinces of *Europe*, with *Egypt*, *Syria*, &c. were likewise taxed, which increased the king's revenues to such a degree, that *Alexander*, according to *Justin*, after the conquest of *Persia*, received yearly from his subjects the sum of 300,000 talents. The lands of the *Persians* were free from all taxes, but the other provinces, besides money, were obliged to contribute considerably from their proper productions towards the maintenance of the king, and in time of war of his army. Thus the provinces of *Cyrene* and *Barca* were, besides the ordinary taxes, assessed at such a quantity of corn, as was sufficient to supply 120,000 men. The *Satrapa* of *Babylon* maintained the king and his court for four months, and besides sent him annually 500 young eunuchs. The *Ethiopians* and adjoining people made every third year a present of a quantity of gold, 200 bundles of ebony, 5 *Ethiopian*

* Curt. l. v. Diod. Sic. l. xviii. Arrian. l. iii. Plutarch in Alex. children,

children, and 20 elephants teeth of the largest size. The *Colchians* presented the king every fifth year with 100 boys and the like number of young women; the *Arabians* with a quantity of frankincense, answering the weight of 1000 talents, &c*.

S E C T. III.

Of the religion of the PERSIANS.

THE religion of the antient *Persians*, if we may credit the most learned and industrious writers, is venerable for its antiquity, and worthy of admiration for its having subsisted now some thousand years in as great, or greater, purity than any other religion known to us at this day †. Authors, however, in their relations on this subject, are far from corresponding exactly; and the descriptions which modern travellers have given us of those who profess this religion in *Persia* and *India*, even in our time, differ so widely, tho' not indeed in essential articles, that it requires no small degree of patience to separate the ore from the dross, and to present the reader with what is worthy of being known and believed among heaps of fables and misrepresentations. The *Greek* and *Latin* historians being polytheists themselves, of course concluded that other nations also worshiped a variety of gods; they therefore not only reported that the *Persians* worshiped the fire, the air, the sun, &c. but also forged such sacrifices and religious rites, as seemed to correspond best with the notions they had framed of the *Persian* religion. Instances of this we have in *Herodotus*, who gives an account of sacrifices of white horses performed by the magi who attended *Xerxes* in his expedition to *Greece*; and *Q. Curtius* confidently tells us, that the royal chariot of *Darius* was adorned with the images of *Ninus* and *Belus*, who were never worshiped by the *Persians*, neither were they wont to erect images or to worship them. As to the relations of travellers concerning the religion of the *Persians*, or *Persees*, we need not wonder that they differ, since they very seldom exactly agree in their description of less intricate things. The most exact guide on this subject, is the most learned and judicious Dr. *Thomas Hyde*, who in his valuable history of the religion of the antient *Persians*, supports every thing he lays down by

* Herod. l. iii. Strabo, l. xv. Xenoph. in Anabas. l. iv. † Hyde hist. relig. vet Pers. The religion of the Persees by Henry Lord. Relation de l'etat pres. de Perse par Sanson. Hist. of Chaldaic philosophy, by Thomas Stanley, book ii. Philos. general. per Theoph. Galæum. Prid. Connect. vol. i. Herbert's, Della Valle's, Tavernier's travels, &c.

antient monuments, or by the exprefs authority of the law of *Zerduſht*, which the *Persians* believed to be divine.

Free from
idolatrous
corrup-
tions.

The *Persians*, it is certain, have preserved the worſhip of one God, and other eſſential articles of true religion, thro' a long courſe of years, without ſubmitting thro' force, or ſuffering themſelves to be drawn over by perſuaſion or fraud to any new faith, tho' they have ſo often changed their maſters, and have met with the moſt opprobrious and oppreſſive treatment from the *Mohammedans*. The modern *Persians* are unanimoſly acknowledged to be as honeſt, as charitable, and inoffenſive a people as any upon earth; and as their principles are far more rational than thoſe of their bigotted oppreſſors, we may reaſonably hope, that in God's due time they will acknowledge the truth of the goſpel diſpenſation. The *Mohammedans* load them with opprobrious names, and ſuch as they no way deſerve, calling them *Noguſha*, that is, zabian or deteſter of the true faith; *Ghebri*, or *Ghaur*, that is, infidel. They alſo ſtile them fire-worſhipers, fools and madmen, and the moſt gentle term they make uſe of is *Mogh*, that is magian. With ſtrangers, however, theſe aſperſions do the *Persians* no hurt; for they, looking on the innocence and integrity of theſe poor peoples lives, afford them both their pity and eſteem. We ſhall here ſubjoin an abſtract of the five precepts which theſe *Persians* acknowledge as the rule of life which every layman is bound to

The chief
rules of
the antient
Persians.

obey, as they are reported by Mr. *Lord*. I. To have ſhame ever with them as a remedy againſt all ſin; for a man would never oppreſs his inferiors if he had any ſhame; a man would never ſteal if he had any ſhame. II. To have fear always preſent with them, and that every time the eye twinkled or cloſed its lids together, they ſhould ſtand in fear at thoſe times of their prayers leſt they ſhould not go to Heaven, the thoughts of which ſhould make them fear to commit ſin, for that God ſees what manner of ones they are that look up towards him. III. That whenſoever they are to do any thing, they think whether the thing be good or bad that they are to go about, whether commanded or forbidden in the book of religion. IV. That whatſoever of God's creatures they ſhould firſt behold in the morning, it ſhould be a monitor to put them in mind of their thankſgiving to God, who had given ſuch good things for mens ſervice and uſe. V. That whenſoever they pray by day, they ſhould turn their faces towards the ſun, and whenſoever they prayed by night, they ſhould incline to the moon; for that they are the two great lights of Heaven, and God's two witneſſes, moſt contrary to *Lucifer*, who loveth darkneſs more than light.

The firſt inhabitants of this country being the deſcendants of *Elam* the ſon of *Shem*, it is not to be doubted but the true religion flouriſhed among them with the utmoſt purity. In proceſs of time, however, it was corrupted by an intermixture of ſuperſtitious rites and heretical opinions, the falſe religion, called *Zabiſm*, having in a few generations tainted almoſt the whole

whole oriental nations. From this, it is affirmed by some antient authors, they were thoroughly recovered by the patriarch *Abraham*, who left it them once more in its pure and primitive simplicity, wherein he transmitted it to his own descendants *. But if this were so, they were a second time corrupted and engaged, if not in idolatrous practices, yet in suspicious acts of reverence to the heavenly bodies, and in practices inconsistent with true faith.

Tho' the splendor of their religion might be darkened with those spots, yet it continued infinitely superior to the gross superstitions of their idolatrous neighbours; for the *Persians* remained zealous adorers of one all-wise and omnipotent God, whom they held to be infinite and omnipresent; so that they could not bear that he should be represented by either molten or graven images, or that the Creator and Lord of the universe should be circumscribed within the narrow bounds of temples. On this account, they overturned the statues and places of public worship among the *Greeks*, as unworthy of the Deity. In the decline, indeed, of the antient *Persian* empire, one of their princes introduced the worship of *Venus*; but it was condemned by the *Magi*, who remained firm to this great article of their faith, *There is one GOD*, and took care to transmit it religiously to their posterity †.

The respect which the antient *Persians* paid to fire and to the sun is the only objection against them; yet if this matter be counted seriously and impartially considered, it will be found that there is nothing of idolatry in this respect of theirs, but that they only worship God in the fire, and not fire as a god. Their extraordinary veneration for the element of fire, which they made choice of to be the symbol of the Divine Nature, will appear less extraordinary, if we consider that a never-dying fire was kept on the altar of burnt offerings at *Jerusalem*; that God revealed himself to *Moses* by a flame in a bush, and chose to testify his presence in the host of *Israel* by a pillar of fire. As to their veneration of the sun, it is founded on their belief, that he is the noblest creature of the Almighty visible to us, and serves for his throne. That antient writers and *Mohammedan* authors have committed mistakes in their accounts of the religious tenets and customs of this people, is not to be wondered at, as they are forbidden, by the book of their law, to teach their antient language or its character to strangers, or to instruct them in their religion. If any higher regard had been paid to the sun in antient times, it would certainly have descended, with the other parts of their religion, to the modern *Persians*; but they, we find, declare that they do not worship the sun, called by them *Mithra*. An intimate friend of Dr. *Hyde*, at his request, asked the *Persians* settled in *India*, At what

* Hyde Hist. rel. vet. Pers. c. 2. Prid. Connect. part i. † Hyde, ut supr.

seasons, and with what ceremonies they adored the sun? They answered, That they never adored the sun, or paid any sort of divine honours to that luminary, to the moon, or to the planets; but only turned themselves towards the sun when praying, because they looked upon it to come nearest to the nature of fire. But even allowing they paid a more than ordinary reverence to the sun, those who accuse them of idolatry practise the same thing; the *Persian Mahomedans* and *Armenian Christians* both salute the rising sun with a low bow. And even among the *Hebrews*, adoration, that is, bowing the body, was a civil as well as religious rite. The sun, therefore, was no more than the *Kebba* of the *Persians*, that is, the point of adoration, as the temple of *Jerusalem* was to the *Jews*, towards which *Daniel*, we find, turned his face when he prayed; and as the city of *Mecca* is to the *Mohammedans*. The *Persians* indeed are not perfectly agreed in their notions of the sun; some believing the throne of God placed therein, and that it is the seat of Paradise; others entertaining a different opinion as to Paradise, but praying nevertheless towards the sun, as a symbol of the Deity.

They
never
esteemed
Mithra a
deity,

It is, however, certain that they never called *Mithra* a god, or ascribed to it any name of the Divinity. As to the fire before which they worship, they acknowledge nothing of Divinity therein; but esteeming it a symbol of the Deity, they first prostrate themselves before it, and then standing up, they pray to God. As the fire in the temple was reputed sacred among the *Jews*, so the *Persians* might from them take this custom of praying before sacred fires; which is the more likely, since it was the manner of God's chosen people to prostrate themselves before the altar, and then to offer up their petitions. It was also a custom among the *Persians* to tender oaths before the fire upon the altar, in which also they agreed with the *Jews*, as they did also in preserving it from impure fuel; in which last case the *Persians* went so far as to punish offenders with death. Their kings and principal persons were wont sometimes to feed the sacred fires with precious oils and rich aromatics; but still all things done to or by fire were performed to the honour of God, and terminated solely in him, if we may credit the concurring testimonies of *Persian* writers yet remaining, and the constant asseverations of those who still profess this religion.

nor any
symbolical
representations.

Another rite of the antient *Persians* rendered them suspected of idolatry. It was this: they had amongst them, after the time of *Zoroaster's* reformation of religion, certain caves adorned not only with figures of the sun, but of the planets, and other heavenly bodies. These symbolical representations were called *Mithraic* figures, and were afterwards introduced into other nations, where they became the objects of idolatrous worship: but they were far from being so among the *Persians*, who used them only as mathematical symbols for preserving

serving the true system of the universe, for which purpose they were probably invented by *Zoroaster* himself.

We shall now shew what the *Persians* themselves have taught concerning the establishment of their religion, as well as what *Abraham* are its doctrines, as to essential points received among them. The great fame of *Abraham* having diffused itself thro' the whole east, the *Persians* ascribe the system of doctrines received by them to that venerable patriarch; and they also as much believe him to be the author of their *Sofh*, or *Bible*, as we believe the Gospel to have come to us from Christ. In attributing books to *Abraham*, they agree with the *Jews* and with the *Mohamedans*. The *Persians* say farther, that *Abraham* resided in their country, in the city of *Balch*; but tho' it is allowed that the old *Persian* religion agreed in many great points with the religion of *Abraham*, yet it is so far from being evident, that it is scarce probable he went himself into that country, much less that he executed the office of a prophet there, and resided at *Balch*. On the contrary, it is far more credible that this notion took rise from the suggestion of *Zoroaster*, who had his learning and divinity out of the sacred books of the *Jews* *.

Tho' fire was held the symbol of the Divinity among the *Persians*, yet the other elements were also highly honoured by them; on which account, the *Greeks* and other foreigners called them worshipers of the elements, which was a flagrant calumny; since all the respect they paid to them arose from their conceiving them to be the first seeds of all things. They therefore esteemed the preserving of all the elements pure as an act of high piety, and, as such, meriting the Divine favour in this world and in the world to come. In all things they were great affecters of cleanliness, and studious, in an especial manner, of avoiding whatever might pollute them. It is not impossible but some of the *Persian* princes might have acted as is related by the *Greeks*, and have thrown some sacrifice into a river; but it is not likely, because the *Persians* universally held that whoever polluted either fire or water, deserved death in this world, and everlasting punishment in that to come; and that whoever threw the bones of dead creatures into waters, were certainly damned. As they held the ministration of angels, so they believed that one of these celestial guards was appointed to watch over the waters in general. This angel they called *Ardisur*, or *Arduisur*, for whom a particular salutation or hymn was prescribed, in which they praised him for taking care of all those places, and prayed that he might continue so to do, returning God thanks for the mighty advantages resulting to mankind from the benefit of water. Their love to purity may stand sufficiently justified by the practice of the *Jews*, as well as by the great advantage of preserving cleanliness in those excessive hot climates, especially when we observe that in washing the hands and putting on the

* Prid. Connect. part i. l. 4.

garments they were bound to use solemn forms of prayer, as indeed there were set ejaculations to be used in the most ordinary actions of human life *.

Their
priests.

Their priests, tho' like the *Jewish* priests they waited on and took care to preserve the sacred fire from being extinguished, yet were far from making this their only duty; for these as well as those read every day public prayers, and did other sacerdotal offices; from whence those to whom their principles were not known branded them with the name of fire-worshippers: so dangerous a thing is it to carry to any excess even innocent ceremonies. They never confessed their sins to any but God, nor sought the pardon of them from any but from him, yet they inclined to perform these public acts of devotion before fire or the sun, as symbols of the Deity. The *Persians* in the most antient times had no temples at all; but reared altars, whereon they preserved their sacred fires, on the tops of mountains and other solitary places. It was *Zoroaster* who persuaded them, for the sake of preserving these fires more conveniently, to erect over them a *pyreum*, or fire-temple; but this did not subvert their antient principle, that the Lord of the universe ought not to be inclosed within walls; for their *pyrea* did not circumscribe what they esteemed an image of the Divinity, but only the symbol of his purity.

Their
pyrea, or
temples.

Their no-
tion of the
Deity.

They acknowledged one eternal and omnipotent Being, the Creator and Preserver of all things; him they called *Yezad*, *Izad*, or *Izud*, also *Ormuzd*, *Hormuz*, or *Hormizda*; and joining this with the modern name, they say, *Hormizda Chodâ*, O supreme God. They acknowledge also an evil created being, whom they stiled *Ahariman*, *Ahriman*, and in verse *Abrimanan*, which signifies among them the devil. To shew their detestation of this wicked being, his name in the *Persian* books was thus written, *uui.uuy* to intimate his implacable and perpetual enmity to mankind, and their detestation of him and all his works.

The devil
created by
God.

Some have asserted, that the antient *Persians* held a coeternity of these two principles; but others, better acquainted with the true tenets of this nation, agree, that *Hormuz*, or *Oromasdes*, first subsisted alone; that he formed the light and darkness, out of which last *Ahariman* was created. The account given by *Plutarch* of the doctrines of *Zoroaster* is very conformable to what has been already said, and almost agrees with the religion of the antient patriarchs †. Some have endeavoured to account for the origin of the prince of darkness: *Oromasdes*, said they, said once within his mind, *How shall my power appear, if there be nothing to oppose me?* This reflection called *Ahariman* into being, who thenceforward opposed all the designs of God; and thereby, in spite of himself, contributes to his glory. The souls of man, according to them, were at first unbodied spirits;

* Hyde, c. 6. † Plut. de Isid. & Osirid. Hyde, c. 11. 13.

but the Almighty resolving to make use of them in warring against *Abriman*, cloathed them with flesh, and promised them, that the light should never forsake them till *Abriman* and all his servants were subdued, after which the resurrection of the dead is to follow, with the separation of the light from the darkness, and the coming of the kingdom of peace. They place the day of judgment at the end of 12,000 years; and as to the damned, they assert that they shall be punished according to the heinousness of their crimes; but at last even these shall be pardoned, yet never shall be admitted to the joys of the blessed, but remain in a certain place by themselves, with a black mark on their foreheads, as a badge of that state from whence, thro' the mercies of God, they were freed.

The point in which the *Persians* differ most from us, is as to the manner of God's creating the world, which, they say, happened not in six days, but in six seasons, each season containing many days *.

As to the exercise of their religion, and every thing relating thereto, they have a regular clergy, and are very zealous in as-
 serting an uninterrupted succession of persons instructed in their sacred mysteries, from the time of *Zerduſht* to this day. Their ordinary priests are obliged to live according to certain rules, much more severe than those given to the laity; and their high priests were under still stricter obligations. Their public worship was and is still thus performed. In every *pyreum*, or fire-temple, stands an altar, on which burns the sacred fire, kept always alive by the priests, who, when the people assemble to their devotions, puts on a white habit and a mitre, with a gauze or cloth passing before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element. Thus he reads certain prayers out of the liturgy, which he holds in one hand, speaking very softly and in a whispering sort of tone, holding in his left hand certain small twigs of a sacred tree, which, as soon as the service is over, he throws into the fire. To prevent as much as possible the people from falling into idolatry, the priest, when they are going from their devotions, informs them of the reasons why they worship before the fire, and of the obligations they are under to treat it with reverence. *Hyde* and *Lord* both agree that among the antient *Persians* were three degrees of priests; ordinary priests, overseers of these, and one *archimagus*, or chief priest. The duty of the priests, according to *Lord*, is comprised in the eleven following rules. 1. The observing the rites prescribed in the liturgy of *Zoroaster*. 2. To keep his eyes from coveting that which is another's. 3. To have a care always to speak the truth. 4. To keep close to his business, and not to meddle with worldly affairs. 5. To get the book of the law by heart. 6. To keep himself pure and undefiled, by which way only one man can excel another. 7. To be ready to forgive all inju-

Their
worship
and cere-
monies.

Precepts
to be ob-
served by
their
priests.

* *Lord's* rel. of the *Persees*.

ries, shewing himself a pattern of meekness. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law. 9. To give license for marriage to join the man and woman together, and to take care that parents do not marry their children without his approbation. 10. To spend the greater part of his time in the temple. 11. To believe no other law than that given by *Zerduſht*; to add nothing thereto, nor take any thing from it.

Their
festivals.

They keep yearly six festivals, each of five days continuance, in memory of the six seasons wherein, according to them, all things were created; and as often as they eat either fish, fowl, or flesh, they carry a small part of it to the temple, as an offering to God, beseeching him that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures in order to their own subsistence. They do not intermix with the *Mohammedans* and *Banians*, but eat alone, for the sake of purity and cleanliness, and likewise drink every man out of his own cup.

Education
of their
children.

When a child is born, the parents send for a priest, who initiates it into their religion. The priest calculates its nativity, and the name being told him by the father or the relations of the child, he pronounces it to the mother, who then says, *My child is called so-and-so*; with which the ceremony ends at that time. The child is afterwards carried to the fire-temple, where the priest first pours some water into the rhind of a holy tree, and thence into the mouth of the child, beseeching God to cleanse the tender infant from whatever seeds of corruption and impurity it may have derived from its parents. At seven years of age he is confirmed and taught some prayers by the priest, who also instructs him in the first principles of religion. When he is fully acquainted with the articles of his faith, he is then permitted to pray before the holy fire. After washing his body with clean water, and some other ceremonies, the priest blesses him, and bids him be a true *Perſee* all the days of his life, and to beware of falling into idolatry*.

Their
marriages,

Of their marriages they have five sorts. 1. That of children in their minority. 2. That of widowers with a second wife. 3. Of such persons as marry by their own choice. 4. The marriage of the dead; which is occasioned from an opinion they have, that married people are peculiarly happy in the other world; wherefore, when a young person dies in celibacy, they hire one to be married to him or her, which ceremony is performed a little after the burial. 5. The last kind of marriage is, where a person adopts either a son or a daughter, and then gives him or her in marriage; which also is founded on a religious opinion, that all men ought to leave heirs behind them, either natural or adopted. Tho' the ceremonies made use of on these occasions are somewhat singular, yet they have nothing in them wild and irrational.

* Hyde & Lord, ut supra.

As to their burials, they were most remarkable, both as to and bu-
 the place and manner. The place was a round tower, on the rials.
 top of which the dead bodies were laid, to be devoured by the
 fowls of the air. The dead body being placed on the tower,
 the priest standing at a distance performeth the funeral service,
 which he concludes thus: "This our brother while he lived
 "consisted of the four elements; now he is dead, let each take
 "its own; earth to earth, air to air, water to water, fire to
 "fire." They suppose the spirit wanders three days after its de-
 parture from the body, and is, in that space, pursued and tor-
 mented by the devil, till it is able to reach their sacred fire, to
 which he cannot come. Not to enlarge further on this copious
 and controverted subject, we must refer our readers, who would
 see the *Persees* fully justified from the charge of idolatry, to the
 learned Dr. *Hyde*, and other authors quoted on this subject.



S E C T. IV.

*The reigns of the Kings of PERSIA, till the conquest of that
 empire by Alexander the Great.*

THERE is little or no account of the state of *Persia* before The state
 the time of *Cyrus*. *Elam*, or *Persia*, in the earliest times, of *Persia*
 was governed by its own kings, and those very powerful. *Che-* before
dorlaomer, the first king of *Elam* mentioned in Scripture, ex- *Cyrus*.
 tended his conquests over many provinces of *Asia*; for the kings
 of *Sodom*, *Gomorrhah*, *Admah*, *Zeboim*, and *Zoar*, were his tribu-
 taries. These five princes, after living 12 years in subjection to
Chedorlaomer, in the 13th year made an attempt to shake off his
 yoke. The king of *Elam*, however, having entered into an al-
 liance with the kings of *Shinaar* and *Ellasar*, and *Tidal* king of
Nations, marched out against them; and having reduced the
Rephaims, the *Zuzims*, the *Emims*, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites*,
 and the *Amorites* of *Hazezontamar*, at last fell upon the re-
 volters, routed their army, killed the kings of *Sodom* and *Go-*
morrah, and having pillaged their cities, marched back towards
Elam, with a great number of captives and much booty. *Abra-*
ham the patriarch, hearing that his nephew *Lot* was among the
 number of the captives, pursued the enemy with a small body
 of chosen men, and, on the 5th day, coming up with them at
Dan, put them to flight, and recovered his nephew, with all
 the prisoners of *Sodom*, and all their effects. *Chedorlaomer*,
 by this overthrow, lost the sovereignty of the five cities in the
 plain; but retained his other conquests, which were very con-
 siderable. From the reign of this prince to that of *Cyrus* the
 Great, all that we know of the *Persians* is, that they were a
 great and powerful nation; that in all likelihood they were
 subdued by the *Assyrians*; but afterwards recovered their liberty,
 and

and were governed by princes of their own nation, till the 6th year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who, with his ally *Cyaxares*, again brought them under subjection. Their throne, however, was still filled with a prince of their own nation, even when they were tributary to the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*. The only great family among them, we find upon record, is that of *Achæmenes*, which must have been very conspicuous, since *Xerxes*, when at the height of his glory, was proud to derive from thence his pedigree *. This *Achemenes*, according to *Herodotus*, was the grandfather of *Cyrus* the Great. Others, however, make *Cyrus* the fourth in descent from *Achæmenes* †.

Cyrus.

But, without enlarging on so dark and barren a subject, we shall proceed to the history of *Cyrus*, whose name is equally famous in sacred and prophane history, and was mentioned in holy writ many years before he appeared in the world, an honour bestowed upon none but him and that excellent prince *Josiah* king of *Judah*. *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, the only two original authors, as we may call them, who have related the life and exploits of this prince, differ very widely in their accounts, in many instances. The narrative of *Herodotus* is interwoven with many strange and surprising events, and consequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader. We are inclined, however, to prefer the account of *Xenophon*, which, from its conformity to holy writ, appears evidently to be a true history, and not a *military romance* ‡.

The account of his birth, &c. according to *Herodotus*.

According to *Herodotus*, *Astyages*, the king of the *Medes*, being warned by a dream, that the son that was to be born of his daughter *Mandane* should one day be lord of all *Asia*, to elude this prediction, married her, not according to her birth, but to a *Persian* named *Cambyfes*, of an antient family, but of a peaceable disposition. *Astyages*, a year after, being again frightened by another dream, that portended the empire of *Asia* to his grandson by *Mandane*, sent for her, then big with child; and when she was delivered, gave the infant to one of his officers, named *Harpagus*, enjoining him, as he tendered his own life, to put the new-born son to death with his own hands. *Harpagus*, instead of executing the king's orders, which shocked his humanity, gave the infant to one of the king's herdsmen near the *Caspian* sea, and commanded him, as from the king, to expose it in the most dangerous and abandoned part of the mountains. The herdsman, who was called *Mithridates*, not daring to remonstrate against the king's command, returned with the child to his cottage, where he found his wife just delivered of a dead son. Her name was *Spaco* in the language of the *Medes*, which signifies a bitch, and answers to her Greek name *Cyrno*. She being ravished with the innocent smiles of

* Herod. l. 7.
Connect. part i. b. 2.

† Reinec. Hist. Jul. page 37.

‡ Prid.

Mandane's son, and learning his birth from her husband, who had been informed of it by a servant that attended him out of the city, prevailed on *Mithridates* to dress the dead child in the rich clothes, and expose it, and allow her to bring up the living infant as her own. *Cyrus*, for so was the royal infant called, being thus preserved from the snares of his grandfather, lived with his supposed parents several years.

Being in his 10th year chosen king by his playfellows, he ordered one of them, the son of a lord of eminent dignity among the *Medes*, to be whipped severely, for refusing to obey his orders. The father of the boy that had suffered complaining to the king of the indignity offered to him and his whole family by the herdsman's son, *Mithridates* and *Cyrus* were both sent for to court. *Cyrus* being asked by *Astyages*, how he, who was the son of so mean a man, had dared to abuse the child of one of his chief lords, replied, That he had done no more than what he had a right to do; for being chosen king by the boys of the neighbourhood, who thought him the most worthy of that dignity, he had punished the nobleman's son, who alone had slighted his orders. *Astyages*, taken with the eloquence of the boy, which was far superior to his years and education, and narrowly remarking his mien and features, which he thought resembled his own, broke off the examination of the affair, and sending for him and his supposed father to the palace, quickly discovered, by the confession of *Mithridates*, that he was his own grandson. *Astyages* easily pardoned the herdsman, and pretending even to forgive his favourite *Harpagus* for disobeying his orders, invited him to come that night to sup with him, and to send his son to wait on the young *Cyrus*, since he intended to offer a sacrifice to the gods in thanksgiving for the care they had taken of his grandson. *Harpagus* accordingly sent his only son to wait on *Cyrus*; but when he came himself, instead of being entertained like the other guests, the flesh of his son, who had been murdered, was served up to him, and his head, hands, and feet, afterwards presented to him in a basket. *Harpagus* betrayed no emotion at the horrid spectacle; but pretending to acquiesce patiently with his fate, deferred his resentment till a proper opportunity.

Astyages in the mean time, having consulted the *Mages* what he should do with *Cyrus*, and having informed them that the boy had already acted as king, they told him, that he need be under no apprehension of his reigning a second time, as his dreams concerning him had been already fulfilled. *Astyages*, well pleased with this answer, called *Cyrus*, and after many kind expressions, sent him to his parents in *Persia*, attended by several lords of the first rank. *Cambyzes* and *Mandane* received *Cyrus* with a tenderness and joy more easy to be conceived than expressed; and desiring anxiously to know how he had been preserved, he gave them an account of his past life, and frequently repeating the name of *Spaco*, commended her on all occasions; from whence his parents published among the *Persians*,
 VOL. II. K that

that the immortal gods had miraculously preserved him, and sent a bitch to nourish him.

Some years after, the *Medes* being disgusted with the tyrannical government of *Astyages*, *Harpagus*, who had never forgot the inhuman murder of his son, persuaded them to enter into a conspiracy to dethrone *Astyages*, and confer the crown on his grandson *Cyrus*. The young prince being informed of the secret transactions of the malecontents in *Media*, by a letter sent to him by *Harpagus* in a hare to avoid discovery, assembled all the *Persian* forces, under pretence of being appointed their commander in chief by *Astyages*. The first day he employed them in very hard duty, in clearing a spot of ground about 18 or 20 furlongs, overgrown with thorns and briars. But the day after, he unexpectedly entertained them with a sumptuous feast, and declared, that if they would follow him, they should enjoy greater pleasures, and be no more exposed to servile labour. He then disclosed to them his true design of delivering his country from the *Median* bondage; when they unanimously declared, that they would stand by him in so good a cause, even at the expence of their lives. *Astyages* being informed of the *Persian* revolt, drew together all his forces, and, forgetful of his cruelty towards *Harpagus*, appointed him general of the army. The two nations soon came to a general engagement; but the chief officers among the *Medes* passing over with their troops to *Cyrus*, the rest of the army was routed with great slaughter. In a second engagement the *Medes* were again defeated, and *Astyages*, who commanded them in person, was taken prisoner, and reproached and insulted by *Harpagus*, who declared, that the revolution was intirely owing to him, as he had first encouraged *Cyrus* to the undertaking. *Astyages* replied, that he was then the weakest and most unjust of all men; the weakest, in giving the kingdom to another, when he might have seized on it himself; the most unjust, in enslaving his country, to revenge a private injury. Thus *Astyages* was deprived of his kingdom, after he had reigned 35 years, and was kept a prisoner in his palace till he died, by *Cyrus*, who practised no farther severity upon him.

The account of the death of *Cyrus* given by *Herodotus*, in our opinion, deserves no more credit than what he has told us of his birth, education, and advancement to the throne. *Cyrus*, according to him, invaded the *Massagetes*, and in the first battle feigning a flight, left a great quantity of provisions, especially of wine, in the field; which the barbarians seizing on, so intoxicated themselves, that they all fell asleep on the spot; in which condition *Cyrus* surprized them, and gained an easy victory. Among the prisoners was the son of queen *Tomyris*, who not being able to prevail with *Cyrus* to set him at liberty, assembled another army, and, after a bloody engagement, defeated the *Persians*. *Cyrus* being killed in the field, she caused his head to be cut off, and thrown into a vessel filled with hu-

man blood, with this insulting speech, *Now glut thyself with the blood which thou hast so insatiably thirsted after* *.

We shall now give what we look upon as the true history of *Xenophon's* *Cyrus*, being extracted out of *Xenophon*, who had much better history of opportunities of being minutely informed concerning that great prince than *Herodotus*, as he served a long time under *Cyrus the Younger*, and tells us he took a pleasure in informing himself of the particulars of his life. Though he may have interwoven into his history many of his own maxims of war and policy, it does not from hence follow that the facts and events he relates are not true, but fictitious.

Cyrus was the son of *Cambyfes*, either king of *Persia*, or a man of the first rank in that country, and *Mandane*, the daughter of *Astyages* king of the *Medes*. The *Persians* at this time consisted of 12 small tribes, and inhabited only one province of that large empire, afterwards known by the name of *Persia*, and were not in all above 120,000 men. *Cyrus* was born a year after his uncle *Cyaxares*. He was beautiful in his person, and still more lovely for the qualities of his mind, being of a most generous and benevolent disposition, most fond of glory, and most desirous of learning; so that to acquire honour, he scrupled no hardship or danger. He was brought up according to the severe discipline of the *Persians*; but when he was 12 years of age, he went with his mother *Mandane* to visit his grandfather *Astyages*, who prevailed on her to leave him at his court some years. During his residence in *Media*, he gained the affection of the *Medes*, by the sweetness of his temper, his generosity, and constant endeavours to oblige all men. When he was sixteen years of age, he distinguished himself greatly in the field against the prince of *Babylon*, who had invaded *Media*; and the year after, returning to his father in *Persia*, he remained there till he was 40 years of age, when he was recalled to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares*, who, upon the death of *Astyages*, had succeeded to the throne of *Media*.

Neriglissar king of *Babylon*, resolving to check the growing power of the *Medes*, had dispatched ambassadors to *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, and to the *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, *Carians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Cilicians*, and even to the *Indies*, to desire them to act in conjunction with him against the *Medes* and *Persians*. *Cyaxares*, therefore, desiring succours from *Cambyfes*, an army of 30,000 infantry was raised, and the command given to *Cyrus*. The army was raised in this manner; *Cyrus* chose out of the nobility 200 of the bravest officers, each of whom chose four more out of the same rank, which made 1000 in all; and these were called *Ὀμότιμοι*, or *men of the same dignity*, who organized themselves afterwards on all occasions. Every one of these raised among the people 10 pikemen lightly armed, 10 slingers, and 10 bowmen, which amounted in the whole to

* Herod. l. i.

31,000 men. *Cyrus*, upon arriving in *Media*, was appointed commander in chief both of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and quickly established a wonderful order and discipline among the troops.

Reduces
Armenia.

The king of *Armenia*, in the mean time, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the *Medes*, refusing to send his quota of auxiliaries, or to pay the annual tribute, *Cyrus* thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition; and marching thither with a chosen body of horse, surprized the king and all his family, and having obliged him to pay the usual tribute and send his quota of auxiliaries, restored him to his kingdom, and returned in triumph to his army in *Media*.

Defeats
the *Baby-*
lonians.

The *Indian* ambassadors having in vain offered their mediation to prevent the breaking out of the war, in the beginning of the 4th year, the confederate armies took the field on both sides, the army of the enemy being more than double of that of *Cyrus*, who nevertheless gained a complete victory, *Neriglissar* being slain in the action. The following night, the *Hyrceanians* revolted to *Cyrus*, and the enemy quickly dispersed in great disorder. *Cyrus* reserved to himself all the horses that were taken, in order to form a body of cavalry for the *Persian* army, which hitherto they had wanted. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for *Cyaxares*, and having made the prisoners promise not to appear any more in arms against him, or his allies, he allowed them to return to their respective countries.

The following year, *Gobryas* and *Gadates*, two *Babylonian* lords, provoked by the cruelty of *Laborsoarchod*, who had succeeded *Neriglissar*, revolted to *Cyrus*, who having thereby got footing in *Assyria*, drove the king of *Babylon* into his capital, and concluded the campaign with the reduction of three fortresses on the borders of *Media*.

Cræsus
king of
Lydia
raises an
army in
favour of
the *Baby-*
lonians.

Nabonadius, a young prince, a few months after, succeeded to the throne of *Babylon*; and while he minded his pleasures, his mother *Nitocris*, as we have formerly mentioned, was indefatigable in her preparations against the victorious *Medes*. *Cyaxares*, in the mean time, coming to the camp of *Cyrus*, after several consultations, they determined to employ their troops in taking the towns and fortresses to distress the city of *Babylon*, by intercepting its provisions. Accordingly they reduced many cities, and several intire provinces, without meeting with any considerable resistance from the *Babylonians*. *Nabonadius* at length alarmed, went with great part of his treasures to *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, by whose assistance and interest he concluded a formidable alliance with the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of *Lesser Asia*, whose forces, under the command of *Cræsus*, assembled at *Thymbra*, a city of *Lydia*, not far from *Sardis*. *Cyrus* being informed of these vast preparations by one of his intimate friends, who, by his order, had fled over to the enemy as a deserter, took leave of *Cyaxares*, who remained in *Media* with a third part of the troops, marched forwards to

meet the confederate forces in their own territories, to consume their forage, and disconcert their measures, by the boldness of his undertaking. He had, by this time, greatly augmented his army, which consisted of 196,000 horse and foot, 300 chariots armed with scythes, drawn each by four horses a-breast, covered with trappings that were proof against all sorts of missile weapons, and a great number of chariots of a larger size, on each of which was placed a tower 18 or 20 feet high, containing 20 archers. These chariots were drawn by 16 oxen yoked a-breast. There was, moreover, a considerable number of camels, each mounted by two *Arabian* archers, the one looking towards the head, and the other towards the hinder part of the camel. The army of *Cræsus* amounted to 420,000 men; he therefore observing his front to extend beyond that of the enemy, made his centre halt and his two wings advance, in order to inclose the *Persians*. *Cyrus*, not at all alarmed at this motion, caused his troops to face about to the two extended wings of the confederates, which they soon put into disorder, and routed. He then commanded his chief favourite *Abradates*, governor of *Susa*, to attack the centre of the enemy, which was chiefly composed of a strong *Egyptian* phalanx. The *Egyptians* making a great slaughter of the *Persians*, *Cyrus*, in order to break their phalanx, attacked them in the rear; but the *Egyptians* facing about, and defending themselves with great bravery, the horse of *Cyrus* was killed under him, and he fell into the midst of his enemies: being saved, however, by his *Persians*, who threw themselves headlong upon those that surrounded him, he ordered his troops to draw off, and offered the *Egyptians* honourable conditions; letting them know, at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. They accepted the terms offered them, and surrendering themselves to the conqueror, from that time served him with the utmost fidelity; stipulating, however, that they should not be obliged to carry arms against *Cræsus*. Next morning *Cyrus* advanced towards *Sardis*, whither *Cræsus* with the *Lydians* had retired, the other allies having immediately fled to their different countries. According to *Herodotus*, the *Lydians* again met *Cyrus* in the field, and were driven into their city. Some of the *Persians*, the following night, being conducted up the precipices on which the citadel was built, made themselves masters of that fortress; and next morning, the *Lydians* being filled with consternation, *Cyrus* entered the city without any resistance. He checked his soldiers, however, from plundering that wealthy metropolis, and by the counsel of *Cræsus*, whom he had taken prisoner, published to the inhabitants, that they had nothing to fear, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and *Cræsus* himself set them an example, by delivering his immense treasures up to the conqueror. *Cyrus*, touched with compassion at the king's misfortune, and admiring his constancy in so great a change, treated him with great clemency; and from that time he took him

Is totally
defeated
by *Cyrus* at
Thymbra.

Sardis
taken, and
Cræsus
made pri-
soner.

with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for him, or out of policy, that he might be more secure of his person.

The conquests of
Cyrus.
Babylon
taken.
Bef. Chr.
536.

After the conquest of *Lydia*, *Cyrus* continued in *Lesser Asia* till he had subdued the several nations inhabiting from the *Ægean* sea to the *Euphrates*. From thence he marched into *Syria* and *Arabia*; and having brought those nations likewise under subjection, he proceeded to *Babylon*, which he at last reduced, after a two years siege, in the manner we have related in the history of *Babylon*. The taking of *Babylon* put an end to the *Babylonian* empire, and concluded the conquests of *Cyrus*. Upon the death of *Belshazzar*, the last king of *Babylon*, *Darius* the *Mede*, that is, *Cyaxares* the uncle of *Cyrus*, is said in Scripture to have taken the kingdom. *Cyrus* having settled his affairs at *Babylon*, returned into *Persia*, to pay a visit to his father and mother, who were still alive, and, after a short stay, returned to *Babylon* with *Cyaxares*, where they settled the form of the administration of the whole empire, which they divided into 120 provinces. *Cyrus* then ordered all his forces to join him at *Babylon*, which, on a general review, he found to consist of 120,000 horse, 2000 chariots armed with scythes, and 600,000 foot. Of these he distributed part into garrisons, for the defence of the provinces, and marched with the remainder into *Syria*; afterwards reducing the other nations, as far as the *Red* sea and *Ethiopia*.

Cyrus suc-
ceeds his
uncle *Cy-
axares*,
and puts
an end to
the *Jewish*
captivity.

Meanwhile *Cyaxares* dying, after he had reigned at *Babylon* two years, and *Cambyses* king of *Persia* also dying about the same time, *Cyrus* returned to *Babylon*, and took upon him the whole government of the empire, which he held for seven years. *Cicero*, reckoning from his first coming out of *Persia* to the assistance of his uncle, supposes his reign to have lasted 30 years*. *Ptolemy* and some others compute his reign from the taking of *Babylon*†; but *Xenophon* reckons from the death of his uncle; as does also *Ezra*, who tells us, that *Cyrus*, in the 1st year of his reign, published the famous edict, whereby the *Jews* were allowed to return to *Jerusalem*. This edict, without doubt, was obtained by the solicitations of *Daniel*, who was in great credit and authority at court; and that he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him that favour, probably shewed the prophecies of *Isaiah*, naming him, near 200 years before his birth, as one appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and the restorer of his people, by ordering their temple and city to be rebuilt.

Cyrus having issued out his decree for the restoring of the *Jews* to their country, the captive *Hebrews* assembled, to the number of 4236 persons, and set out for *Judæa* with their servants, who amounted to 733 more, under the conduct of *Zerobabel*, having received from *Cyrus* all the vessels of the house

* Cic. de divinat. l. 2.

† Ptol. in Canone.

of the Lord, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought from *Jerusalem*, and lodged in temple of his god *Baal*. The execution of the decree of *Cyrus*, however, was greatly obstructed by the *Samaritans*, the inveterate enemies of the *Jews*; and it seems to have been out of grief, to see the pious intentions of *Cyrus* thus disappointed, that, in the 3d year of that prince, *Daniel* gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. By what we find in the conclusion of the last chapter, we have reason to conjecture that he died soon after, being then probably about 85 years of age.

Cyrus being equally beloved by his own natural subjects and those of the conquered nations, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. He kept his residence in the heart of his new-erected empire, spending the seven cold months at *Babylon*, three months in the spring at *Susa*, and two months, during the heat of the summer, at *Ecbatan*. Having spent seven years in this tranquility, and established his empire with such wisdom, that upon the strength of this foundation alone it stood above 200 years, notwithstanding the rash and impolitic proceedings of his successors, he died, in the 70th year of his age, in the presence of his children and friends, being equally regretted by all the nations of his vast spreading dominions. This account of *Xenophon* is far more probable than that of *Herodotus*, *Justin*, and others; for had he been slain in *Scythia*, and his body mangled, how could it ever be rescued out of the hands of those enraged barbarians, and buried at *Pasargada*, where *Xenophon* says he died, all authors agree that he was buried, and his monument was to be seen in the time of *Alexander* the Great? Besides, the rashness of the *Scythian* expedition does not agree with the character of consummate prudence and wisdom given to *Cyrus*; neither can it be conceived how the *Persian* empire could have subsisted, especially in the hands of the imprudent *Cambyses*, if *Cyrus* had perished in the field with an army of 200,000 men.

Cyrus, on his death-bed, appointed his eldest son *Cambyses* to succeed him; and to his other son *Smerdis*, or *Tanaoxares*, he left several considerable governments. *Cambyses* was no sooner seated on the throne, than he resolved on a war against the *Egyptians*, and, as we have related in the history of *Egypt*, he easily reduced that kingdom. On occasion of a battle fought between him and *Psammenitus*, *Herodotus* relates an extraordinary circumstance, of which he was himself an eye-witness. He saw the bones of the *Egyptians* and *Persians* in the place where the battle was fought. The skulls of the *Egyptians* were so hard, that they could scarce be broken by the violent blow of a large stone; whereas those of the *Persians* were so soft and weak, that they were broken with the least blow of a pebble. The difference was owing to the opposite custom of the two nations. The *Egyptians* shaved the heads of their children early, which rendered the bones thicker and stronger, thro' the heat of the sun, and prevented baldness; whereas the heads of

His death.

His eldest son *Cambyses* succeeded him. He conquered *Egypt*.

the *Persians* were rendered soft, by being covered with caps and turbans, and never exposed to the sun. *Cambyfes* having made a conquest of *Egypt* the following campaign, which was the 6th year of his reign, he resolved upon three expeditions; the first against the *Carthaginians*, which he was forced to lay aside, because the *Phœnicians*, without whose assistance he could not carry on that war, refused to act against their countrymen. His heart, however, was fixed against the other two, against the *Hammonians* and *Ethiopians*; and to learn the state and strength of *Ethiopia*, he sent embassadors thither, whom the *Ethiopians*, suspecting their true design, treated with great contempt. The *Ethiopian* king, however, in return for the presents they brought him, sent his own bow as a present to *Cambyfes*; and having bent it in presence of the embassadors, he desired them to advise their king not to attack the *Ethiopians* till the *Persians* should be able easily to bend so strong a bow; and in the mean time to thank the gods that they never inspired the *Ethiopians* with a desire of extending their dominions beyond their own country. This answer having enraged *Cambyfes*, he commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without considering that he neither had provisions nor any other necessaries for such an expedition; but he left the *Greek* auxiliaries behind him, to keep his new conquered country in subjection during his absence. When he arrived at *Thebes* in *Upper Egypt*, he detached 50,000 men against the *Hammonians*, ordering them to ravage the whole country, and burn the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*: but after they had made several days march in the desert, a violent wind blowing from the south, raised the loose sands to such a degree, that the whole army was overwhelmed and buried alive. He himself, in the mean time, marched forwards like a madman against the *Ethiopians*; but when he had advanced about a fifth part of the way, his army having consumed all their beasts of burden, were obliged to feed on herbs and grass. He nevertheless still persisted; though in passing through the sandy deserts they were at length forced to devour one another, every tenth man, on whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as food for his companions. *Cambyfes* at length being afraid of his own person, gave over the wild enterprize, and returned to *Thebes*. What is astonishing, during all the dreadful famine among his troops, there was no abatement of delicacies at his table, and camels were still reserved, to carry his kitchen furniture and the instruments of his luxury.

His army
famishes
in the de-
serts.

He de-
stroys the
temples at
Thebes,

Upon his return to *Thebes*, he caused all the temples, which in that superstitious city were incredibly rich and magnificent, to be pillaged and burnt down to the ground; and then marching back to *Memphis*, he there discharged the *Greek* mercenaries, and sent them to their respective countries. When he entered *Memphis*, he found the whole city full of jollity and mirth, which he concluded was on account of his unsuccessful expedition. Not believing the magistrates, who declared, that the appearance of their god *Apis* among them was the occasion of the

the

the public rejoicings, he caused them to be put to death; and next enquired of the priests, who making him the same answer, he desired to see their familiar god who was so condescending as to appear among them. The god being accordingly introduced, *Cambyfes*, upon seeing a calf, fell into a great rage, and drawing his dagger, wounded the *Apis* in the thigh, and reproaching the priests for their stupidity in worshiping a brute, ordered them to be severely whipt, and all who should be found celebrating the feast of *Apis* to be slain. The *Apis*, after languishing some time, died in the temple, and was solemnly buried by the priests. and kills the god *Apis* at *Memphis*.

The killing of *Apis* the *Egyptians* looked upon as the most sacrilegious action, and say, that *Cambyfes* was thereupon seized with lunacy and grew mad. But from his actions, it may be concluded he was so long before. He had conceived such a jealousy of his brother, because he was the only person in the army that had almost bent the *Ethiopian* bow, that he sent him back into *Persia*. Concluding afterwards from a dream that his brother aspired to the throne, he caused him to be put to death. This murder was followed by another still more criminal; for having with the tacit consent of the judges, who were awed into a compliance, married his own sister *Meroe*, he, in a brutal rage, when she was lamenting the loss of her brother, gave her such a blow with his foot on the belly, that she miscarried and soon after died. His wild and furious conduct.

He caused also several of the chief lords of his court to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some of them to his wild fury. He one day asked his chief favourite *Prexaspes* what the *Persians* said of him. *Prexaspes* answered, that they highly applauded his actions in general, but thought him too much addicted to wine. 'I understand you,' replied the king, 'they pretend that wine deprives me of my understanding; but whether this charge be true or not, you shall be judge.' He then began to drink to a far greater excess than he had done before, and ordering the son of *Prexaspes*, his chief cup-bearer, to stand upright at the farther end of the room, with his left hand upon his head, he took an arrow, and declaring he aimed at his heart, shot him instantly through the body. Then commanding him to be opened, shewed the father the heart of his son which the arrow had pierced, and asked him in an insulting and scoffing manner, whether he had not a steady hand. The wretched father, being under some apprehensions for his own life, answered, that *Apollo* himself could not have shot more dexterously.

Cræsus king of *Lydia* taking upon him to lay before him the bad consequences of so tyrannical a government, he ordered him to be put to death; but the officers judging the king would soon repent of his rash sentence, only concealed *Cræsus*, and the very next day *Cambyfes* asking for him, they told him he was alive. He expressed great joy when he heard that *Cræsus* was not dead; but at the same time he ordered those who had saved

saved him to be immediately put to death, because they had not obeyed his orders.

Smerdis
the magi-
an usurps
the throne.

Cambyfes, in the beginning of the 8th year of his reign, leaving *Egypt*, set out for *Persia*; but when he had proceeded to *Syria*, a herald from *Susa* met his army, and ordered them to obey *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, who was proclaimed king. This *Smerdis* was not really the son of *Cyrus*, but one that greatly resembled him, and was brother to *Patisthes*, one of the chief of the mages. *Patisthes* was invested with the administration of affairs during the absence of *Cambyfes*, and being assured of the death of *Smerdis*, and that the king was grown insupportable by his tyranny, he placed his own brother on the throne as the real son of *Cyrus*, who was not generally known to be dead. *Cambyfes*, by examining the herald in the presence of *Prexaspes*, who had received the orders to kill his brother, found that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead, and that he who had seized the throne, was *Smerdis* the magian. Now reflecting how unjustly he had murdered his brother, he burst into a flood of tears, and ordering his army directly to march to cut off the usurper, went to mount his horse, but as he was mounting, his sword slipping out of the scabbard, wounded him in the thigh, of which wound he died soon after. An oracle in *Egypt* had told him that he would die at *Ecbatan*, which he interpreted at *Ecbatan* in *Media*, and therefore resolved never to enter that city: but finding that the city where he received the wound was also called *Ecbatan*, he concluded he must die there; he represented to the *Persian* lords the true state of the case, and earnestly exhorted them never to submit to the impostor. The *Persians*, however, thinking all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it, and *Cambyfes* dying a few days after, they quietly submitted to the person whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true *Smerdis*. *Cambyfes* died after reigning seven years and five months. The *Samaritans*, by their malicious accusations of the *Jews*, so far prevailed on him as to cause the rebuilding of their city and temple to be interrupted.

Cambyfes
dies.

Smerdis at
first ac-
knowleg-
ed as king.

Smerdis, who in scripture is called *Artaxerxes*, was no sooner settled on the throne, than he granted to all his subjects an exemption from taxes and military service for three years. To prevent his subjects from discovering that he was an impostor, he affected, according to the custom of the eastern monarchs, never to appear in public, and transacted all public affairs by his eunuchs. He had married all his predecessors wives, and among the rest *Atossa*, a daughter of *Cyrus*, and *Phedyma*, a daughter of *Otanes*, a noble *Persian* of the first rank.

His nobles beginning to suspect that he was not the true *Smerdis*, *Otanes* sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, and desired her, when she should be next admitted to his bed, to feel when he was asleep whether he had ears or not; for *Cyrus* had formerly caused the ears of *Smerdis* the magian to be cut off for a crime

a crime he had been guilty of. She accordingly obeyed her father's instructions, and finding that *Smerdis* had no ears, early by *Otanes* next morning acquainted *Otanes* therewith, who immediately to be an entered into a conspiracy with five other *Persian* noblemen; impostor, and *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, governor of the province of *Persia*, arriving at *Susa*, they made him privy to their resolutions. *Darius* told his associates, that he had come to *Susa* on purpose to put the usurper to death, and prevailed on them not to separate; but to put their design immediately in execution. The two magi, in the mean time, to remove all suspicion of imposture, had obtained a promise from *Prexaspes* that he would publickly declare before the people, who were then to assemble, that the king upon the throne was the true *Smerdis*. *Prexaspes* accordingly went to the top of a tower, from thence to speak to the people; but to their great astonishment declared, that he himself had put the brother of *Cambyfes* to death, and that the person who reigned was *Smerdis* the magian. Then begging pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed by compulsion, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and died on the spot.

The conspirators, in the mean time, arriving at the place, and being informed of what had passed, were again urged by *Darius* to be speedy in the execution of their design, and accordingly entered the palace without interruption from the and put to guards, who respected their dignity. When they approached death by the king's apartment, the eunuchs wanted to oppose them; him and but the conspirators drawing their swords, quickly forced their six other, passage, and attacking the two brothers, instantly killed one *Persian* of them. The other fled into a dark room adjoining, whither noblemen. he was closely pursued by *Darius* and *Gobryas*, which last seized him fast in his arms. *Darius*, hesitating to strike lest he should wound his friend, was urged by *Gobryas* to put all to the venture, tho' he should kill them both; he accordingly gave a blow which dispatched the magian, but by good fortune did not hurt his companion. They then exposed the heads of the two brothers to the people, who being informed of what had passed, were so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon the whole sect; and slew as many of them as they could find. The day on which this happened, was ever afterwards celebrated by the *Persians* with the greatest solemnity. It was called the slaughter of the magi, and for many years after none of that sect durst appear in public on that festival. *Smerdis* reigned only eight months, and at the solicitation of the *Samaritans*, who represented the *Jews* as a very turbulent and rebellious people, he issued an edict forbidding them to proceed in the rebuilding of their city, charging the *Samaritans*, to see it put in execution.

When the tumult and disorder which happened on the death of the usurper was appeased, the conspirators entered into a consultation among themselves what form of government they should introduce. *Otanes* was for a republic, *Megabyzus* spoke

spoke for an oligarchy, and *Darius* declared for monarchy. They all at length assented to the opinion of the latter, except *Otanes*, who, having an aversion to that dignity, proposed to give up his right to the crown, on condition that neither he nor his posterity should be subject to the royal power. His proposal being agreed to, he immediately retired; and *Herodotus* tells us, that his descendants retained their liberty in his days, being only obliged to conform to the customs and manners of the country.

Darius
one of the
conspira-
tors cho-
sen king
by a stra-
tagem of
his groom.
Bef. Chr.

On his departure, the other six deliberated in what manner they should proceed to the election of a new king. They determined, that the seven should have full liberty to enter into all the apartments of the palace without being introduced, and that the king should not be allowed to marry a woman out of any other family than of the seven conspirators. They referred the election of the king to providence, and agreed to meet next morning by sun-rising on horseback, at a certain place in the suburbs of the city, and that he, whose horse first neighed, should be king. The groom of *Darius*, hearing of this agreement, led a mare over-right to the place appointed, and brought to her his master's horse. The next morning the six lords arriving at the place, the horse of *Darius* remembering the mare, immediately neighed; and his competitors dismounting, adored him as king.

521.

The *Persian* empire being thus restored, *Darius* honoured the other lords with most ample privileges. In all public affairs they were first to deliver their opinions; and ever afterwards the *Persian* kings of this race had seven chief counselors privileged in the same manner.

His pedi-
gree, &c.

Darius was descended of the royal family of *Achæmenes*, and his father *Hystaspis* had attended *Cyrus* in all his wars. In the writings of the modern *Persians* he is called *Gushtasph*, and his father *Lorasph*. The better to secure himself on the throne, he married the two daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atossa* and *Artystona*, the latter of whom had never been married before, and proved the most favoured and beloved of all his wives. He also married *Parmys* the daughter of the true *Smerdis*, and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*. Having thus confirmed his power, he divided the whole empire into twenty satrapies, ordering them to pay an annual tribute. *Persia* alone was exempted from all manner of taxes. By this establishment *Darius* received the yearly revenue of 14,560 *Euboic* talents, besides several other sums of small consequence, in all amounting to about two millions *English* money.

Intaphernes
put to
death.

In the beginning of his reign, *Intaphernes*, one of the seven conspirators, wanted to intrude into the palace when he was alone with one of his wives, which was an exception to the general rule of admittance. The officers of the palace refusing him admittance, he cut off the noses and ears of two of them with his scymetar. *Darius*, apprehensive that this insult might have been concerted with the other conspirators, sent for them singly

singly and asked them ; but finding *Intaphernes* alone was guilty, he caused him, his children and relations to be seized. While they were under confinement, the wife of *Intaphernes*, by her piteous lamentations before the palace, so moved *Darius*, that he granted her the life of any one of her relations whom she should chuse. She after some deliberation chusing her brother, the king asked her why she had so little regard for her husband and children. She replied, that by a second marriage the loss of an husband and children might be retrieved, but her father and mother being dead, there was no possibility of recovering a brother. The king was so well pleased with this answer, that he not only pardoned her brother, but saved also her eldest son.

In the beginning of his second year, the *Jews*, at the exhortations of *Haggai*, resuming the work of the temple, the *Samaritans* applied to *Tatnai*, governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, to carry and desired him to order the *Jews* to desist. On their remonstrances, *Tatnai* and *Setharboznai*, who seems to have been governor of *Samaria*, went to *Jerusalem*, and enquired of the elders by what authority they repaired the walls. They alleged the decree of *Cyrus*, and till they should have a further order from *Darius* continued the work. *Tatnai* writing to court, and desiring search to be made for the decree, it was found in the records at *Ecbatan*, and confirmed anew by *Darius*, who even ordered *Tatnai* to assign some of the revenues of his province to defray the expence of the building.

About the beginning of the fifth year of *Darius*, the *Babylonians* revolted, having for four years before resolved to make an attempt to retrieve their antient grandeur, and for that purpose had privately stored their city with all manner of provisions and military stores for many years. *Darius* besieged the city with a most numerous army ; but after he had continued about a year and a half before the walls, and found all his efforts and stratagems ineffectual, he began to think of breaking up the siege. The *Babylonians*, in the mean time, to make their provisions last the longer, and to enable them to hold out with the greater vigour, with unheard-of barbarity strangled all the women, old men and children, every one being allowed to save only the wife he liked best, and a maid servant to do the work of the house. When *Darius* was hesitating whether he should not retire with his army, *Zopyrus*, one of his chief commanders, having cut off his own nose and ears, and mangled his body in a most cruel manner with stripes, came to him, and told him that he intended to desert to the *Babylonians*, and to accuse *Darius* of having disfigured him in that manner, in hopes of acquiring their confidence, and by that means betraying the city into his hands. *Zopyrus* was kindly received by the *Babylonians*, who gave him the command of some of their forces, with which, in three different sallies, he cut off several thousands of the *Persians*, according to a private agreement with *Darius*, who had exposed them on purpose

The *Jews*

permitted

to carry

On the

building

of the tem-

ple.

Babylon
taken by
the strata-
gem of
Zopyrus.

purpose only half armed. The king at length approaching the walls with all his army, *Zopyrus*, who was then entrusted with the guard of the city, opened two of the gates, and admitted the *Persians* within the walls. *Darius* having thus got possession of *Babylon*, beat down the walls from 200 cubits high to 50, impaled about 3000 of the most guilty in the revolt, and pardoning the rest, caused a supply of 50,000 women to be sent to the city from the neighbouring provinces.

As for *Zopyrus*, the king heaped upon him the highest honours, and among many ample rewards, bestowed upon him the revenues of *Babylon* for life, free from all charges and taxes. He could never after behold him without shedding many tears, and frequently used to say, that he would rather willingly lose twenty *Babylons*, than see *Zopyrus* so disfigured.

Darius's
unsuccess-
ful expe-
dition
against
the *Scy-*
thians.

Darius soon after undertook an expedition against the *Scythians* inhabiting those countries between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*, on pretence of revenging the calamities they had brought upon *Asia* about 120 years before during the reign of *Cyaxares*. Contrary to the persuasions of his brother *Artabanes*, he prosecuted his design, and marched with an army of 700,000 men to the *Thracian Bosphorus*, which he passed on a bridge of boats, and having reduced all *Thrace*, advanced to the *Ister*, or *Danube*, where he had ordered his fleet to meet him, which consisted of 600 sail, and was chiefly manned by the *Grecians* who inhabited the coasts of *Asia Minor* and the *Hellepont*. Passing the *Ister* on another bridge of boats, he entered *Scythia*; but the *Scythians*, instead of coming to an engagement, politically retreated before him, filling up the wells and springs, and laying waste the country. *Darius* at length perceiving his danger, marched back with all possible expedition to reach the *Danube*; but a strong detachment of the *Scythians*, who were well acquainted with the country, arriving at that river before him, pressed the *Ionians*, who had been left to guard the bridge, to break it down, and retire to their own country. *Miltiades* the *Athenian*, prince of the *Thracian Chersonese*, was for embracing so favourable an opportunity of shaking off the *Persian* yoke, and all the other commanders were of the same opinion, except *Hystiæus* prince of *Miletus*, who represented to the *Ionian* chiefs, that if *Darius* should perish, their cities would recover their liberty, and expell them from the government. The *Ionians* therefore determined to wait for *Darius*, who re-passing the *Danube*, left *Megabyzus* with part of his army in *Thrace*, and returning to *Asia*, took up his quarters at *Sardis*, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the year following to refresh his army*.

Megaby-
zus sub-
dues
Thrace.

Megabyzus having wholly subdued the *Thracians*, sent seven *Persian* noblemen to *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, enjoining him to acknowledge *Darius* for his master by the delivery of earth

* Herod. l. iv. Justin. l. xii. Cornel. Nep. in Milt.



and water. *Amyntas* complied with their request, and entertained them in his palace with great magnificence. At their request the king, who feared to displease them, brought in his wives, concubines, and daughters; but the *Persians* behaving in an indecent manner to them, the king's son *Alexander* introduced some young men dressed like women with poniards under their garments, who killed both the *Persian* noblemen and their attendants. *Darius* ordered commissioners to enquire into the murder; but *Alexander*, by the power of bribes and presents, stifled the affair. The *Scythians* soon after crossing the *Danube*, ravaged *Thrace* as far as the *Hellepont*, and loaded with booty, returned home without any opposition from *Megabyzus*.

Darius now convinced of the impracticability of subduing the *Scythians*, resolved to extend his arms eastward, and with that view built a fleet on the river *Indus*, the command of which he gave to *Scylax* a *Grecian*, whom he ordered to sail down the current, and after making the best discoveries he could of the countries on either side the river, when he came to the ocean to steer his course westward. *Scylax* accordingly sailing down the *Indus*, entered the *Red* sea by the straits of *Babelmandel*, and on the 30th month from his setting out, landed in *Egypt* near the bottom of the gulph. From thence returning to *Susa*, he gave *Darius* a full account of his observations. *Darius* hereupon entering *India* at the head of a numerous army, reduced that large country, and made it the 20th province of the *Persian* empire, receiving from thence an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the *Persian* year at that time. *Darius* reduces *India*.

Darius, upon his return to *Susa* from his *Scythian* expedition, had appointed his brother *Artaphernes* governor of *Sardis*, and *Otanes* governor of *Thrace* in the room of *Megabyzus*. A sedition in the mean time happening in *Naxos*, the chief island of the *Cyclades*, the principal inhabitants, who were overpowered by the populace and banished the island, applied for assistance to *Aristagoras*, then governor of *Miletus* under *Hystiæus*, whom *Darius*, in gratitude for his preventing the *Ionians* from breaking down the bridge at the *Danube*, had allowed to build a city in *Thrace*, but had recalled from thence to *Susa*. *Aristagoras* was both nephew and son-in-law to *Hystiæus*, and being greatly in the interest of the king, represented to his brother *Artaphernes* the great advantage of reducing *Naxos*, which would open a passage into *Greece*. His proposals, which were very acceptable to *Artaphernes*, being approved at court, next spring 200 ships were sent to him from the province of *Sardis* under the command of *Megabates* a noble *Persian* of the *Achæmenian* family. The haughty *Persian* disdaining to obey *Aristagoras*, as he was ordered by his commission, a dissention arose between them, which was carried so far, that *Megabates* in resentment secretly informed the *Naxians* of the design that was carrying on against them, which prevented the enterprize from succeeding.

ing, the chief town in the island having been in vain besieged for four months. *Megabates* threw all the blame upon *Aristagoras*, and his false accusations being believed by *Artaphernes*, *Aristagoras* was condemned by him to defray all the charges of the expedition. *Aristagoras*, foreseeing that the exaction of this sum would be his utter ruin, formed a design of revolting from the king, in which he was confirmed by a messenger from *Hippias*, who, being weary of the manners of the *Persians*, wanted to raise disturbances in *Ionia*, in hopes of being sent thither to appease them. To prevent the *Persians* from intercepting his intelligence, he shaved the head of a trusty servant, and the imprinting the message on the skin, sent him soon after to *Aristagoras* when the hair was grown, ordering him to desire his son-in-law to cut off his hair and look upon his head. *Aristagoras*, to engage the *Ionians* more resolutely to stand by him the following year, reinstated them in their liberty and their former privileges, by resigning the government of *Miletus* into the hands of the people, and by persuading the other petty princes to do the same. Having then united them all into one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he openly revolted from the king; and to strengthen himself the more, went in the beginning of the year following to *Lacedæmon*, to persuade the *Spartans* to engage in the war. *Cleomenes* king of *Lacedæmon*, somewhat swayed by the many arguments he used, desired three days time to consider of his proposals. At the next interview he enquired in how many days an army might march from the coast of *Ionia* to *Susa*; and *Aristagoras* inadvertently telling him it would require three months, he immediately interrupted him in his discourse, and ordered him to depart from *Sparta* before sun-set. *Aristagoras* nevertheless followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to win him by arguments of another sort, that is, by presents. At first he offered him ten talents, and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers till he came to the sum of fifty talents, when one of the daughters of *Cleomenes*, a girl of about eight or nine years of age, who was in the room, cried out, Fly, father, fly, else this stranger will corrupt you. *Cleomenes* accordingly retiring, *Aristagoras* went directly to *Athens*, where he met with a more favourable reception, the *Athenians* being then highly exasperated against the *Persians*, especially against *Artaphernes*, who had granted protection to *Hippias* the tyrant, the son of *Pisistratus*, whom they expelled about ten years before, and had ordered them to recal him if they hoped to live in peace. The *Athenians* therefore readily hearkning to the proposals of *Aristagoras*, ordered a fleet of twenty ships to be immediately fitted out to the assistance of the *Ionians*, who soon after drawing together all their forces, marched to *Sardis*, which they easily made themselves masters of. The whole city, which was chiefly built of reeds, a few days after was burnt to ashes, a soldier having accidentally set fire to one of the houses. The *Persians* and *Lydians*, in the mean time, drawing

Aristagoras, from private resentment, stirs up the *Ionians* to revolt.

The *Athenians* send twenty ships to their assistance.

Sardis taken and

ing together their forces, the *Ionians*, not being able to force burnt by the citadel, thought proper to retire towards *Ephesus*, where the *Ionian* fleet was stationed; but the enemy, overtaking them before they could embark, they were defeated with great slaughter. The *Athenians* who escaped immediately returned home, nor could they be prevailed upon to be any more concerned in the war. *Perfians.*

Darius hearing of the burning of *Sardis*, and of the part the *Athenians* took in that affair, determined from that time to make war upon *Greece*; and that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry every day to him three times with a loud voice while he was at dinner, *Remember the Athenians*. The *Ionians*, tho' abandoned by the *Athenians*, still persisted in their revolt; and sailing with their fleet to the *Hellespont* and the *Propontis*, reduced the city of *Byzantium*, and most of the other *Greek* cities on those coasts. In their return they made a descent on *Caria*, and obliged the *Carians* to join them in the war. The people of *Cyprus* likewise entering into the confederacy, and the revolt threatening to become very general, the *Persian* generals assembled their forces with the utmost diligence, and dividing them into three bodies, marched against the rebels, whom they defeated in several encounters, in one of which *Aristagoras* was slain, upon whose death the whole island of *Cyprus* was again brought under subjection. *Daurises*, one of the *Persian* generals, after defeating the *Carians* in two engagements, was routed by them in a third, and his army cut to pieces. *Hymees*, another general, after reducing the *Ilian* coast, died at *Troas*. *Artaphernes*, with *Otanes* the other general, finding that *Miletus* was the center of the confederacy, resolved to bend all their force against that city. The *Ionians* hearing of their design, fortified their city, and stored it with all manner of provisions for a siege, and assembling the confederate fleet to the number of 353 sail off *Miletus*, determined to risk a sea engagement. The *Persians*, tho' double their number, did not engage till they had corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, who during the action hoisted sail and returned to their respective countries; so that those that remained were almost entirely destroyed. The *Persians*, then besieging *Miletus* by sea and land, took and razed it to the ground, in the sixth year after the revolt of *Aristagoras*. The other revolted cities soon returned to their obedience, some of their own accord, and others by force, which they treated with great severity, being reduced to ashes, the handsomest of their youths made eunuchs, and their young women sent into *Persia*. Such were the calamities the *Ionians* drew upon themselves, by seconding the ambitious views of *Aristagoras* and *Hystiaeus*. The latter had his share in the general calamity; for some time before, having persuaded *Darius* to send him to *Asia* to quell the revolt, he endeavoured to corrupt the *Persians* at *Sardis*; but being obliged to fly from thence, he took refuge in the island of *Chios*. Soon after the conclusion of the war,

war, being taken by the *Persians*, *Artaphernes* caused him to be crucified at *Sardis*, without consulting *Darius*, lest his affection for him should incline him to pardon him. His conjecture appeared afterwards to be well grounded; for when *Hystiaeus's* head was brought to *Darius*, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused the head to be honourably interred.

The *Persians* invade *Greece* without success.

Darius being now entirely bent upon the reduction of *Greece*, appointed his son-in-law *Mardonius*, a young *Persian* nobleman, commander in chief throughout all the maritime parts of *Asia*, ordering him to invade *Greece*, and revenge the burning of *Sardis* on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, who had also assisted the *Ionians* in that expedition with five ships. *Mardonius* accordingly having marched with a numerous army thro' *Thrace*, entered *Macedonia*, the inhabitants of which, struck with consternation, immediately submitted. His fleet, however, attempting to double the cape of mount *Athos*, was entirely dispersed by a violent storm, which destroyed upwards of 300 ships and 20,000 men. His land army, about the same time, being carelessly encamped, was surprized in the night by the *Thracians*, and a great number of his men being cut off and himself wounded, he was obliged to march back into *Asia*.

The heralds of *Darius* murdered by the *Athenians* and *Spartans*.

Darius ascribing the bad success of the expedition to the youth and inexperience of *Mardonius*, recalled him, and appointed *Datis* a *Mede*, and *Artaphernes* the son of his brother, who had been governor of *Sardis*, his successors. Judging it expedient, however, before he made another attempt, to sound the inclinations of the *Greeks*, he sent heralds to all their cities to demand earth and water in token of submission. Many of the *Greek* cities dreading the power of the *Persians*, complied with the demands of the heralds; but at *Athens* and *Sparta* they did not meet with so favourable a reception, being in one place thrown into a deep ditch, and in the other into a well, and bid to fetch earth and water from thence. When their passion cooled, however, the inhabitants of those cities were ashamed of what they had done, and reflecting upon it as a violation of the law of nations, sent ambassadors to the king of *Persia*, offering him what satisfaction he pleased for the affront they had put upon his heralds. *Darius* declared himself fully satisfied with that embassy; but hastening the departure of his generals, ordered them, among other things, to plunder and burn *Athens* and *Eretria*, and to send the inhabitants of both places prisoners to *Susa*, for which purpose they were provided with a great number of chains and fetters.

The *Persians* again invade *Greece*.

The two generals having sailed from *Samos* with a fleet of 600 ships and 500,000 men, without much difficulty made themselves masters of all the islands in the *Ægean* sea. Having then invested *Eretria*, they obtained possession of that city by the treachery of some of the principal citizens, and having pillaged and burnt it, sent the inhabitants prisoners to *Persia*, where they were kindly treated by *Darius*, who gave them a village

village within a day's journey of *Susa*; and 600 years after, some of their descendants were found there by *Apollonius Tyanæus* *. The *Persians* next landed on the coast of *Attica*, and being directed by *Hippias* the banished tyrant, encamped at *Marathon*, on the coast of *Attica*. They land a village on the sea side; their army, according to *Herodotus*, who lived near those times, consisting of 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse, tho' by others greatly magnified. The *Athenians*, driven to despair by the treatment of the *Eretrians*, assembled all their forces, which amounted only to 9000 men, tho' they had even armed their slaves, and being joined by 1000 *Plateans*, ventured with this small army to march against the enemy. The chief command was given to *Miltiades*, who a few days after engaged the *Persians* and totally routed them, defeated with the loss of only 200 private men. The *Persians* left by the above 6000 dead on the field of battle, and great numbers of *Athenians* them were killed in their flight and were drowned in the sea at *Marathon*. as they attempted to save themselves on board their ships, seven of which were taken, and many more burnt. Being reim-barked, and having recovered from their consternation, they sailed directly for *Athens*, to make an attempt upon the city during the absence of the army: but *Miltiades* suspecting their design, left *Aristides* with 1000 men to guard the prisoners, and marched with the other 9000 to the city, where he arrived the same day before the enemy, tho' it was distant from the field of battle about 40 miles. The *Persian* generals being thus disappointed, returned with the remains of their fleet and army to *Asia*.

Darius was violently enraged with the news of the bad success of the expedition against *Greece*, and to be revenged at the same time for the burning of *Sardis* and the defeat at *Marathon*, he resolved to march in person into *Greece* with all his forces; and for that purpose dispatched orders to all the provinces for his subjects to arm themselves, and to be ready to attend him. After he had spent three years in making the necessary preparations, the *Egyptians* revolted. He, however, did not lay aside his design against *Greece*, but resolved to send part of his forces to reduce *Egypt*, and to march in person against the *Greeks*. *Diodorus* seems to insinuate, that *Darius* marched himself into *Egypt* and reduced the revolters; but *Herodotus* seems more worthy of belief in this particular. When all things were prepared for both expeditions, a great contest arose among his sons about the succession, which it was usual to fix when the king went upon an expedition. *Darius* had three sons by the daughter of *Gobryas* his first wife, all born before he came to the crown, and four more by *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, all born after his accession to the throne. *Artabazanes*, the eldest son of the first wife, urged that he was the first born, and therefore, according to the custom of all nations, ought to be

Darius resolves to invade *Greece* in person.

The *Egyptians* revolt.

He settles the succession, which was contested by his sons.

* Philostrat. l. i. c. 17.

Xerxes declared heir to the throne.

Darius dies.

Xerxes succeeds *Darius*.

Bef. Christ 485.

He reduces *Egypt*.

He proposes to invade *Greece*.

preferred in the succession to the younger. *Xerxes*, the eldest son of *Atossa*, on the other hand, alleged, that as he was the grandson of *Cyrus*, who had founded the *Persian* monarchy, he had a claim to the kingdom in right of his mother, it being most natural that the crown of *Cyrus* should devolve to one who was his descendant. *Demaratus*, one of the kings of *Sparta*, who had been banished his native country by a faction, being then at *Susa*, suggested to *Xerxes* another argument to support his pretensions, namely, that he was born after his father was invested with the royal dignity, whereas *Artabazanes* was only the son of *Darius*, a private man; strengthening his argument by the example of the *Lacedemonians*, among whom those only inherited the kingdom that were born after their father's accession. The right of succeeding was accordingly determined in favour of *Xerxes*; the chief motive, according to *Herodotus*, being the influence of his mother *Atossa* with the king. According to *Justin* and *Plutarch*, the dispute about the succession did not happen till after the death of *Darius*. The two brothers agreed to make their uncle *Artabanus* arbitrator of their difference; and when it was decided in favour of *Xerxes*, he did not insult, and the other did not repine or express any dissatisfaction at the sentence. They continued to shew each other the warmest tokens of brotherly affection, and *Artabazanes*, a few years after, died in his brother's service at the battle of *Salamis*.

When all things were now ready for the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* expeditions, *Darius* died in the second year of the revolt of *Egypt*, after he had reigned 36 years. The wisdom, clemency, and justice of this prince are greatly commended by the antients; but his many excellent qualities were tarnished with great failings, and his kingdom felt the effects both of the one and the other. Tho' the *Scythian* and *Greek* expeditions proved unsuccessful, yet he was very fortunate in all his other undertakings, having not only restored and entirely settled the empire of *Cyrus*, which had been very much shaken by the ill conduct of *Cambyfes* and the usurpation of *Smerdis*, but also added to the monarchy many great and rich provinces, namely, *India*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and the isles of the *Ionian* sea.

Xerxes having confirmed to the *Jews* all the privileges granted them by his father, and having added to the vast warlike preparations made by *Darius*, in the second year of his reign marched against the *Egyptians*; and having reduced them to a worse degree of slavery than they had felt under his predecessors, he appointed his brother *Achæmenes* governor of that province, and returned to *Susa*.

Elated with his success against the *Egyptians*, he determined to invade *Greece*; but before he engaged in the enterprise, he consulted with the most illustrious persons of his court. Having first delivered his own sentiments, by which it appeared he had the expedition very much at heart from motives of glory and interest, as he pretended, *Mardonius*, in hopes of having the

the command of the army, tho' he had been unsuccessful in the reign of *Darius*, rose up, and not only approved of the king's determination, but extolled him above all the kings that had preceded him. The rest of the council perceiving that the flattering discourse of *Mardonius* pleased the king, all remained silent for some time. At length *Artabanus*, the king's *Artabanus* uncle, a prince venerable both for his age and prudence, addressing *Xerxes*, warmly dissuaded him from engaging in the war; and at the same time reproached *Mardonius* with want of sincerity, and shewed him how much he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in a war which nothing but his own ambitious and self-interested views could tempt him to advise. In the end he proposed that his children, and those of *Mardonius*, should be given up as pledges to answer for the success of the war; that he and his children would forfeit their lives if it should prove successful; but if otherwise, that those of *Mardonius*, with their father, if he returned, should suffer death. Tho' *Artabanus* expressed his sentiments in very respectful terms, *Xerxes* was nevertheless extremely offended, and replied with indignation, that if he were not his uncle, he should suffer that moment the due punishment for such an audacious behaviour; but as a punishment, he said, he would leave him among the women, while he marched at the head of his troops, where his duty and glory called him. However, when the first emotion of his anger was past, he owned he had been to blame in treating his uncle with such harsh language; and next day, in presence of the council, was not ashamed to repair his fault, by ingenuously confessing, that the heat of his youth, and want of experience, had made him trespass against the regard due to so worthy a prince as *Artabanus*; and declared, that he was come over to his opinion, notwithstanding a phantom had appeared to him in his sleep the night before, and warmly exhorted him to undertake the war. The whole council, overjoyed to hear the king speak in that manner, prostrated themselves before him, and strove to outdo each other in extolling the prudence of his conduct. The night following, according to *Herodotus*, the same phantom appeared again to the king, and told him, that if he did not undertake a war against *Greece* without delay, he should become mean and contemptible in as short a time as he had been raised to greatness and power. *Xerxes*, terrified with this second dream, sent for *Artabanus*, and acquainting him with what had happened, entreated him to put on the royal robes, to sit on his throne, and pass the night in his bed. *Artabanus*, after some difficulties, complying with the king's desires, the same vision appeared to him, and threatened him with the greatest calamities if he continued to oppose the *Grecian* expedition; which so terrified him, that he came over to the king's first opinion, and the war against *Greece* was resolved upon.

The *Grecian* expedition resolved on.

Xerxes, that he might omit nothing which could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into an alliance with

The Carthaginians ally with Xerxes.

the Carthaginians, then the most powerful people in the west. The Carthaginians, by this alliance, agreeing to attack the Greek colonies in *Sicily* and *Italy*, while the Persians invaded Greece, appointed *Hamilcar* their general, who not only raised what forces he could in *Africa*, but with the money sent him by *Xerxes*, hired a great many mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, so that his army consisted of 300,000 men, besides a proportionable number of ships.

Thus, agreeably to the prophecy of *Daniel*, *Xerxes*, having by his strength thro' his riches stirred up all the nations of the then known world against the realm of Greece, in the sixth year of his reign proceeded to *Sardis*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all his land forces, while his navy advanced along the coasts of *Asia Minor* towards the *Hellspont*.

Xerxes, as a necessary preparation for the war, had ordered a passage to be cut thro' the *Isthmus* that joined mount *Athos* to the continent. The *Isthmus* is only about a mile and a half broad, but the mountain runs out several miles into the sea, which is there very tempestuous, and occasioned frequent shipwrecks. The true motive of the undertaking, according to *Herodotus*, was the vanity of the king, since he might, with far less trouble, have caused his fleet to be conveyed over the *Isthmus*, as was the practice in those days. The cutting of the canal employed an infinite number of workmen, both day and night, for three years; and it was so broad as to allow two galleys of three banks of oars each to pass through it abreast. Modern travellers declare that they can perceive no traces of this great work, and conclude, that it has only been a fiction of the Greeks according to *Juvenal's* opinion expressed in these words, *Perforatus Athos, & quicquid Grecia mendax, audet in historia*. To us, however, the undertaking does not seem so very surprizing and incredible, considering the great number of hands and the time they were employed in perfecting it.

A bridge built over the Hellespont.

For the passing of his immense army from *Asia* into *Europe*, *Xerxes* likewise commanded a bridge of boats to be built over the *Hellespont*, now called the straits of the *Dardanelles*, or of *Gallipoli*, where the sea is seven furlongs over. The work was carried on with great expedition by the *Phenicians* and *Egyptians*; but was no sooner finished than it was broke in pieces by a violent storm, which when *Xerxes* heard, he fell into a violent transport of anger, and commanded 300 stripes to be inflicted on the sea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, enjoining some of his officers to reproach it in these terms, *Thou salt and bitter element, thy master has condemned thee to this punishment for offending him without cause, and is resolved to pass over thee in spite of thy insolence*. He then ordered the heads of those who had the direction of the work to be struck off; and other architects being employed, two other bridges were built with great dispatch, the one for the army and the other for the beasts of burden and the baggage.

When

When these bridges were finished, *Xerxes* marched from *Sardis* with his immense army to *Abydus*, a city on the *Asiatic* coast of the *Hellepont*, his navy at the same time covering the whole straits. During his stay at *Abydus*, he went up to the top of a stately edifice, which the *Abydenians* had built on purpose for his reception, and took a view of all his forces. Observing the sea covered with his ships, and the large plains of *Abydus* quite down to the shore full of men, he seemed at first exceedingly delighted, but all on a sudden burst out into a flood of tears; which *Artabanus* perceiving, asked him what had made him in a few moments pass from an excess of joy to so great a grief. The king replied, that considering the shortness of human life he could not restrain his tears; for of all these numbers of men, said he, not one will be alive 100 years hence. After some other discourse with *Artabanus*, who declared himself still diffident of the success of the expedition, *Xerxes*, who acknowledged the strength of his reasoning, sent him back to *Susa*, and committed to him the government of the kingdom during his absence in *Europe*. The day being now fixed for the passing over of the army, all sorts of perfumes were burnt upon the bridge, and the way strewed with myrtle before sun-rising; and when his first rays appeared, *Xerxes* poured a libation into the sea out of a golden cup, and addressed a prayer to the sun, that he might not meet with any impediment so great as to hinder him from carrying his conquering arms to the utmost limits of *Europe*. Then throwing the cup into the sea, with a bowl of gold and a *Persian* scymetar, the army began to pass over the bridge that was next to the *Euxine*, while the carriages and beasts of burthen passed over the other. The bridges were boarded and covered over with earth, and had rails on each side that the horses and cattle might not be frightened at the sight of the sea. The army was seven days and seven nights in passing over, tho' they marched without intermission all that time, and were compelled by blows to quicken their speed. At the same time the fleet made to the coasts of *Europe*.

Xerxes having entered *Europe* with his army, marched thro' the *Thracian Chersonese*, and encamped at *Doriscus*, a city at the mouth of the river *Hebrus* in *Thrace*. His fleet soon after arriving at the adjacent shore; he resolved to number and review both his sea and land forces. His land army was found to consist of 1,700,000 foot, and 80,000 horse, which, together with 20,000 men that conducted the camels and took care of the baggage, amounted to 1,800,000 men. On board his fleet, which consisted of 1207 large ships, and 3000 gallies and transports, were 517,610 men. After he had entered *Europe*, the nations that had submitted to him on this side the *Hellepont*, added to his land forces 400,000 men, and to his fleet 220 ships, on board of which were 24,000 men; so that the whole number of his sea and land forces when he arrived at *Thermopylae*, was 2,641,610 men, without including servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and other people of that sort, who were computed

Xerxes arrives with his immense army at *Abydus*.
He weeps upon viewing the number of his troops.

He marches over the *Hellepont*.
Bef. Ch. 480.

The number of his land and sea forces

to equal the number of the forces. Thus, according to *Herodotus*, the whole multitude of persons that followed *Xerxes* in this expedition, amounted to 5,283,220. *Plutarch* and *Isocrates* agree with *Herodotus* in this computation; but *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny* and *Ælian*, make the army of *Xerxes* no greater than that with which his father invaded *Scythia*. As *Herodotus* lived in the very age wherein the expedition happened, his accounts, we think, ought to be preferred, especially as they seem conformable to the inscription engraved on the monument of those *Greeks* that fell at *Thermopylæ*, which expressed that they fought against three millions of men, or two millions according to *Diodorus*; and all the antients agree, that this was the greatest army that ever was brought into the field. Among these millions of men there was not one that could vie with *Xerxes* either in comeliness or stature; but this is a poor commendation when not accompanied with other qualifications. Besides the subordinate generals of each nation who commanded the troops of their respective countries, the whole army was under the command of six *Persian* generals; and the 10,000 *Persians*, who were called the immortal band, obeyed no other commander but *Hydarnes*. The fleet was commanded by four *Persian* admirals, and the cavalry had likewise their particular generals and commanders.

Xerxes, after reviewing his army at *Doriscus*, advanced from thence southward towards *Attica*, ordering his fleet to attend him, and to regulate their motions according to the motions of the army. Wherever he came, he found provisions prepared before-hand pursuant to his orders. Each city, thro' which he passed, was obliged to entertain him; which cost immense sums, and gave occasion to the saying of a citizen of *Abdera* after the king's departure, that his countrymen might thank the gods for *Xerxes's* moderation in being satisfied with one meal a day.

The *Athenians* and *Spartans* prepare to oppose him. Mean while the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, against whom *Xerxes* was most exasperated, had vigorously exerted themselves in their preparations to oppose him. They sent ambassadors to the *Argians*, *Sicilians*, *Corcyrans*, and *Cretans*, to desire succours and conclude a league against the common enemy; but they all excused themselves upon different pretences, except the *Corcyrans*, who fitted out 60 ships, which sailed as far as the cape of *Malea*, where under pretence of being wind-bound, they waited the event of an engagement. Of all the *Greeks* without the *Peloponnese*, only the *Thespians* and *Platæans* sent any troops to their assistance.

The *Athenians* having put an end to all intestine divisions, and concluded a peace with the *Æginates*, with whom they were then at war, gave the chief command of their forces to *Themistocles*; and gave leave to *Aristides*, and all their other exiles, to return. The *Spartans* appointed *Leonidas*, one of their kings, their commander; and it was unanimously determined to defend *Thermopylæ*, which is a narrow pass, only 25 feet broad, between the sea and the mountains that divide *Thessaly* from

from *Greece*, and the only way thro' which the *Persians* could enter *Achaia*. *Leonidas* the *Spartan*, a prince of extraordinary courage, marched thither with 4000 men, among whom were 300 *Spartans* all chosen by himself, and all had determined to stop the innumerable army of *Xerxes*, or die in the attempt.

Xerxes, upon approaching the straits, was greatly surprised *Leonidas* to find that the *Greeks* had taken the resolution to dispute his resolves passage. He had flattered himself that they would never dare to defend to face him, and still entertaining some hopes of their flight, the pass of he waited four days without undertaking any thing, on pur- *Thermo-*pose to give them time to retreat. During this time he used *pylæ*. his utmost endeavours to corrupt *Leonidas*, promising to make him master of *Greece* if he would come over to his party. *Leonidas* rejecting his proposal with scorn and indignation, the king ordered him by an herald to deliver up his arms; to which the *Spartan* in a stile, and with a spirit truly *Laconic*, answered in a few words, *Come, take them* *. *Xerxes*, at this His noble reply, transported with rage, commanded the *Medes* and *Cissians* answer to to march against them, and bring them alive in fetters to him. *Xerxes*. The *Medes* began the attack furiously; but being quickly repulsed with great slaughter, shewed, as our author observes, that *Xerxes* had many men but few soldiers. *Hydarnes* ad- He repul- vanced next with the 10,000 chosen men called the immortal ses the band; but these had no better success than the former. *Xerxes*, *Persians* who beheld the action, is said to have thrice leaped from his with great throne, apprehending the entire destruction of his army. The slaughter. *Persians*, the next day, renewed their attack, but were again shamefully put to flight with great slaughter.

Xerxes, confounded with the resolution of the *Greeks*, was greatly perplexed, and began to despair of being able to force his passage, when one *Epialtes* came to him, and discovered a secret passage to the top of the hill which overlooked and commanded the *Spartan* forces. *Hydarnes*, with his select body of 10,000 *Persians*, immediately marched thither, and arriving at break of day, overpowered and repulsed the *Phocæans*, who retreated to the top of the mountain, prepared to die gallantly. *Hydarnes*, however, marched down the mountain with all possible expedition, to attack the rear of those who defended the pass. *Leonidas*, being now apprized that it was impossible to bear up against the enemy, obliged the rest of his allies to retire, but staid himself with the *Thespians*, *Thebans*, and 300 *Spartans*, all resolved to die with their leader; who, being told by the oracle, that either *Sparta* should be destroyed, or the king lose his life, determined, without the least hesitation, to sacrifice himself for his country. Those who staid with him, did not feed themselves with any hopes of conquering or escaping, but looked upon *Thermopylæ* as their graves. *Leonidas* exhorting them to take some nourishment, and telling them

* Plut. in Lacon. Apoph.

they should sup together with *Pluto*, they set up a shout of joy as if they had been invited to a banquet.

Is at last
overpow-
ered, and
all his men
are cut to
pieces.

When *Xerxes* approached with the whole body of his army, the *Greeks* left their rampart and advanced to the broadest part of the passage, and fell upon the enemy with such undaunted courage and resolution, that the *Persian* officers were obliged to stand behind the divisions they commanded in order to prevent the flight of their men. Great numbers of the enemy were drowned in the sea, others were trampled under foot by their own men, and a great many killed by the *Greeks*, who knowing they could not avoid death upon the arrival of those who were advancing to fall upon their rear, exerted their utmost efforts. In this action *Leonidas* being killed, the *Persians* attempted to seize and carry off his body, but were four times repulsed by the *Lacædemonians*, who killed two of the brothers of *Xerxes*, with many other *Persians* of distinction. *Hydarnes*, in the mean time, advancing with the chosen band, they retired to the narrowest place of the passage, and drawing all together, except the *Thebans*, who basely went over to the enemy, defended themselves till being oppressed with numbers, they all fell except one man who escaped to *Sparta*, where he was treated as a coward and traytor to his country, every one avoiding his company, and giving him the nick-name of *Aristodemus the run-away*. *Aristodemus*, however, not long after made a glorious reparation of his fault in the battle of *Platæa*, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. *Dieneces* the *Spartan* is said to have distinguished himself above all the rest. When a *Trachinian* told him before the battle, that the barbarians were so numerous, that with one flight of their arrows they would hide the sun; he answered without betraying the least fear, that he was glad to hear it, because he liked to fight in the shade. *Xerxes*, exasperated against *Leonidas*, caused his head to be struck off, and his body to be put up on a cross; which barbarous treatment redounded more to his own ignominy than to the dishonour of the hero. The *Amphietyons*, some time after, caused a magnificent monument to be erected to these brave defenders of *Greece*, with two inscriptions, the one general, importing that the *Greeks* of *Peloponnesus*, to the number only of 4000, made head against the *Persian* army, consisting of three millions; the other relating to the *Spartans* in particular, which was composed by *Simonides*, to this purport: *Go, passenger, and acquaint the Spartans that we died here obeying their just laws*. At this monument a funeral oration was yearly pronounced in honour of the dead heroes, and public games performed with great solemnity, wherein none but the *Lacædemonians* and *Thebians* had any share.

Xerxes's
indignity
to the
body of
Leonidas.

Xerxes having lost, on this occasion, 20,000 men, caused all his slain, except 1000 (whose bodies were left on the field) to be privately buried, to prevent his army from being alarmed and discouraged with their loss; and proceeded to *Attica*, where he arrived four months after he had passed the *Hellepont*.

The very same day on which happened the glorious action at *The Per- Thermopylæ*, the two fleets engaged at *Artemisium*, a promontory *sian* fleet of *Eubœa*. That of the *Greeks* consisted of 271 sail; but the repulsed *Persian* fleet was far more numerous, though they had lost, a at *Artemisium*. few days before, in a violent storm which continued four days, above 400 ships. The *Persians* proposed to inclose the *Greeks* in the strait between the island *Eubœa* and the continent; and with that design ordered 200 of their ships to sail to the south end of the island. The *Greeks* sailed in the night-time to attack these ships by day-break; but having missed them, they advanced to *Aphetæ*, where the rest of the *Persian* fleet was stationed. A general engagement ensuing, both parties fought for a considerable time with great obstinacy, and retired in good order; but the loss of the *Persians* was most considerable. They also suffered greatly by a second storm, in which the 200 ships that had been detached from the fleet almost all perished. The *Greeks*, to repair their loss, sailed to the straits of *Salamis*, a small island over-against *Attica*.

When *Xerxes* entered *Attica*, the *Athenians*, by the persuasions *Athens de-* of *Themistocles*, abandoned their city. All that were able to ferted by bear arms went on board the fleet, and their wives and children its citi- were secured in *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*. Some few old zens. men, indeed, remained in the citadel, which, agreeable to their interpretation of the oracle, they fortified with palisadoes, or wooden walls. These, after a short resistance, were all cut to Taken pieces by the *Persians*, who burnt the city and all its temples and burnt down to the ground. As *Xerxes* advanced in person towards *Athens*, by the he sent a detachment to plunder and destroy the temple of *Apollo Persians*. at *Delphos*. If we may believe *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, as the *Persians* approached *Parnassus*, a violent storm arose, and two great rocks rolled down from the mountain, and crushed the greatest part of the detachment.

Meanwhile, both fleets being not far from each other, each *Artemisia* party deliberated whether they should hazard a naval engage- dissuades ment. The *Persian* commanders were almost all unanimous for the *Per-* engaging. *Artemisia* queen of *Halicarnassus*, who followed *sians* from *Xerxes* with five ships, laboured earnestly to dissuade them from engaging that resolution, representing that the loss of a battle at sea at sea. would be attended with the ruin of their land army; whereas by spinning out the war, and advancing to the *Pelopon-* *ncsus*, jealousies and divisions would arise among their enemies, who would separate, each to defend their own coasts. *Xerxes*, however, who had come on board the fleet, assented to the general opinion for engaging; but instead of sharing the danger, he went on shore, where he caused a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence he might be a witness of the gal- lantry of his troops.

In the *Grecian* fleet, as *Artemisia* had supposed, there were very warm disputes, which were carried on with great animosity. *Themistocles*, who had once prevailed upon them to remain at *Salamis*, finding that the *Peloponnesians*, upon the approach

Themistocles, by a stratagem, persuades them to hazard a battle.

The Persian fleet totally defeated at *Salamis*.

proach of the enemy, were again resolving to depart, sent a trusty messenger to the *Persian* commanders, advising them as a secret friend, to attack the *Greeks*, without delay, before they could escape, which they were intending; and assuring them that as soon as the battle began, he and the *Athenians* would join the *Persians*. *Xerxes* and his officers falling into the snare, the *Persian* fleet, which consisted of upwards of 2000 sail, immediately advanced, and prevented the intended retreat of the *Peloponnesians*. The command of the *Grecian* fleet, which did not exceed 380 sail, being now trusted to *Themistocles*, he deferred the engagement till a certain wind, which rose regularly at a certain hour, and was intirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as this wind arose, the *Greeks* began the engagement. The *Persians*, knowing that they acted under their king's eye, fought for some time with great resolution; but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and the largeness and number of their ships embarrassing them in so narrow a bay, their ardour soon abated; which being perceived by the *Greeks*, they redoubled their efforts, and quickly breaking into the *Persian* fleet, forced them to fly, some to *Phalerus*, where their army lay encamped, others to the harbours of the neighbouring islands. The *Ionians*, whom *Themistocles* had advised, by characters engraven upon stones set up along the coasts of *Eubæa*, to remember their original, were the first who betook themselves to flight. *Artemisia* was the last who fled; and having distinguished herself above all the rest in the engagement, *Xerxes* cried out, that the men had behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men.

In this memorable action the *Grecians* lost 40 ships, and the *Persians* 200, besides a great many more that were taken, with all the men and ammunition they carried. Many of their allies, who dreaded the king's cruelty no less than the enemy, made the best of their way to their respective countries.

Xerxes's retreat and distress.

Themistocles, by another stratagem, persuaded *Xerxes*, with the greatest part of his army, to evacuate *Greece*, by informing him as a friend that the *Greeks* intended to break down his bridge at the *Hellepont*. Upon this information, *Xerxes* left *Mardonius*, with 300,000 men, to attempt the conquest of *Greece*, and marched with the rest towards *Thrace*. During his march, which lasted 45 days, his soldiers, having no provisions, were obliged to live upon herbs, and even the bark and leaves of trees, which occasioned innumerable distempers, that swept off the greater part of them. *Xerxes*, through eagerness to make his escape, even left his army behind him; but when he arrived with a small retinue at the *Hellepont*, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the storms, and was reduced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing-boat; a striking instance of the mutability of human greatness!

Attica visited by the Persian

Xerxes continued the following year at *Sardis*; and *Mardonius* passing the winter in *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*, marched early in the spring into *Boeotia*. From thence he sent *Alexander* king

king of *Macedon*, with very advantageous offers, to the *Athenians* in order to draw them off from the general alliance. His offers being rejected by the *Athenians*, who refused on any account to desert the common interest of *Greece*, he soon after marched into *Attica*, which he ravaged and destroyed; and the *Athenians*, who were unable to withstand such a torrent, abandoning their city a second time, he entered *Athens*, and demolished whatever had escaped the fury of the *Persians* the preceding year. The *Grecian* forces, in the mean time, assembling at the isthmus of *Corinth*, under the command of *Pausanias* king of *Sparta* and *Aristides*, then archon of *Athens*, *Mardonius* marched back into *Bæotia*, and encamped on the banks of the *Asopus*; his army, according to *Herodotus*, consisting of 350,000 men; but, according to *Diodorus*, of 500,000. The *Grecians*, who were not fully 110,000 men, followed them, and in a skirmish that happened soon after, routed a considerable party of *Persian* horse, under the command of *Masistius*, who was killed in the action; and being next in authority to *Mardonius*, was greatly lamented by the *Persians*, by cutting off their hair, and likewise the manes of their horses, and filling the camp with loud cries and lamentations. Several other skirmishes happened between the two armies; but about ten days after, *Mardonius*, contrary to the advice of some other generals, and his *Greek* allies, drew out his army for a general engagement: the greatest part of the day, however, was consumed by both parties in altering the disposition of their troops. The *Greeks* having been greatly incommoded by the *Persian* horse, and being distressed for want of provisions, decamped the night following, in great disorder, towards *Plataea*, with the design of encamping in an island formed by the *Asopus*. *Mardonius* and the *Persians*, believing that they fled, pursued after them without rank or order. The *Persian* horse quickly came up with the *Lacedemonians* and *Tegeans*, and attacked them; and when the *Athenians*, who were at a considerable distance, were marching to the relief of the *Spartans*, they were attacked by the *Bæotians* and the other *Greek* auxiliaries of the enemy. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the *Spartans*, who were more completely armed than the *Persians*, quickly broke them; and killing *Mardonius*, who signalized himself at the head of 1000 chosen men, totally routed them with great slaughter. The *Greeks*, who had attacked the *Athenians*, hearing of the defeat of the *Persians*, retired with precipitation, great part of them to their own homes. The *Persians* having retreated to their former camp, and fortified it with an inclosure of wood, the *Lacedemonians* pursued them thither; but not being accustomed to storm fortified places, they attacked the trenchments with more valour than skill, and suffered by the enemy. The *Athenians* coming up, soon broke down the wall, and entering with the *Tegeans* and *Lacedemonians*, made such a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, that of 300,000 scarce 3000 made their escape, exclusive of 40,000 that had followed *Artabazus*, who

who having distinguished himself in the engagement, and foreseeing what would happen, made a timely retreat, and arriving safe at *Byzantium*, from thence passed over into *Asia*. In the battle the *Spartans* lost only 91 men, the *Tegeans* 16, and the *Athenians* 52. When they came to determine who had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment in favour of *Aristodemus*, who had saved himself at *Thermopylae*, and was now in the number of the slain. Thus was *Greece* delivered, not only from the present, but all future invasions of the *Persians*, who henceforward never appeared on this side the *Hellespont*.

The *Persians* defeated before *Mycale*.

The same day that this battle was fought at *Plataea*, the naval forces of the *Greeks* gained as memorable a victory at *Mycale*, a promontory in *Asia*. While the land army assembled at the isthmus to oppose *Mardonius*, the fleet met at *Aegina*, under the command of *Leotychides* the other king of *Sparta*, and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, where they received an embassy from the *Ionians*, inviting them into *Asia*, to deliver the *Greek* colonies from the *Persian* yoke. They accordingly set sail immediately for *Asia*, steering their course by *Delos*, where they were met by other ambassadors from *Samos*, who told them that the *Persian* fleet was then at *Samos*, and might easily be destroyed, earnestly intreating not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. The *Greeks* hereupon sailed directly for *Samos*; but the *Persians* receiving timely notice of their design, retired to *Mycale*, where their army lay encamped, consisting of 60,000 men, or, according to some, of 100,000. Here they drew their ships ashore, and threw up an intrenchment quite round, which they fortified with palisadoes, being determined to sustain a siege. The *Greeks* following them to *Mycale*, landed their troops, and attacking the intrenchment, quickly made a breach, and totally routed the enemy. The *Persians*, tho' deserted by the barbarians, resisted obstinately a long while; but the *Samians*, whom they had disarmed before the engagement, acting to the utmost of their power in favour of the *Greeks*, and the *Ionians* following their example, the *Persians* at length fled to the mountains, the passes of which they had committed to the *Milesians*. They, however, seeing the event of the battle, instead of conducting the *Persians* from the field, brought them back, by other ways, to the *Greeks*; by which means, a very small number escaped the general slaughter of that day. The *Greeks* having routed the enemy, set fire to their ships, burnt the whole camp, and sailed for *Samos*, loaded with an immense booty. Thus ended the ambitious designs of *Xerxes*, in a most miserable disappointment; a small number of those millions of men now remaining with which the year before he marched so proudly over the *Hellespont*.

The stratagem of *Leotychides*.

The battle of *Plataea* was fought in the morning, and that of *Mycale* in the afternoon of the same day; and yet all the *Greek* writers pretend that the victory at *Plataea* was known at *Mycale* before the latter engagement began, tho' these two places were parted by the whole *Aegean*, a sea of several days sail.

fail. But *Diodorus Siculus* clears up this matter, telling us, that *Leotychides*, observing his troops to be in pain left their countrymen at *Plataea* should be overpowered by the army of *Mardonius*, in order to raise their spirits and courage, caused a report to be spread among his troops, that the *Persians* were defeated at *Plataea*.

Xerxes, upon the news of these two overthrows, immediately left *Sardis*, and set out for *Persia*, with the same hurry and precipitation as he had left *Athens* after the battle of *Salamis*. But before he set out, he gave orders that all the temples of the *Greeks* in *Asia* should be burnt and demolished; and his orders were so far executed, that not one was left standing, except that of *Diana* at *Ephesus*. He acted in this manner, according to *Cicero*, at the instigation of the mages, who were professed enemies to temples and images, and whose chief, *Ostanes*, attended *Xerxes* in this expedition *. Upon his arrival at *Babylon*, in his way to *Susa*, he destroyed all the temples of that city, doubtless from the same principle, and out of hatred to the sect of the *Sabæans*. Perhaps also the desire of making himself amends for the charges of his *Grecian* expedition by their spoil and plunder, which was very immense, might also be a motive to his destroying them.

From this time the *Ionian* cities in *Asia*, shaking off the *Persian* yoke, recovered their antient liberty, and maintained it as long as that empire subsisted.

While *Xerxes* resided at *Sardis*, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother *Masistes*; but as she was a woman of great virtue, and had a singular value for *Masistes*, a prince of extraordinary merit, she could, by no solicitations, be prevailed upon to defile his bed. *Xerxes*, however, still flattering himself that by heaping favours upon her, he might at last conquer her virtue, married his eldest son *Darius*, whom he appointed his successor to the crown, to *Artaynta*, this princess's daughter. The king, still finding the lady's virtue proof against all temptations, changed his inclinations, and fell passionately in love with her daughter, who did not imitate the glorious example of her mother's constancy and virtue. While this intrigue was carrying on, *Hamestris*, wife to *Xerxes*, made him a present of a rich and curious mantle of her own making, which he being extremely pleased with, put on when he next visited his mistress. In the conversation he had with her he desired her to ask whatever favour she pleased; and binding himself with an oath to deny her nothing, she desired him to give her the mantle. *Xerxes* foreseeing the bad consequences of his granting her present request, used his utmost endeavours to dissuade her from insisting upon it. He offered her immense treasures, with cities, and an army to be wholly at her own

* Cic. l. 2. de legib. Plin. 30.

Its fatal
effects.

disposal; but not being able to prevail with her, and thinking himself bound by his rash oath, he yielded at length to her demand, and gave her the mantle, which she immediately put on and publicly wore as a trophy of her power over the king's affections. *Hamestris* being now confirmed in the suspicion she had entertained, was incensed to the highest degree; but instead of venting her rage against the daughter, she resolved to take revenge of the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, tho' she was no-ways privy to it. She deferred her revenge, however, till the celebration of the king's birth-day; on which festival, the king, according to the established custom of the country, used to grant the queen whatever she demanded. On this festival, she accordingly asked that the wife of *Masistes* might be delivered into her hands. *Xerxes* apprehending her design, was struck with horror at her demand, both out of regard to his brother and to his wife, who he knew was quite innocent, and therefore at first withstood her request; but not being able to resist her importunity, he at last yielded, and was guilty of the weakest and most cruel piece of complaisance that ever was acted. His guards delivered the innocent lady into the hands of the revengeful *Hamestris*, who caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips, to be cut off, and thrown to the dogs before her face; and in that miserable condition sent her home. *Xerxes*, in the mean time, had sent for his brother, to prepare him for the tragical adventure; and first pressed him to part with his wife, and to induce him thereto, offered to give him one of his daughters in her stead. *Masistes*, who was passionately fond of his wife, refusing on any account to divorce her, *Xerxes* in great warmth told him, that since he rejected his daughter, he should neither have her nor his own wife; and with this inhuman reply dismissed him. *Masistes*, from this speech apprehending some great misfortune, hastened home, where he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have described. Being exasperated to the highest degree, as the case justly deserved, he immediately set out, with his family, servants, and dependants, for the province of *Bactriana*, of which he was governor, with full resolution, as soon as he arrived there, to induce the *Bactrians* to revolt, and revenge such barbarous usage in the severest manner. *Xerxes*, suspecting his intention, from his sudden departure, sent a party of horse after him, who, overtaking him, cut him in pieces, with his wife, children, and all his retinue.

The government of *Bactria* was now conferred on *Xerxes's* second son *Hystaspes*, who being, on that account, obliged to live at a distance from court, gave his younger brother *Artaxerxes* an opportunity of mounting the throne before him, as will be seen in the sequel.

Cyprus
taken
from the
Persians.

The war still continuing between the *Persians* and the *Greeks*, the latter having settled their affairs at home, and being masters of the sea, two years after the battle of *Platæa* sailed with a pow-

a powerful fleet to *Cyprus*, and drove the *Persians* from that island. From thence they sailed to the *Hellepont*, and reduced the city of *Byzantium*, and afterwards the islands *Scyrus* and *Naxus*. *Cimon*, who had the command of the fleet, then passing over to the coasts of *Asia*, drove the *Persians* out of all the maritime cities of *Caria* and *Lycia*. Afterwards he attacked and defeated their fleet at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, and landing his forces, gained another signal victory, the same day, over the land army. The year after, he drove the *Persians* out of the *Thracian Chersonese*, and reduced all *Thrace* as far as *Macedon*.

Xerxes being wholly discouraged by a continual series of heavy losses and shameful defeats, renounced all thoughts of war or conquest, and gave himself intirely up to luxury and ease, minding nothing but the gratifying his lusts and vicious inclinations. This dissolute manner of life having drawn upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, *Artabanus*, the captain of his guards, who had long been his chief favourite, was encouraged basely to conspire against him. He prevailed on *Mithridates*, one of the eunuchs of the palace, to engage in the conspiracy, and being by him let into the king's bed-chamber, murdered him while he was asleep, in the 21st year of his reign, according to *Ptolemy's Canon*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and others. He then went to *Artaxerxes*, the king's third son, and telling him, that his elder brother *Darius* had murdered the king, and intended also to assassinate him, persuaded the young and credulous prince to go to his brother's apartment, and murder *Darius*. *Hystaspes*, the second son of *Xerxes*, being then absent in *Bactriana*, *Artaxerxes* was seated on the throne; *Artabanus*, however, resolving as soon as he had formed a sufficient party, to dispatch the young king, and seize the throne for himself. While he was consulting how to execute his design, *Artaxerxes*, being informed of the whole plot by *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his sisters, anticipated his wicked purpose, and killed him before his treason was ripe for execution. His death secured the possession of the kingdom to *Artaxerxes*, who is said to have been the handsomest man of the age he lived in, and a prince of a very mild and generous disposition. The *Greeks* gave him the surname of *Macrocheir*, that is, *long-handed*, which answers to the *Latin Longimanus*; because, according to *Strabo* (l. xv.) his hands were so long, that whenever he stood upright he could touch his knees with them: but according to *Plutarch* (in *Artax.*) because his right hand was longer than his left. In Scripture he bears the name of *Abasuerus* as well as *Artaxerxes*, and is the same who had *Esther* for his queen. Some authors, indeed, are of opinion, that *Artaxerxes* was not the *Abasuerus* of Scripture; but we think the contrary is evident from the *Septuagint*, where *Abasuerus* is always translated *Artaxerxes*; from the apocryphal additions to the book of *Esther*, where her husband is also called *Artaxerxes*; and from *Josephus*,

Xerxes
murdered.
Bef. Chr.
465.

Artaxerxes,
his third
son,
mounts
the
throne.

He is said
named
Macrocheir, or
Longimanus.

sephus, whose opinion is followed by *Severus Sulpitius*, and many others, both antient and modern writers *.

He suppresses a conspiracy.

Defeats his elder brother, *Hystaspes*.

Tho' *Artaxerxes* by the death of *Artabanus* had removed a dangerous competitor, he had still two great obstacles in his way, namely, his brother *Hystaspes* in *Bactria*, and the faction of *Artabanus* at home, which gave him the first trouble. *Artabanus* had left seven sons, and a great number of partisans, who immediately assembled to revenge his death. A bloody engagement ensuing, many *Persians* of distinction fell on both sides; but *Artaxerxes* at length prevailing, he put to death all those who were privy to the plot, those especially who had any hand in the murder of his father, were punished in a most exemplary manner. Having thus crushed the faction of *Artabanus* at home, *Artaxerxes* sent an army into *Bactria*, which had declared in favour of his brother. *Hystaspes* having assembled a great number of *Bactrians*, attacked the forces of the king, and the event of the battle was so equal, that neither party could claim the victory. The next year *Artaxerxes*, who was acknowledged throughout the whole empire, drew together a more powerful army, and gaining a complete victory over the *Bactrians*, secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire. To prevent all further disturbances, he removed such governors of cities and provinces as he suspected to be well-wishers to any of the factions he had overcome, putting others in their room whom he could safely trust. He afterwards applied himself to the reforming of many abuses and disorders that had crept into the government; whereby he gained great reputation, and won the hearts of his subjects throughout the whole empire.

Artaxerxes being now beloved and obeyed throughout the whole empire, in the third year of his reign appointed rejoicings and feasts to be made, for the space of 180 days, in the city of *Susa*; on the conclusion of which, he gave a grand entertainment to all the princes and people that were in that city, which lasted seven days. *Vashti* the queen at the same time made a like feast in her apartment for the women. Here the history of *Hadaßah*, or *Esther* (for which we refer our readers to that book) takes place.

The Egyptians revolt, and are assisted by the Athenians.

In the fifth year of *Artaxerxes*' reign, the *Egyptians* revolted, and making *Inarus* prince of the *Libyans* their king, called in the *Athenians* to their assistance; who having at that time a fleet of 200 ships at the island of *Cyprus*, laid hold of that opportunity of weakening the power of the *Persians*, by driving them from so rich a kingdom. This war continued six years, and in the end proved very fatal to the *Athenians*; for the *Egyptians* being at length subdued by *Megabyzus*, the *Athenians* not only

* Joseph. Antiq. l. ii. c. 6. Prid. Connect. part i. & Calmet. Dict.

lost their whole fleet, but fifty other vessels that entered the Nile as a reinforcement; and *Inarus* the *Lybian*, with many others, were carried prisoners to *Persia*, as we have formerly related.

The *Athenians*, notwithstanding the loss of their fleet in *Egypt*, soon after sent *Cimon* with 200 ships to *Cyprus*, to drive the *Persians* from that island. *Cimon* having reduced several cities of the island, sent sixty ships to the assistance of *Amyrtæus*, who still held out against the *Persians* in the fens in *Lower Egypt*. As soon as this Squadron returned from the *Egyptian* coast, *Cimon* attacked the *Persian* fleet under *Artabazus*, consisting of 300 sail, took 100 of their vessels, destroyed many others, and pursued the remainder to the coasts of *Phœnicia*. Returning from thence, he landed his troops in *Cilicia*, attacked *Megabyzus*, who commanded an army of 300,000 men, and having routed the *Persians* with great slaughter, returned with a double triumph to *Cyprus*.

Artaxerxes tired with a war in which he had sustained so great losses, by the advice of his counsellors, proposed terms of accommodation to the *Athenians*. A peace was accordingly concluded, upon the following terms: 1. That all the *Greek* cities of *Asia* should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws. 2. That no *Persian* ships of war should enter the sea betwixt the *Euxine* sea and the coasts of *Pamphylia*. 3. That no *Persian* general should come by land within three days march of those seas. 4. That the *Athenians* should not commit any hostilities in the territories of the king of *Persia*. Thus ended this war, which had lasted, from the burning of *Sardis* by the *Athenians*, fifty-one years complete, and destroyed numberless multitudes both of *Greeks* and *Persians*.

Achæmenes, the brother of *Artaxerxes*, having been cut off in the *Egyptian* war, his mother continually solicited the king to deliver to her *Inarus* and the *Athenian* prisoners, that she might sacrifice them to the manes of her deceased son; and having, after five years unwearied solicitation, at length obtained her desire, she caused *Inarus* to be crucified, and the heads of all the rest to be struck off. *Megabyzus*, who had engaged his word that their lives should be spared, deeply resented this affront; and retiring to *Syria*, of which he was governor, raised an army, and openly revolted. *Osiris*, one of the chief lords of the court, marched at the head of 200,000 men to suppress the rebellion; but his army was routed, and himself wounded and taken prisoner by *Megabyzus*, who, at the request of *Artaxerxes*, generously released him when his wounds were cured. The following year, *Megabyzus* again routed another *Persian* army that marched against him, under the command of *Ménostanes*, the king's nephew. *Artaxerxes* at length sensible that he could not get the better of him by force of arms, prevailed on him, by the mediation of his brother *Artarius* and his sister *Amytis*, who was wife to *Megabyzus*, to return to his duty; and the king pardoning him, he again came to court. Having

Pardoned,
and rein-
stated.

not long after slain a lion, which was going to fall upon the king when he was hunting, *Artaxerxes* most ungratefully accused him of affronting him, in darting first at the lion, and commanded his head to be struck off. With the greatest difficulty his mother and sister prevailed upon him to change this sentence into perpetual banishment. *Megabyzus* having continued five years under confinement, at *Cirta* on the *Red* sea, at length escaped under disguise to *Susa*, and, by the intercession of his wife *Amytis* and her mother, he was restored to the king's favour, which he enjoyed till his death, which happened some years after, in the 76th year of his age. *Artaxerxes* owed both his life and his crown to him, and regretted him sincerely when he died, as he was the best counsellor and greatest general of the whole empire.

Artaxerxes, in the 34th year of his reign, was solicited for assistance by the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, who were then at war against each other; but we do not find that he returned any answer till the 7th year of the war, when he sent *Artaphernes* ambassador to the *Lacedemonians*, with a letter in the *Assyrian* tongue, wherein he told them that several ambassadors had come to him from them; but that not being able to comprehend what they requested, he had sent them a *Persian*; and that if they had any proposals to make, they might send a trusty person with him to his court. The ambassador was taken prisoner by an *Athenian* admiral at the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, and conducted to *Athens*; but the *Athenians*, who were extremely desirous to regain the favour of the *Persian* monarch, immediately set him at liberty, and the year following sent him back to *Asia* in one of their own ships, appointing some of their citizens to attend him to the court of *Persia* in the character of ambassadors. Upon their arrival at *Ephesus*, the *Athenians* being informed of the king's death, took leave of *Artaphernes*, and returned to *Greece*.

Xerxes II.
succeeds
his father
Artaxerxes.
Bef. Ch.

424.

Artaxerxes died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by *Xerxes*, the only son he had by his queen. By his concubines he had 17; among whom were, *Sogdianus*, *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Xerxes*, after he had reigned 45 days, was murdered by his brother *Sogdianus*, when he was sleeping after a debauch.

Ochus
seizes the
throne,
and takes
the name
of *Darius*.

Sogdianus seized the throne; but becoming odious to the nobility and army, he was apprehensive lest they should declare for some of his brothers, especially for *Ochus* governor of *Hyrkania*. He sent for him to court, with a design to murder him the moment he arrived; but *Ochus* suspecting his intention, excused himself for some time, till he had assembled a powerful army: then advancing towards *Susa*, and declaring, that he designed to revenge the murder of his brother, he was quickly joined by many of the nobility, and several governors of provinces, who put the tiara on his head, and proclaimed him king. *Sogdianus* seeing himself thus deserted, contrary to the advice of his best friends, came to an accommodation with

Ochus,

Ochus, who having him in his power, caused him to be thrown into ashes, where he died a cruel death. This punishment, which was invented for him, became afterwards common in *Persia*. *Ochus* being settled on the throne, changed his name, taking that of *Darius*, and is by historians commonly called *Darius Nothus*, or *Darius the Bastard*.

Arsites his brother, reflecting how *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* had been supplanted, began to entertain thoughts of treating *Ochus* in the same manner. Being encouraged by *Artyphius* the son of *Megabyzus*, who promised to raise an army in his behalf, he openly revolted. *Ochus*, or *Darius*, sent *Artasyras*, one of his generals, against *Artyphius*, and marched in person against his brother. *Artyphius* being assisted by *Greek* mercenaries, twice defeated the general that had been sent against him; but the *Greeks* being gained over with large bribes, he lost the third battle, and, being reduced to great straits, surrendered himself to *Darius*, upon hopes given him of mercy. The king, by the advice of *Parysatis*, his wife and sister, an intriguing and artful woman, contrary at first to his own inclination, treated *Artyphius* with great clemency, with the design to decoy his brother to throw himself upon his mercy. Her stratagem succeeded; for *Arsites*, in hopes of meeting with the same indulgence and good-nature, came to an accommodation with the king. *Darius* having him in his power, was very much inclined to pardon him; but was prevailed on by *Parysatis* to put both him and *Artyphius* to death, by suffocating them in ashes.

Reduces
his brother
Arsites.
Bef. Chr.
422.

Tho' he easily crushed this rebellion, yet he was far from enjoying tranquillity; for his reign was disturbed with violent commotions, raised in various parts of the empire. One of the most dangerous revolts was raised by *Pisuthnes* governor of *Lydia*, who, setting up for himself, raised an army of mercenaries, under the command of *Lycan* an *Athenian*. *Tissaphernes*, who was appointed governor of *Lydia* and sent against him with an army, found means of gaining the *Greeks*, and prevailed on them to abandon his party. *Pisuthnes* being no longer in a condition to carry on the war, surrendered, upon promise of pardon; but no sooner came before the king, than he was sentenced to be suffocated in ashes, which was accordingly executed. His son *Amorgas* continued to oppose *Tissaphernes* for two years with the remainder of his father's forces; but being taken prisoner by the *Peloponnesians* at *Iasus*, a city of *Ionia*, he was put to death by *Tissaphernes*.

Bef. Chr:
414.

Darius was quickly after involved in new troubles, occasioned by *Artaxares* the chief of his eunuchs, who having insinuated himself into the favour of the king, ingrossed all power at court, and in a manner directed the affairs of the whole empire; which at length inflaming his ambition, he formed a design of usurping the throne. That he might not be thought an eunuch he married, and wore an artificial beard; but his wife, who was privy to the plot, making a discovery of it to

the king, he was seized, and put to a cruel and ignominious death.

Other
province
also revolt,
but are
reduced. The *Egyptians*, in the mean time, had shaken off the *Per-*
sian yoke, declared *Amyrtæus* king, and entering into a confe-
deracy with the *Arabians*, resolved to carry the war into
Phœnice. While *Darius* was engaged in the war against the
Egyptians and *Arabians*, the *Medes* revolted; but being defeated,
were forced to return to their former allegiance, and reduced
to harder subjection than before. *Darius* seems likewise to
have been successful against the *Egyptians*; for, according to
Herodotus, *Pausiris* the son of *Amyrtæus*, who reigned six years,
succeeded to the throne of his father with the consent of the
Persians; which shews that they were masters of *Egypt*.

Cyrus the
Younger
appointed
governor
of *Asia*.
Minor.
Bef. Ch.
407. *Darius* having settled the affairs of *Media* and *Egypt*, invested
Cyrus, his youngest son, with the supreme command of all the
provinces of *Asia Minor*. Being born after his father's accession
to the throne, he could not at this time be above sixteen years
of age; but being the darling of his mother, she, by her in-
fluence with his father, procured this command for him, with
a view to put him in a condition to contend for the crown after
his father's death. On his receiving his commission, he was
ordered to assist the *Lacedemonians* against the *Athenians*, contrary
to the politic principles of *Tissaphernes*, who by sometimes help-
ing one side and sometimes the other, had so balanced matters
between them, that they exhausted their strength in mutually
weakening each other. The weakness of the king's politics
quickly appeared; for the *Lacedemonians*, by the assistance they
received from *Cyrus*, having overpowered the *Athenians*, sent first
Thimbro, then *Dercyllidas*, and at length *Agésilas* their king, to
invade the *Persian* provinces in *Asia*, where they would have
endangered the whole empire, had not *Darius*, by distributing
large sums of money among the governors of the *Greek* ci-
ties, found means to rekindle the war in *Greece*; which
obliged the *Lacedemonians* to recal their troops for their own
defence.

Becomes
obnoxious
to his fa-
ther. *Cyrus* soon discovered his ambitious spirit, and put to death two
nephews of his father, because they had not in meeting him wrap-
ped their hands in their sleeves, as was customary among the
Persians in the presence of their kings. *Darius*, on this account,
and because he had presumed to challenge honours that were
due only to the king, recalled him to court, and designed to de-
prive him of his government. *Cyrus* well knowing the great as-
cendant his mother had over the king, came directly to court,
where the queen not only reconciled his father to him, but used
all her art to have him declared heir to the crown, by reason he
was born after his father's accession to the throne. *Darius* by
no means would comply with her request; but, however, be-
queathed him the government of those provinces which he
ruled before.

Soon

Soon after *Darius* dying, after he had reigned 19 years, his *Artaxerxes* eldest son *Arfaces* succeeded him, and took the name of *Artaxerxes*. *Mnem* For his extraordinary memory, by the *Greeks* he was called *Mnemon*, succeeds that is, *the rememberer*. While he was attending his father on to the his death-bed, he desired to be informed by what art he had so throne: happily managed the government, that by following the same *Bef. Ch.* rule he might be blessed with the like success. The dying king 404. gave him this memorable answer, *That he had ever done, to the best of his knowlege, what religion and justice required, without swerving from the one or the other* *.

Artaxerxes, when he was celebrating the festival of his inauguration at *Pasargada*, being informed that his brother *Cyrus* The conspiracy of his brother *Cyrus*. had hatched a conspiracy against him to murder him in the very temple, caused him to be seized, and sentenced him to death. His mother *Parysatis*, however, prevailed upon the king not only to save his life, but to send him back to the government of *Asia Minor*, which his father had left him.

Cyrus accordingly retired to *Asia Minor*; but being full of resentment against his brother for the sentence of death passed against him, he resolved to revolt. With this view *Clearchus*, a *Lacedemonian* general, raised a body of *Greek* troops for his service, under pretence of a war which the *Lacedemonians* were to carry into *Thrace*. *Alcibiades* being well apprized of the intention of these levies, came over to the province of *Pharnabazus*, with the design to proceed to the *Persian* court, and acquaint *Artaxerxes* with the whole scheme; but *Pharnabazus*, at the persuasion of the thirty tyrants of *Athens*, who were partisans of the *Lacedemonians*, put him to death. *Cyrus* soon after, by his *Cyrus de-* secret practices, prevailed on the cities that were under the signs a war government of *Tissaphernes* to revolt to him; which occasioning against his a war betwixt them, *Cyrus*, under this pretence, assembled troops brother. openly, and complaining grievously against *Tissaphernes* to the king, demanded his assistance and protection in the most submissive manner. *Artaxerxes*, deceived by these appearances, and not displeased that *Cyrus* and *Tissaphernes* should be at variance, suffered his brother to raise what forces he pleased. *Cyrus* improved the imprudent security and indolence of his brother, and disclosing his design to the *Lacedemonians*, they readily promised him their assistance, and ordered their fleet to join his, and to obey in all things the command of *Tamos* his admiral. His emissaries at court, at the same time, were industriously dispersing reports among the people, to prepare their minds for the intended revolt; alleging, that the state required a king of *Cyrus's* character, who was liberal, magnificent, loved war, and showered his favours on those who served him.

* *Athen.* l. 12. *dipnosophist.* *Justin.* l. 5. *Plut.* in *Artax.* *Xen.* *kellen.* l. 2. *Diod.* l. 13. *Thucid.*

His great
army.

Cyrus having at length assembled an army of 13,000 *Greeks*, and 100,000 regular troops of different nations, set out from *Sardis*, directing his march towards the upper parts of *Asia*, the troops neither knowing where nor in what war they were to be employed. His fleet consisted of 60 sail, 35 of which belonged to the *Greeks* and were commanded by *Pythagoras* a *Lacedemonian*. The chief general of the barbarians was *Ariæus*. The *Greeks* were under four generals, the chief of whom was *Clearchus*, to whom alone *Cyrus* opened his design, fearing that the others would be discouraged with the boldness of the enterprize. *Proxenes*, between whose family and *Xenophon's* an antient friendship subsisted, presented that young *Athenian* to *Cyrus*, who received him favourably, and gave him a commission among the *Greek* mercenaries.

Tissaphernes in-
forms the
king of
the inten-
tion of
Cyrus.

Tissaphernes, from these great preparations, suspecting the real design of *Cyrus*, came with all possible expedition to court, and gave full information of the affair to the king, who without delay assembled a numerous army to oppose his brother. *Cyrus*, in the mean time, arriving at the straits of *Cilicia*, found his passage opposed by *Synnesis* king of that country, who would easily have hindered him from advancing, had he not been obliged to abandon that important pass to defend his own territories against the fleet of *Cyrus*, which had invaded his coasts. When they arrived at *Tarsus*, the *Greeks*, suspecting they were marching against the king, refused to proceed any farther, and protested that they did not enter into the service on that condition. *Clearchus*, who was wholly in the interest of *Cyrus*, not being able to quell the tumult by his authority, proposed a deputation to *Cyrus*, to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be employed. *Cyrus* declared that he was going to attack *Abrocomas*, who was encamped on the *Euphrates*, at twelve days march distance. The *Greeks* were sensible that this was not his true design; but *Cyrus* treating them with great kindness and affability, and augmenting their pay to one half more than before, they agreed to proceed. *Cyrus* soon after declaring that he marched against *Artaxerxes*, some murmurings were at first only heard, which soon gave way to expressions of joy and satisfaction, occasioned by that prince's magnificent promises.

Cyrus de-
feated and
slain at
Cunaxa
near *Ba-
bylon*.
Bef. Ch.

His army at length arriving at the plain of *Cunaxa* in the province of *Babylon*, *Cyrus* received intelligence that *Artaxerxes* was advancing with about 900,000 men ready to engage him. *Cyrus*, without allowing his troops time to refresh themselves, though even after a long march, ordered them immediately to form. As the king's army drew near, the *Greeks* attacked them with such fury, that the wing opposite to them was, at the very first onset, put to flight; whereupon *Cyrus* was proclaimed king by those around him, with loud shouts of joy. He, at the same time, perceiving that *Artaxerxes* was wheeling about to attack him in flank, advanced against him with 600 chosen horse, killed

led *Artagerfes*, captain of the king's guard, with his own hand, and put the whole body, consisting of 6000 horse, to flight. In this encounter, discovering his brother, he cried out, *I see him*, and spurring on his horse, engaged him with great resolution, which in some degree turned the battle into a single combat, each of the two brothers endeavouring to assure himself of the throne by the death of his rival. *Cyrus* killed his brother's horse, and wounded him on the ground. He immediately mounting another, *Cyrus* gave him a second wound, and was preparing to give him a third, when the king's guards all discharged their arrows at the prince, many of which pierced him while he was throwing himself headlong upon the king, who, at the same instant, run his javelin thro' his body. *Artaxerxes*, after having caused his head and right hand to be cut off, pursued the enemy to their camp, and there possessed himself of great part of their baggage and provisions.

The *Greeks* having defeated the king's left wing, commanded by *Tissaphernes*, and the king's right wing, commanded by himself, having routed the enemy's left, both parties knowing only what had happened near themselves, believed they had gained the day. *Tissaphernes*, however, arriving at the camp of *Cyrus*, and acquainting the king that his men had been put to flight by the *Greeks*, he immediately rallied his troops, and attacked them; but the *Greeks* easily put them to flight, and pursued them to the neighbouring hills. As night was approaching, the *Greeks* were much surprized that neither *Cyrus* himself, nor any messenger from him, appeared; for they yet knew nothing of his death, or the defeat of the rest of the army. Returning, therefore, to their camp, there they found that the greatest part of their baggage had been plundered, and all their provisions taken, which obliged them to pass the night in the camp without any sort of refreshment. Next morning, receiving the sad news of the death of *Cyrus*, and the defeat of the other part of the army, which had retreated, under the command of *Ariæus*, to the place from whence they had marched the day before the action, they sent deputies thither, offering the crown of *Persia*, as conquerors, to *Ariæus*. That general rejecting the offer, and advising them to join him, as he intended to set out early next morning on his return to *Ionia*, they followed his directions, and arriving at his camp about midnight, set out from thence for *Greece*. They had no other way of returning back to *Greece*, but by forcing their retreat through an immense tract of the enemy's country; but their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties, and in spite of a powerful army, which pursued and harrassed them all the way, they made a retreat of 2325 miles, thro' provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the *Greek* cities on the *Euxine* sea. This was the longest march, and most memorable retreat, that ever was made thro' an enemy's country; and in the history of *Greece* we shall make a more particular mention of it.

The noble
retreat of
the *Greeks*.

To

Parysatis's To return to *Artaxerxes*: as he believed that he had killed
 cruel re- *Cyrus* with his own hand, and looked upon that as the most
 venge for glorious action of his life, to dispute that honour with him
 the death was wounding him in the most tender part. He made several
 of her son. great presents to a *Carian* soldier, who said that he had given
 the mortal blow to *Cyrus*; but the soldier imprudently boasting
 of the honour of the prince's death, he delivered him to *Pary-*
satis, who made the unhappy wretch suffer the most exquisite
 torments she could invent for ten days, and then put him to a
 most cruel death. *Mithridates*, a *Persian* nobleman, also boast-
 ing that *Cyrus* was killed by him, was boated, which cruel
 punishment we have formerly described. *Masabates*, an eunuch,
 who by the king's order had cut off the head and hand of *Cyrus*,
 having fallen into the hands of *Parysatis*, who had won the
 choice of an eunuch from her son at a game of dice, she caused
 him to be dead alive, and his skin to be stretched before his
 eyes.

She poi-
 sons the
 queen
Statira.

Nor did her cruelty and resentment stop here; for having
 conceived an implacable hatred against queen *Statira*, who on
 account of her beauty was greatly beloved by *Artaxerxes*, she
 poisoned her in the following manner. *Parysatis* feigned a re-
 conciliation with her, and invited her one night to supper. A
 certain bird being served up, which was a great rarity among
 the *Persians*, she divided it between *Statira* and herself with a
 knife which was poisoned on one side only. The sound part
 she immediately eat, which encouraged *Statira*, tho' upon her
 guard, to eat the other; whereupon she was that instant seized
 with horrible convulsions, and died in a few hours. *Artaxerxes*
 was greatly afflicted for the loss of his beloved wife, and having
 discovered by putting some of his mother's domestics to the
 rack that *Parysatis* was the author of her death, he banished
 her to *Babylon*, and put *Gygis*, who was one of her confi-
 dents, and had been privy to the murder, to a cruel death.
 Time, however, alleviating his grief, he allowed her to return
 to court, where by an entire submission to his will, she re-
 gained his favour, and bore a great sway at court to her
 death*.

Tissapher-
nes op-
 presses the
Greeks.

Upon the quelling of the revolt, *Tissaphernes*, being sent to
 his old government, and invested with the same power that had
 been given to *Cyrus*, he began to harass the *Greek* cities that
 were within the verge of his authority, and had sided with that
 unfortunate prince. These cities soliciting the assistance and
 protection of the *Lacedæmonians*, they laid hold of this oppor-
 tunity of breaking again with the *Persians*, and sent *Thimbro*
 with an army into *Asia*, who being joined with the forces that
 make war *Xenophon* brought back from *Persia*, took the field against *Tis-*
 upon the *saphernes*. *Thimbro* being soon recalled and sent into banish-
Persians. ment, was succeeded by *Dercyllidas*, who being a brave general

* Plutarch. in Artax.

and a famous engineer, was attended with far better success than his predecessor. Upon his first arrival, finding that *Tissaphernes* was at variance with his neighbouring governor *Pharnabazus*, he made a truce with the former, and attacking the other, drove him quite out of *Æolis*, and several cities of other provinces. *Pharnabazus* being glad to make a truce with him, left him in possession of what he had taken, and while the *Greeks* were in winter quarters in *Bithynia*, he came to the *Persian* court, and made loud complaints against *Tissaphernes* for not assisting him against the common enemy. He likewise earnestly pressed the king to equip a powerful fleet, and appoint *Conon* the *Athenian*, then in exile in *Cyprus*, admiral, who from his aversion to the *Lacedemonians*, would prevent any succours coming from them into *Asia*. Five hundred talents being accordingly given to *Pharnabazus* for the equipment of a fleet which *Conon* was to command, he returned to his province, and while the ships were fitting out, united his forces with those of *Tissaphernes* to oppose *Dercyllidas*, who was enlarging his conquests. They soon after surprized him in a very disadvantageous post in a *Persian* which he might have easily been cut off, but *Tissaphernes*, who remembered the valour of the *Greeks* at the battle of *Cunaxa*, refused to engage, and agreed to a truce with *Dercyllidas* for several months.

The *Lacedæmonians*, in the mean time, hearing that the *Persians* were fitting out a fleet, and supposing it to be designed against them, sent *Agésilas* with a considerable body of troops into *Asia*, in order to make a diversion. Soon after his landing with his troops at *Ephesus*, *Tissaphernes* sent a messenger to enquire for what end he was come into *Asia*, and why he had taken up arms. *Agésilas* replying, that he was come to restore the *Greeks* in *Asia* to their antient liberty, *Tissaphernes*, who was quite unprepared for a war, assured him that his master would grant what he desired, if he would cease from hostilities till the return of an express that had been sent to court. *Agésilas* agreeing to a truce, *Tissaphernes*, instead of observing his oath, assembled troops from all quarters, and sent to the king for more forces, which were no sooner arrived, than he ordered *Agésilas* to depart *Asia*, denouncing war against him in case of refusal. Tho' the *Lacedemonians* and their allies were greatly alarmed with this message, *Agésilas*, no way disturbed, bid the *Persian* heralds tell their master that he was under great obligations to him, for having made the gods, by his perjury, enemies to *Persia* and friends to *Greece*. He then assembled his forces, and deceiving *Tissaphernes* by making a feint to invade *Caria*, he fell unexpectedly upon *Phrygia*, where meeting with no opposition, he took many towns, and returned loaded with an immense booty to *Ephesus*. The following spring he again took the field, and gave out that his design was to invade *Lydia*; but *Tissaphernes* suspecting this was only a second feint, marched to the defence of *Caria*. *Agésilas*, however, actually invading *Lydia*, defeated the *Persian* horse, who were returning to

Conon the
Athenian
commands
fleet.

Agésilas
passes into
Asia.
Bef. Chr.
396.

His great
success.

the

Tissaphernes being accused by *Conon*, is recalled.

the defence of that province, and were some days march before the foot. By this victory *Agésilas* becoming master of the whole country, enriched both himself and his army with the spoils of the conquered *Persians*. The king, who had received many complaints against *Tissaphernes*, now began to suspect his fidelity. *Conon* at the same time arriving at court, and accusing him of defrauding his sailors of their pay, which had disabled him from doing the king any service, and *Parysatis*, who had never forgiven him for the share he had in the death of her son *Cyrus*, aggravating the charges against him, the king resolved to cut him off. *Ariæus*, governor of *Larissa*, receiving a letter ordering him to assist *Tithraustes* captain of the king's guards in seizing *Tissaphernes*, he sent for him upon pretence of consulting with him about the operations of the following campaign, and upon his arrival, caused his head to be struck off and sent to *Persia*.

Tithraustes, who succeeded *Tissaphernes*, sent great presents to *Agésilas*, and told him, that as the cause of the war was now removed, and the first author of their differences put to death, nothing could prevent an accommodation, as the king would allow the *Greek* cities in *Asia* to enjoy their liberty upon paying him the customary tribute. *Agésilas* replied, that he could not come to any agreement without orders from *Sparta*; but upon receiving 30 talents from *Tithraustes*, he left his province and marched into *Phrygia*. Upon his march, receiving a commission from the magistrates of *Sparta* appointing him sole commander of all the troops in *Asia*, both by sea and land, he gave the command of the fleet to his wife's brother *Pisander*, and having settled the maritime affairs, advanced into *Phrygia*, where he reduced many cities, and maintained his army in great affluence in the territories of *Pharnabazus*. *Spithridates*, a noble *Persian* who had revolted from the king, inviting him into *Paphlagonia*, he marched thither, and concluding a league with *Cotys* king of that country, returned into *Phrygia*, took the strong city of *Dasycyllum*, and wintered there in the palace of *Pharnabazus*, which his soldiers afterwards plundered, ravaging likewise the lands belonging to *Pharnabazus* in that neighbourhood. *Pharnabazus*, the following spring, having an interview with him, and reproaching him with that proceeding, he promised, as the best amends he could make, to withdraw from his government, and never return while he could carry on the war in other provinces. He actually intended to prosecute the war in the heart of the *Persian* empire; but while he was projecting this expedition, he was recalled to defend his own country against several states of *Greece*, who had been prevailed upon by large sums of money sent them by *Tithraustes* to form a confederacy against the *Spartans*. *Agésilas* made all the haste home he could; but complained at his departure, that the *Persians* had driven him out of *Asia* with 30,000 archers, alluding to the *Persian Darics*, which were stamped on one side with the figure of an archer.

The *Persians* raise a confederacy in *Greece* against the *Lacedæmonians*. *Agésilas* recalled.

Conon

Conon returning from the *Persian* court with money sufficient to pay all arrears, and supply the fleet with arms and provisions, equipped about 90 vessels, and taking *Pharnabazus* on board, sailed in quest of the enemy, whom he found near *Cnidos*, a city on the coast of *Asia Minor*. The ships of the *Lacedemonians*, tho' not so numerous, were larger than those of *Conon*. Both parties being eager to distinguish themselves, a furious battle ensued, in which *Conon* gained a complete victory, killed *Pisander* the *Lacedemonian* admiral with his own hand, and took 50 of the enemy's ships. The power of the *Lacedemonians*, after this battle, quickly declined both in *Asia* and *Greece*.

Conon defeats the *Lacedemonians* at *Cnidos*.

Conon being now master of the sea, reduced the cities in the islands and on the coasts of *Asia* that were subject to the *Lacedemonians*; *Sestos* and *Abydos* being the only two cities that held out against him, tho' they were attacked at the same time by land by *Pharnabazus*.

During the winter, *Conon* having greatly encreased and strengthened his fleet, the following spring, took *Pharnabazus* on board, and landing on *Melos*, an island not far from the coast of the *Peloponnese*, from thence made a descent on the coasts of *Laconia*, and pillaging the maritime towns, loaded his fleet with an immense booty. *Conon* then, with the permission of *Pharnabazus*, repaired to *Athens* with 80 ships and 50 talents, and rebuilt the walls of that city, which for many years had groaned under the oppression of the *Lacedemonians*, who now finding themselves unable to maintain a war with the confederate cities when assisted with the treasures of *Persia*, dispatched *Antalcidas*, one of their citizens, to *Tiribazus* governor of *Sardis*, enjoining him to conclude a peace upon the best terms he could with *Artaxerxes*.

Invades their coasts.

The other considerable cities of *Greece* sent their deputies thither, and *Conon* was at the head of those from *Athens*. *Antalcidas* proposed that the king should possess all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*; but that the islands and other cities in *Greece* should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. These proposals were very advantageous to the king, but being highly dishonourable to the *Greeks* in general, they were unanimously rejected by the other ambassadors. *Tiribazus*, favouring the *Lacedemonians*, supplied them underhand with money, and upon the accusation of *Antalcidas*, seized *Conon* upon a pretence of having embezzled the king's money, and formed a design for taking *Æolis* and *Ionia* from the *Persians*. *Tiribazus* having accused *Conon* upon his arrival at *Susa*, he was sent thither and put to death, according to *Cornelius Nepos*, but *Xenophon*, his cotemporary, is silent as to his death.

The *Lacedemonians* make great offers to the *Persians* for a peace.

Sathras, who in the absence of *Tiribazus* was charged to guard the coasts of *Asia*, observing the havoc the *Lacedemonians* had made, conceived an aversion for them, and assisted the *Athenians*. This obliged the *Lacedemonians* to make some attempts to invade *Asia*, which proved unsuccessful. *Tiribazus* soon after returned from *Susa* with the terms of peace prescribed by the king, which were, that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*,

The peace of *Antalcidas*. *Asia*, with the islands of *Cyprus* and *Clazomene*, should be subject to the king of *Persia*; that the islands of *Scyros*, *Lemnos*, and *Imbros*, should be restored to the *Athenians*; and all the cities of *Greece*, whether small or great, should be declared free. This is called the peace of *Antalcidas*, for he was the first that proposed it, giving up to the *Persians*, with the utmost injustice and baseness, all the *Greeks* settled in *Asia*, for whose liberty the states of *Greece* had so long contended. The *Greek* states were forced, tho' greatly against their inclination, to accede to the treaty.

Evagoras king of *Cyprus* attacked by the *Persians*. *Artaxerxes* being now disengaged from the *Greeks*, turned his whole power against *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, whom he had long before designed to drive out of that island. The ancestors of *Evagoras* had reigned in *Salamine* for many ages, but were at last driven out by the *Persians*, who reduced the island to a *Persian* province. *Evagoras*, who was a man of extraordinary parts, not brooking to live in subjection to a foreign yoke, expelled *Abdymon*, a *Citian*, governor for the king of *Persia*, and took possession of his paternal kingdom. *Artaxerxes* not succeeding in his attempts to expel *Evagoras*, was reconciled to him by means of *Ctesias* the *Cnidian*, the historian and his chief physician. *Evagoras* afterwards reducing the whole island, except the *Arthustians*, *Solians*, and *Citians*, *Artaxerxes*, who was solicited by them to send them relief, now determined to bend all his force against *Evagoras*, and to drive him quite out of the island. The *Athenians*, notwithstanding the treaty of *Antalcidas*, sent ten ships of war with all possible expedition to assist their old ally *Evagoras*; but near the island of *Rhodes*, they were surrounded by the *Lacedemonian* fleet and all taken. The *Athenians* nevertheless sent *Chabrias* with another fleet, and a considerable number of land forces on board, who arriving safe, in a short time obliged the whole island to submit to *Evagoras*. The *Athenians* being forced by a new treaty concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the cities of *Greece* to recall *Chabrias*, the *Persians* invaded *Cyprus* with an army of 300,000 men, and a fleet of 300 ships, under the command of *Tiribazus*. *Evagoras* now received supplies of men and money from the *Egyptians*, *Lybians*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations at enmity with the *Persians*, and having amassed immense treasures, hired a great number of mercenaries of various nations. His fleet intercepting the enemy's provisions from the continent, their army was reduced to such straits, that they began to mutiny, and killed several of their officers: but the whole *Persian* fleet putting to sea, supplies were again brought to the army. The fleet of *Evagoras* being reinforced with 50 ships from *Egypt*, and amounting in the whole to 200 sail, he ventured to risk an engagement with the enemy, in which he was entirely defeated. Being soon after closely besieged in *Salamine* by sea and land, he was obliged to offer to capitulate. *Tiribazus* proposed that he should abandon all the cities of *Cyprus* except *Salamine*, which he should hold of the king as a servant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. *Evagoras* re-

jecting

jecting this last article, and insisting to hold *Salamine* as a king under a king, which *Tiribazus* would not consent to, hostilities were again renewed. Mean while *Orontes*, who was the second in command, being jealous of the honour of *Tiribazus*, accused him incessantly at court of forming designs against the king's interest, and his accusations being believed, orders came to him to send *Tiribazus* a prisoner to court, and to take the chief command of the army; which orders were without delay put in execution. *Orontes* finding the army ready to mutiny under his command, made haste to conclude a treaty with *Evagoras* upon the terms which *Tiribazus* had refused, namely, that he should hold *Salamine* as king of that city, paying only a small tribute to the king of *Persia*. It appears that *Evagoras* lived 12 or 13 years after the conclusion of this treaty, his old age being attended with a happiness and tranquillity never interrupted with sickness or disease, the usual effects of a sober and temperate life. For his elogy and character, we refer our readers to *Isocrates**. *Gaus*, who commanded the *Persian* fleet, and was son-in-law to *Tiribazus*, fearing that *Artaxerxes* would involve him in the same prosecution with his father-in-law, concluded an alliance with *Accoris* king of *Egypt*, and openly revolted, being joined by a great part both of the fleet and army. The *Lacedæmonians*, who were now dissatisfied with the peace of *Antalcidas*, likewise entered into the league. *Gaus*, however, being treacherously slain by one of his own officers, and *Tachis*, who took upon him to carry on the same design, dying soon after, the vast preparations came to nothing, and the *Lacedæmonians* never afterwards meddled with the affairs of *Asia*.

Obtains
good
terms
from
Orontes.

Artaxerxes having finished the *Cyprian* war, entered upon another against the *Cadusians*, a people inhabiting a part of the mountains between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, who probably had revolted from him. The king marched in person against them, at the head of 300,000 foot and 20,000 horse; but the country being so barren as to produce no corn, the king's army, for want of provisions, were soon reduced to feed upon their beasts of burden, and these became so scarce, that an ass's head was sold for 60 drachmas. *Tiribazus*, who was still in disgrace, and attended the court in this expedition as a prisoner, by a stratagem saved the king and the army in this sad posture of affairs. Having been careful to get intelligence of all that passed among the enemy, he found that there was some misunderstanding betwixt the two kings of the *Cadusians*, who on that account kept separate camps, and refused to act in concert. He advised the king to take that opportunity of treating with them, and his advice being approved of he went himself to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other. Each of them informed the king to whom he applied, that the other had sent ambassa-

Artaxerxes's ill
success
against the
Cadusians.

Tiribazus
saves him
and his
army.

* *Isocrat.* in *Evagor.* *Diod. sic.*

dors to treat separately with *Artaxerxes*, and advised him to lose no time but to make his peace as soon as possible, that the conditions might be the more advantageous. Their negotiations had the desired effect, and both princes were brought separately to submit to the king, which saved both him and his army from impending destruction.

Tiribazus, by this eminent service, inclined the king to have his cause thoroughly examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. For this purpose, on his return to *Susa*, he appointed three commissioners of eminent rank and distinguished probity, who after impartially discussing the whole affair, declared him innocent. He was thereupon restored to his former honours, and *Orontes*, his accuser, with disgrace banished the court.

*Artax-
erxes re-
news the
war with
Egypt.*

Artaxerxes next intending an expedition into *Egypt*, to reduce the *Egyptians*, *Accoris* their king made great preparations to oppose him, and joined a great many *Greeks* and other mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias*, to his own subjects. *Pharnabazus*, who was charged with the management of the war, threatened the *Athenians* with his master's resentment if they did not immediately recall *Chabrias*, and at the same time demanded *Iphicrates*, another *Athenian*, and the best general of his time, to command the *Greek* auxiliaries in the *Persian* service. The *Athenians*, having then a great dependance on the friendship of the *Persians*, complied with both his requests. *Iphicrates* accordingly proceeding to *Asia*, so exercised the forces he was to command in all the arts of war, that they became very famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Iphicratesian* soldiers. While the *Persians* were making their preparations, in which they consumed two whole years, *Artaxerxes*, that he might draw more auxiliaries out of *Greece*, sent ambassadors thither, ordering all the states and cities to live at peace with each other, on the terms of the treaty of *Antalcidas*; which they all complied with except the *Thebans*, who were then aspiring to the empire of all *Greece*. The *Persian* army at length began its march from *Ace*, or *Ptolemais*, for *Egypt*, consisting of 200,000 *Persians* commanded by *Pharnabazus*, and 20,000 *Greeks* under *Iphicrates*. Their fleet, which coasted along the shore, consisted of 300 gallies, besides an incredible number of vessels which followed with provisions. The *Persians* finding it impracticable to approach *Pelusium*, their fleet sailed up the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile*, and landing their forces without much opposition, carried the fortress that guarded it, and put the expedition garrison to the sword. *Iphicrates* immediately proposed to re-imbark the troops and attack *Memphis*, the capital of *Egypt*, before the *Egyptians* should recover from their consternation. But his advice not being hearkened to, the *Egyptians*, before the approach of the main army of the *Persians*, had put themselves in such a condition, as rendered all further attempts of the enemy fruitless, as we have formerly related. The generals threw the blame of the bad success of the expedition upon each other; but *Iphicrates* judging that *Pharnabazus* would find

His un-
successful
expedition
against
Egypt.
Bef. Chr.

375.

more

more credit at the *Persian* court than he, privately hired a ship and retired to *Athens*. *Artaxerxes*, twelve years after, made new preparations for invading *Egypt*; but his efforts to reduce that country again proved unsuccessful*.

Towards the latter end of the reign of *Artaxerxes*, his sons *Darius*, raised great disturbances in his court by their intrigues and contests for the succession to the crown. He had 115 sons by his concubines, and three by his queen; namely, *Darius*, *Ariaspes*, to the and *Ochus*. *Artaxerxes*, to put a stop to the contentions, de-throne, clared *Darius* his successor, and even allowed him to wear the royal tiara, and assume the title of king. This, however, not against his contenting the young prince's ambition, who was also disgusted father. with his father for refusing him one of his concubines, he formed a conspiracy with fifty of his brothers against his father's life. The prince was chiefly excited to this unnatural resolution by *Tiribazus*, offended likewise with the king, who had promised to give him first one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, and had nevertheless married them both himself. The plot being discovered to the king by an eunuch, the conspirators were seized as they were entering the palace, and all put to death.

Upon the death of *Darius*, the contests about the succession were again renewed. *Ariaspes* and *Ochus*, the sons of the queen, and *Arjames*, the son of a concubine, were the competitors, the two first claiming the crown in right of their birth, and the latter only by the favour of the king, who tenderly loved him. *Ochus*, prompted by his restless ambition, found means to rid himself of his two rivals. He suborned some eunuchs of the palace, who in the king's name threatened *Ariaspes* so severely, that he being a simple and credulous prince, expected to be treated as *Darius* had been, and to avoid a more cruel death, poisoned himself. *Arjames* he caused to be assassinated by *Harpates* the son of *Tiribazus*. This loss, added to the former, and the wickedness which attended both, so overwhelmed the king, who was then 94 years old, that he broke his heart and died in the 46th year of his reign. He was a mild and generous prince, and was on that account greatly esteemed, and his authority was respected throughout all the empire.

Ochus being sensible that by the murder of his two brothers he had alienated the affections both of the nobility and people from himself, prevailed with the eunuchs and others that were about the king's person, to conceal his death; and taking upon himself the administration, issued his decrees in the name of *Artaxerxes*, as if he had been still alive. By one of these decrees, he caused himself, as by his father's order, to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire. Governing in this manner near ten months, and believing his authority fully established,

* See the Hist. of *Egypt*. Diod. l. xv. Xenoph. Plut. & Cornel. Nep. in Agefil.

he at length declared the death of his father, and openly ascended the throne, taking the name of *Artaxerxes*; but by historians he is most frequently called *Ochus*.

A great number of provinces revolt from him. The accession of *Ochus* to the throne was no sooner published, than all *Asia Minor*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and many other provinces, openly revolted. By this almost general insurrection, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder would not have been sufficient to have carried on the war against so many revolters, had they acted in concert. They did not, however, long keep firm to each other, and those who had been the first and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, strove who should the soonest betray the others, and thereby make their peace with the king. By this means the revolt, which had brought the *Persian* empire to the very brink of ruin, came to nothing; and *Ochus*, without striking a blow, was settled on the throne. *Diodorus Siculus* places this revolt in the last year of *Artaxerxes*, but it is much more probable that it happened immediately after his death was published. *Ochus* was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race; for he had not been long upon the throne when he filled the palace and the whole empire with blood and slaughter. That the revolted provinces might have none of the blood royal to set up against him, he put all the descendants of the royal family to death, without any regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused *Ocha*, his own sister, whose daughter he had married, to be buried alive: and having shut up one of his uncles, with 100 of his sons and grandsons, in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to dispatch them with their arrows. He treated with the same barbarity all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility who betrayed the least mark of discontent or disaffection to his person.

The bloody reign of *Ochus*.

Artabazus revolts. By these cruelties he became extremely hateful to his subjects. *Artabazus*, governor of one of the *Asiatic* provinces, revolted, and prevailing with *Chares* an *Athenian* admiral who commanded in those parts, to join him with his *Athenians*, he defeated an army of 70,000 men sent against him by the king. The *Athenians* were then engaged in a war with the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, and *Ochus* threatening to join their enemies, they recalled *Chares*, who got a large sum of money from *Artabazus* as a reward for his services. *Artabazus* next had recourse to the *Thebans*, who tho' engaged in a war with the *Phœceans*, sent him 3000 men; by which reinforcement he was enabled again to take the field, and gained two other victories over the king's troops, which greatly redounded to the honour of the *Thebans*. They, however, making their peace with the king, and receiving from him 300 talents, returned home; and *Artabazus* being soon after defeated, was forced to take refuge with *Philip* of *Macedon*.

Is forced to abandon *Asia*.

This revolt was no sooner quelled, than the *Sidonians* and *Phœnicians*, who were oppressed by their *Persian* governors, took

The *Phœ-*
nicians,
&c. revolt.

Ochus
marches
into *Phæ-*
nice and
destroys
Sidon.

He grants
a peace to
the *Cy-*
priots.

N 2

Ochus poisoned by *Bagoas* his favourite eunuch. *Ref. Ch.* 338.

Darius Codomannus being placed on the throne, puts *Bagoas* to death. *Ref. Ch.* 336.

The revolted provinces being all reduced, *Ochus* gave himself up to ease, luxury, and pleasure, leaving the chief administration of public affairs to *Bagoas* his favourite eunuch, and *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, the former of whom governed all the provinces of upper *Asia*, and the latter those of the lower. *Bagoas*, who was an *Egyptian* by birth, had conceived an implacable hatred to the king, because he had not only plundered the *Egyptian* temples, but carried away the sacred records, and in contempt of their religion, slain the sacred bull or god *Apis*. The records *Bagoas* redeemed with a great sum of money, and sent them back into *Egypt*, but the injury done to his god, he thought could be no otherwise attoned for than by putting the sacrilegious king to death, which he effected by the help of the king's physician, who in his sickness gave him a strong poison instead of physic, in the 21st year of his reign. Nor did his revenge stop here; for he caused another body to be buried instead of the king's, which he cut in small pieces, and gave it so mangled to the cats, because the king had caused his attendants to eat the flesh of their god *Apis*; and of the king's bones he made handles for swords. The whole power of the empire being now in his hands, he placed *Arses*, the youngest son of *Ochus*, on the throne, allowing him only the bare name of king; and the better to secure his usurped authority, he put all the rest of the king's sons to death. Soon after finding that *Arses* was apprised of his wickedness, and was taking measures to punish him, he anticipated him, and put him and his whole family to death, in the second year of his reign.

Bagoas not daring yet to usurp the throne himself, placed on it *Darius*, the third of that name in *Persia*, who before his accession was called *Codomannus*. His father *Arsanes* was grandson of *Darius Nothus*, and married his own sister *Sisigambis*. In the reign of *Ochus* he made but a very poor figure, being only an *astanda*, that is, one employed to carry the royal dispatches to the governors of the provinces. In the war which *Ochus* made upon the *Cadusians*, *Codomannus* having engaged and slain a *Cadusian* champion, after all the rest of the *Persian* army had declined his challenge, was rewarded with the government of *Armenia*, and from thence called to the throne by *Bagoas*. This traitor finding that he would not be entirely governed by him, resolved to dispatch him by a poisonous potion; but *Darius* being acquainted with his design, caused him to drink the potion himself, of which he died. Authors represent *Darius* as a prince of a mild and generous disposition, of great personal valour, and for his stature and shape, far preferable to any of the whole *Persian* empire. However, with all his good qualities and personal courage, he was not able to withstand his fortunate rival *Alexander* the Great, who having settled the affairs of *Macedonia*, passed over the *Hellefont* into *Asia*, in the second year of *Darius's* reign, with the intention of making a conquest of the *Persian* empire. A war against the *Persians* had been resolved on some time before in a general assembly

assembly of the Amphictyons, and *Philip* of *Macedon* had been appointed commander in chief of the forces destined for this expedition. *Philip* being in the mean time murdered, his son *Alexander* was appointed generalissimo in another general assembly at *Corinth*. His army, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than 30,000 foot and 5000 horse; but they were all chosen men, well disciplined, and inured to the toils of war, all of them having been employed in several expeditions. Having entered *Asia* with this army, he pursued his march to the river *Granicus* in *Phrygia*, where he found the *Persian* governors of the neighbouring provinces encamped with 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse, according to *Diodorus*, with a design to dispute his passage. *Memnon* the *Rhodian* advised the general not to venture a battle, but to lay waste the whole country, and even destroy the cities, that the enemy might be obliged for want of provisions to return back into *Europe*. But *Arsites* governor of *Phrygia*, opposed the opinion of *Memnon*, protesting he would never suffer the *Greeks* to make such havock in the countries he governed. This rash and impolitic counsel prevailed, and *Memnon* was even suspected of a design to protract the war, thereby to continue the command to himself. The *Persian* cavalry lined the banks of the *Granicus*, and formed a large front, and the foot, consisting chiefly of *Greek* mercenaries, was posted behind the cavalry on an easy ascent. The *Macedonians* were drawn up on the opposite bank of the river, which was first entered by a strong detachment of horse, followed by *Alexander* at the head of the right wing. The *Persians* immediately let fly upon them such showers of arrows, as put them into great confusion, and killed many of their horses. When they drew near to the bank, a most bloody engagement ensued, and the first ranks of the *Macedonians* were entirely cut off by *Memnon* and his sons, and those under their command. After a bloody dispute, the *Macedonians*, however, gained the land, and at length totally routed and dispersed the enemy. In the engagement the *Persians* lost 20,000 foot, and 2500 horse. Their *Greek* mercenaries were almost all cut to pieces, and 2000, who remained, being taken prisoners, were sent to work as slaves in *Macedonia*. Of the *Macedonians*, 25 men of the king's own troops fell in the first attack, whose statues, made by *Lysippus*, *Alexander* caused to be set up in *Dia*, a city of *Macedon*, whence they were many years after carried to *Rome* by *Q. Metellus*. About 60 others of the horse were killed, and 30 of the foot, who were all buried the next day in one grave with great solemnity, the king exempting their parents and children from all taxes and burdens*. *Alexander* himself, in the beginning of the action, was wounded in the side, and afterwards in the head; and when he attacked the *Greek* mercenaries, his horse was killed under him.

Alexander
the Great
invades
Asia.
B.C. Chr.
334.

The *Persians*, who
opposed his
passage of
the *Granicus*,
are
defeated.

* Plut. in *Alex.* *Diodor.* *Justin*, l. ix. *Arrian*. l. i.

Sardis and
Ephesus
surrendered
to *Alexander*.

The victory of the *Macedonians* was attended with all the happy consequences that could be expected; for *Sardis*, which was the key of the *Persian* empire, immediately surrendered, and was by *Alexander* declared a free city. From *Sardis* he advanced to *Ephesus*, where he was received with great joy. Here he offered, with the utmost solemnity, a great number of sacrifices to *Diana*, and assigned to the temple of that goddess the tributes which were paid to the *Persians*. Marching from *Ephesus*, where the deputies of *Trallis* and *Magnesia* had waited upon him with the keys of their cities, he advanced to *Miletus*, whither *Memnon* had fled with a considerable number of men who had escaped from the battle of the *Granicus*. *Memnon* shut the gates against him, and repulsed the *Macedonians* with great bravery who attempted for several days together to take the city by scalade. *Alexander* seeing his troops every where repulsed, began to batter the walls with all his engines night and day without intermission. The town being at last quite dismantled, and the besieged tired out with the hard service, *Memnon* at length surrendered the city upon honourable terms, the *Milesians* being allowed to live according to their own laws, and *Memnon* and his *Greeks* to march out unmolested; but the *Persians* were either put to the sword or sold for slaves. From *Miletus*, *Alexander* marched into *Caria* to besiege *Halicarnassus*, which city, both by nature and art, was one of the best fortified in all *Asia*. *Memnon* having thrown himself into it with a considerable body of chosen men, resolved to signalize his courage and attachment to the interest of *Darius*, with whom he had left his wife and children as pledges of it. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery and most consummate knowledge in the art of war, was practised on this occasion both by the besiegers and besieged. After the siege had continued a long time, during which the utmost efforts of the *Macedonians* had been baffled, their perseverance at length prevailed, and *Memnon* was obliged to abandon the city. He placed a strong garrison in the citadel, and conveying the inhabitants, with all their effects, to the island of *Cos*, not far distant from *Halicarnassus*, he went on board the *Persian* fleet, of which he was admiral. *Alexander* having razed the city to the ground, all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* declared for him, he giving out wherever he came, that he had undertaken the war with no other view but to free them from the *Persian* bondage. In the second year of the war he reduced the provinces of *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, and gave the government of them to some of his friends.

Miletus
besieged
and taken.

Memnon
gallantly
defends
Halicarnassus.

The city
at length
taken and
razed by
Alexander.
Bef. Ch.

333.

Darius re-
solves to
carry the
war into
Greece.

Darius, in the mean time, was preparing for a vigorous defence. By the advice of *Memnon*, he resolved to carry the war into *Macedon*, and a wiser resolution could not have been taken; for the *Lacedæmonians*, and several other *Greek* states that were disaffected to the *Macedonians*, and jealous of their overgrown power, would have readily joined their enemies. *Mentor* being appointed commander in chief of all the forces to be employed

employed in this expedition, assembled the scattered remains of the army, and sailing from *Cos*, reduced the islands of *Chios* and *Memnon Lesbos*, the city of *Mitylene* excepted. While he was besieging this city, and was preparing to pass into *Eubœa*, he died, very ther, unfortunately for the *Persian* emperor, who not having one general capable of carrying on that enterprize, was obliged to drop it, and depend intirely upon his eastern armies. Deter- *Darius* mining now to command in person, he appointed *Babylon* for musters the rendezvous of his army, which, when mustered, was his army found to amount to four, five, or six hundred thousand men; at *Babylon*. for historians differ very much on this head. *Alexander*, who was now advanced into *Cappadocia*, hearing of *Memnon's* death, judged that he had no longer any reason to apprehend a war in *Greece*, and accordingly marched with all possible expedition into *Cilicia*, with the design of penetrating into the provinces of *Upper Asia*. Upon arriving at a place called *Cyrus's camp*, about fifty stades distant from the straits of *Cilicia* towards *Cappadocia*, he was informed that the important pass was guarded by the enemy. He marched in person, at the first watch, with a part of his army, to surprize the *Persians*; but they, upon the news of his approach, having abandoned the pass, he entered without opposition; and after viewing with attention the nature of the place, he admired his good fortune, as a few men, with stones only, might have stopped the march of an army, the road being so narrow, that four men could hardly walk a-breast, and broken, in several places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains. From the straits of *Cilicia* the whole army marched to the city *Tarsus*, which they very fortunately saved from the flames, the *Persians*, a little before, having abandoned the place, and set fire to it, that the *Macedonians* might not be enriched with the plunder. *Darius*, in the mean time, had advanced with his numerous army as far as the vast plains of *Mesopotamia*. The *Greek* mercenaries earnestly pressed him to wait for the enemy in this open country, where there was an opportunity for all his numerous forces to act: but he blindly hastened on to the mountainous parts of *Cilicia*, where in an engagement his vast army must necessarily be encumbered.

He marched in the following order. Before the army was The order carried, on silver altars, the sacred and eternal fire, as they of his called it, attended by the mages singing hymns, after the man- march. ner of their country, and 365 youths in scarlet robes. After these came a chariot consecrated to *Jupiter*, drawn by white horses, and followed by one of an extraordinary size. All the equeries were cloathed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand. Next appeared ten sumptuous chariots enriched with curious sculptures in gold and silver; and then the vanguard of the horse, composed of twelve different nations, each nation armed in a different manner. This body of horse was followed by the immortal band of 10,000 *Persians*, remarkable for the sumptuousness of their apparel; for they all wore collars of

pure gold, and were cloathed in robes of gold tiffue, having large sleeves garnished with precious stones. About thirty paces distance followed 15,000 men, honoured with the title of the king's relations or coufins, apparelled like women, and surpassing even the immortal body in the pomp and richness of their attire. After these came *Darius* himself, attended by his guards, and seated on a chariot as on a throne. The chariot was supported on both sides by the gods of his nation, cast in pure gold. From the middle of the beam, which was set with jewels, rose two statues of pure gold a cubit in height, the one representing war, and the other peace, and both shaded with the wings of a spread eagle of the same metal. The king was cloathed in a vest of purple striped with silver, over which he wore a long robe enriched with a great many precious stones; and the scabbard of his scymitar, as our author tells us, was made out of a single precious stone. On each side of the king walked 200 of his nearest relations, followed by 10,000 horsemen, whose lances were plated with silver and tipt with gold. After these marched 30,000 foot, the rear of the army; and lastly 400 led-horses belonging to the king. At the distance of about 100 paces followed the king's mother and his queen, both seated on high chariots, with a numerous train of female attendants on horseback, and fifteen chariots, in which were the king's children and those who were charged with the care of their education. Next came the royal concubines, to the number of 360; and they were followed by 600 mules and 300 camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a body of bowmen. This pageant march was closed by a great many chariots, carrying the wives of the crown officers and lords of the court, and guarded by a body of light-armed troops (A).

Alexander being informed that *Darius* was advancing, with the design to enter *Cilicia*, sent *Parmenio* to seize the pass leading from thence into *Syria*. He himself marched to *Soli*, which city he reduced by force; and afterwards proceeding to *Castabala*, a small city not far from mount *Amanus*, news was brought him that *Darius* was advanced within two days march of *Cilicia*. By the advice of his general officers, *Alexander* marched next day towards the mountains of *Cilicia*, and a few days after encamped in a plain which was but just wide enough for two small armies to act in. The *Greek* commanders in the service of *Darius* again proposed to him to wait for the enemy in the plains where he was then encamped, or return to the plains of *Mesopotamia*. If he did not approve of this council, they then advised him to divide his army into several bodies, and not to put all to the

(A) We may observe that some circumstances of this account of *Alexander* and *Darius* must be merely imaginary, as the *Persians* had no such god as *Jupiter*, and their religion strictly prohibited the worship of images.

chance of one battle. The courtiers here again traduced those Contrary who had suggested this wholesome advice, which was rejected to the advantage of *Darius*, who, however, thanked the *Greeks* for their zeal and good-will, and even condescended to lay before them the motives that induced him not to follow their counsel. He accordingly continued to advance; and entering *Cilicia* by the opposite streights of *Amanus*, which were several miles north from the pass that *Parmenio* had seized, he marched westward as far as in a narrow plain, not knowing that he was leaving *Alexander* behind him; for his courtiers had made him believe that the *Macedonians* were flying before him. He barbarously put to death all the sick and wounded *Macedonians* that had been left in the city of *Iffus* by *Parmenio*, sparing only a few, whom he dismissed after making them view his camp, that they might carry a report of the immense numbers of his forces. *Alexander* being informed by them of the approach of *Darius*, which he had most earnestly desired, sacrificed to the gods of the place, and advanced to meet him. He drew up his army on a narrow plain near the city of *Iffus*, bounded on one side by the mountains, and by the sea on the other. *Darius*, by the confined situation, not being able sufficiently to extend his front, could dispose of his great army no otherwise than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. When the engagement began, the first line of the *Persians* was quickly broke by the *Macedonians*, and that recoiling upon the second, and the second again upon the third, and so on, the whole *Persian* army was put in disorder; and the *Macedonians* pressing forwards, the confusion was increased to such a degree, that even the bravest among the *Persians*, who were desirous of signalizing themselves, could neither stand their ground, nor manage their arms. *Darius*, who fought in the first line, with much difficulty got out of the croud to the neighbouring mountains, from whence he fled on horseback, leaving behind him his bow, his shield, and royal mantle. *Alexander* was prevented from pursuing him by the obstinate bravery of the *Greek* mercenaries, who charged the *Macedonian* phalanx, and killed above 120 officers of distinction, besides a great many private men. *Alexander* in person attacking them in flank, they were at length routed; and 8000 of them, who escaped, embarked at *Tripoli* in *Syria*, and sailed to *Cyprus*, burning the transports they did not use, to prevent their being pursued. The *Persians* being intirely dispersed, the *Macedonians* seized their camp, which they plundered. *Sisigambis* the mother of *Darius*, and his wife, who was also his sister, with his son *Ochus*, not full six years old, his two daughters, both marriageable, and some *Persian* ladies, were found in the camp, and taken prisoners. The rest had been sent to *Damascus*, with part of *Darius's* treasure, and all the rich furniture which the *Persian* monarchs used to carry with them into the field; so that in the camp were found only 3000 talents of silver. In the engagement the *Persians*, according to *Arrian*, the most credible historian, lost 10,000 horse and 90,000 foot. Other writers agree with

He is totally defeated at *Iffus*.

His camp seized by the *Macedonians*.

with him as to the number of the horse ; but differ greatly both from him and from each other as to the number of the foot. Forty thousand *Persians* were said to be taken prisoners ; whereas *Alexander*, according to the highest computation, lost in all but 300 foot and 150 horse, which seems improbable, considering the loss of officers in the *Macedonian* phalanx.

Alexander next day buried his dead with great pomp. He treated the captive queens and princesses with the greatest humanity and respect, none daring to approach their pavilion but those who were appointed to attend them ; so that they lived, says *Plutarch*, not as in an enemy's camp, but as in a holy temple designed for the asylum of virtue.

Damascus
betrayed
to *Alexander*.

Parmenio being now detached with the *Thessalian* horse to *Damascus*, as he was on his march met a messenger, sent by the governor of the city to *Alexander*, offering to betray the city into his hands. When *Parmenio* approached, the traitor accordingly caused a vast number of beasts of burden to be loaded with the king's treasure and rich furniture, and sent them out of the city, with the design of withdrawing from the victorious enemy, as the city, he pretended, was not tenable. All this wealth, however, a few hours after, fell into the hands of *Parmenio*, who besides took so great a number of prisoners of the first distinction, that there was scarce one noble family in all *Persia* that did not share in this calamity. *Parmenio* having taken possession of the city, found in it 2600 talents in ready money, and 500 in bullion. He took 30,000 prisoners, and with the plunder of the city loaded 7000 camels. The treacherous governor was killed by one of his own men, and his head sent to *Darius*.

Darius
writes to
Alexander.

Alexander soon after marching into *Syria*, most of the cities of that country voluntarily submitted to him, and even *Darius's* governors and commanders delivered themselves and their treasures up into his hands. At *Marathus* he received a letter from *Darius*, who, without giving him the title of king, desired him to name what sum he pleased for the ransom of his mother, wife, and children ; offered to decide the dispute about empire in a general engagement, to which each party should bring an equal number of troops ; but advised him, if he was still capable of wholesome advice, to be contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another, to which he had no right. This letter, which was written with an unreasonable pride and haughtiness, highly provoked *Alexander*, who therefore in his answer began thus, *Alexander the king* to *Darius*. He then reproached the *Persians* with their unjust invasion of *Greece*, and with the base and treacherous murder of his father *Philip* ; from whence he concluded he was not the aggressor. He offered to restore to him his wife, mother, and children, provided he repaired to him in the attire of a suppliant, and begged their liberty ; assuring him he might do it without the least danger. He concluded, by desiring him to remember,

Alexander's
answer.

when

when he next wrote, that he not only addressed a king, but his king.

Alexander marching from *Marathus* into *Phœnicia*, all the cities in that country voluntarily submitted to him, except *Tyre*, which, after an obstinate siege of seven months, he took by assault, as we have formerly related in the history of *Phœnicia*. None of the *Phœnicians* received *Alexander* with greater joy than the *Sidonians*, who, about eighteen years before, having been cruelly treated by *Ochus*, since that time bore an irreconcilable enmity to the *Persians*. *Alexander* deposed *Strato* their king, who was in the *Persian* interest, and allowed his friend *Hephæstion* to nominate his successor, as we have related elsewhere.

While *Alexander* was in *Phœnicia*, some of the *Persian* generals, who had escaped from the battle of *Iffus*, attempted, with the remains of the scattered army, and the *Cappadocians* and *Paphlagonians*, to recover *Lydia*; but were routed and dispersed by *Antigonus*, governor of that province under *Alexander*. At the same time the *Persian* fleet, which had sailed to the *Hellespont*, to recover the cities on that coast, were so totally defeated by the fleet of the *Macedonians*, that not one ship escaped *.

Darius, while *Alexander* was engaged in the siege of *Tyre*, sent him a second letter, in which he condescended to give him the title of king. He offered him ten thousand talents as a ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter *Statira* in marriage, with all the country he had conquered as far as the *Halys*; and reminding him of the inconstancy of fortune, concluded with a pompous enumeration of the forces of his eastern provinces. *Alexander* rejected the terms offered in this letter, and after reducing *Tyre*, marched from thence to *Jerusalem*, according to *Josephus*. Having indulged the *Jews* in several privileges, he proceeded from thence to *Gaza*, in his way to *Egypt*. *Gaza*, which was strongly fortified by nature and art, was gallantly defended by *Betis*, or *Babemesis*, one of *Darius's* eunuchs, for two months. *Alexander*, who had received two dangerous wounds during the siege, instead of using the governor kindly for his valour and fidelity, was highly exasperated against him, and treated him and the garrison and inhabitants with great barbarity, his sentiments and conduct beginning now to change with his fortune. Having left a garrison in *Gaza*, he marched directly for *Egypt*: and upon his arrival at *Pelusium*, was met by great numbers of *Egyptians*, who, from the hatred they bore to the *Persians*, embraced this opportunity of throwing off their oppressive yoke, and submitting to him. They received him with open arms, and openly and universally declared in his favour; whereupon *Mazæus*, who commanded in *Memphis*, seeing he was not in a condition to oppose the general insurrection,

* Curt. l. iv.

opened the gates to the conqueror, and put him in possession of the metropolis of that kingdom, with eight hundred talents and all the king's rich furniture. Thus *Alexander*, without any opposition, became master of all *Egypt*. From *Memphis* he sailed down the *Nile*, and near the *Canopian* mouth of that river built the city of *Alexandria*, on the *Mediterranean*, which afterwards became one of the most flourishing cities in the universe. He proceeded from thence with part of his army to the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, situated in the deserts of *Lybia* and upon his return to *Memphis*, was congratulated on his conquests by ambassadors from most of the states of *Greece*. In the beginning of the following spring, he left *Egypt* to march against *Darius*; and on his return to *Phœnice*, staid some time at *Tyre*, where he settled the affairs of the countries which he was to leave behind him before he set out to make new conquests. Leaving *Tyre*, he marched with his whole army thro' *Syria*, and crossing the *Euphrates* over a bridge at *Thapsacus*, he proceeded to the *Tigris*, which he forded with the utmost difficulty.

Darius assembled another army at *Babylon*.

Darius, in the mean time, fully sensible that no accommodation was to be expected with the enemy, had been very assiduous in making preparations for another engagement. Having assembled an immense army at *Babylon*, he began his march towards *Nineveh*; and hearing that the enemy had passed the *Euphrates*, and was not at a great distance, he detached *Satrapata* commander of the cavalry, and *Mazæus* governor of the province, with 7000 horse, to oppose their passage, and to lay waste the country through which they were to pass; but before their arrival *Alexander* had already crossed the *Tigris*. He encamped two days on the eastern bank of that river, to refresh his men, who had been greatly fatigued. An eclipse of the moon happening in the mean time, they were struck with awe and terror; and looking upon the eclipse as a sign of the anger of the gods, they murmured against the wild ambition of *Alexander*, and refused to proceed in their march. The *Egyptian* soothsayers, however, who were consulted on this occasion, declaring that the sun was predominant in *Greece*, and the moon in *Persia*, and as often as the moon suffered an eclipse, some great calamity was thereby portended to the *Persians*, their superstitious dread, upon this answer, immediately vanished, and their hopes and courage revived. *Alexander* taking the advantage of their ardour, began his march after midnight towards *Darius*; and at day-break his scouts bringing him word that the *Persians* were on full march to meet him, he immediately drew up his forces; but soon found it was only a detachment of 1000 horse, which retreated with precipitation. Not long after, hearing that *Darius* was not above twenty miles off, he halted, to refresh his soldiers before the engagement, and fortified his camp with trenches and palisadoes, being determined to leave his prisoners and baggage at that place.

Alexander advances towards him.

Darius

Darius encamped in the plain, at a considerable distance from *Arbela*, and near a village called *Gaugamela*; and his army, by some authors, is said to have consisted of upwards of a million of men; and by others, of about half that number in horse and foot. The event of a battle now filling his mind with New conditions of anxiety, and being overcome by the tenderness and humanity of peace offered by which *Alexander* had shewn his mother, children, and wife, which last had lately died in childbed, and was buried by *Darius*. *Alexander* with great pomp and magnificence, he dispatched ten of his relations ambassadors to him, offering him new conditions of peace more advantageous than the former, and returning him thanks for the kind treatment he had given his family. He offered him thirty thousand talents as a ransom for the royal prisoners, and all the countries between the *Hellespont* and the *Euphrates*. But these offers were rejected, in the most haughty and insolent terms, by *Alexander*, who accused *Darius* of insincerity, having intercepted his letters to the *Greeks* in his army, spiring them up, by large bribes, to murder him. but rejected by *Alexander*.

Both sides now prepared for an engagement; and *Darius* having levelled the ground, that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with more ease, resolved to wait for the enemy in the plain, which in several places he had strewed with iron spikes, to incommode the enemy's horse. *Alexander* coming up with his army, which, according to *Arrian*, consisted of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, encamped for one night on some hills within view of the enemy. Having refreshed himself and his troops in the night-time, he next morning advanced against the enemy; whereas *Darius* had imprudently kept his forces under arms all night, from an apprehension that the *Macedonians* would have attempted to surprize him.

Both armies were drawn up in the same order, the infantry The battle in the centre, and the cavalry in the wings. *Darius's* front of *Gaugamela* was covered with two hundred chariots armed with scythes, and twenty-five elephants. Besides his guards, which were the flower of his army, he had posted the *Grecian* infantry near his person, believing this body alone capable of opposing the *Macedonian* phalanx. As the front of his army extended much beyond that of the enemy, he designed to surround and charge them both in front and flank; which *Alexander* suspecting, he ordered those who led the wings to extend them as wide as possible, without weakening the centre; and the second line he commanded to face about, one half to the right, and the other to the left, if surrounded by the enemy. *Arrian* and *Curtius* describe this battle at full length. They tell us, that the *Persians*, at the head of whom fought *Darius*, were often repulsed, but returned again to the charge: that victory inclined sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another: that *Parmenio*, who commanded the left wing, was in great danger, and his men obliged to give ground: that *Alexander's* rear was put in disorder,

The *Persians* routed with great slaughter.

Babylon submits to *Alexander*, who takes possession also of *Susa*.

disorder, several of his chief generals wounded, and his baggage taken : that both kings wrought wonders, &c. Yet the accounts of the loss on both sides, as related by them, is, in the utmost degree, unproportionate and incredible. The *Macedonians*, it is pretended, did not lose one thousand men ; whereas of the *Persians* there fell forty thousand, says *Curtius* ; thirty thousand, according to *Arrian* ; and ninety thousand, according to *Diodorus*. The *Persians* being routed, and flying on every side, *Darius* is said to have been some time in suspense whether he should not lay violent hands on himself ; but at length resolving to save himself by flight, he left the field, and escaped. After he had passed the *Lycus*, some who attended him in his flight advised him to break down the bridge on that river, in order to stop the enemy's pursuit : but he reflecting how many of his own men were hastening to pass over the same bridge, replied, " That he would rather leave an open " way to a pursuing enemy than shut it to a flying friend." About midnight he arrived at *Arbela*, which city has had the fortune to give name to the battle, though at a considerable distance from the field. Being attended thither by a great number of his nobles and commanding officers, he acquainted them, that he designed to leave all, for the present, to *Alexander*, and fly into *Media*, from whence, and from the rest of the northern provinces, he could draw together new forces, to try once more his fortune in battle. He accordingly set out immediately for *Armenia*, where he was joined by two thousand Greek mercenaries, who had escaped from the battle. Soon after his departure, *Alexander* arrived at *Arbela*, which city surrendered to him, and in it he found a great quantity of furniture and equipage belonging to the crown, with four thousand talents, and all the riches of the army, which *Darius* had left there before the engagement. After allowing his army some days of rest, he set out on his march to *Babylon*, which *Mazæus* the governor of the city and province delivered into his hands, the *Babylonians*, from their aversion to the *Persians*, rejoicing at the revolution, and going out to meet him with valuable presents. *Alexander* continued thirty days in *Babylon* ; and leaving *Mazæus* governor of the province, he gave the command of the castle and garrison to a *Macedonian*, and proceeded to *Susa*, the governor of which also surrendered the place to him, and delivered up to him thirty thousand talents in bullion, and forty thousand in ready money, with all the king's furniture, to an immense value. *Alexander* leaving a strong garrison in *Susa*, advanced towards the province of *Persis* ; and in four days crossing the *Pasitigris* with nine thousand foot and four thousand horse, entered the country of the *Uxians*, governed by one *Madates*, who had married the niece of *Sisigambis*. *Madates* was not like the other *Persian* governors, a time-server, but continued faithful to his sovereign ; and retiring into a strong hold in the midst of craggy mountains, held out for some time with great

great bravery. When the city was at length taken by assault, He re-
he withdrew into the citadel, whence seeing there were no duces the
hopes of being relieved, he sent thirty deputies to treat of a *Uxians*.
surrender. *Alexander* was greatly provoked against him; but
at the intercession of *Sisigambis*, he not only pardoned him, but
set all the prisoners at liberty, restored *Madates* to his former
dignity, left the city untouched, and the citizens in the full en-
joyment of their antient liberties.

The *Uxians* being reduced, *Alexander* ordered *Parmenio* to
march thro' the plain with part of his army, while he himself,
at the head of the light-armed foot, advanced by the way of the
mountains, and the fifth day arrived at the streights of *Persia*,
which were held by *Ariobarzanes* with four thousand foot and
seven hundred horse. As soon as *Alexander* advanced into the
pass, the *Persians* rolled down from the tops of the mountains
stones of such a prodigious size, that they crushed at once whole
ranks. *Alexander*, with the utmost grief, was obliged to found
a retreat, and encamped about thirty furlongs from the pass, not
knowing how to advance, and being ashamed to return. While
he was in this perplexity, a person of *Greek* extraction, who had
long kept sheep on those mountains, offered to conduct him
over them through by-paths. The king accepted of the offer; Seizes the
and with a few chosen troops followed this guide over rocks and straits of
precipices, filled in many places with snow; and arriving at the *Persia*.
top of the mountain a little before day-break, attacked the ene-
my, who were then below them, and fled with precipitation.
Craterus, with the troops that were left in the plain, perceiving
their disorder, took possession of the streights. The *Persians* being
now attacked before and behind, were routed, and the greatest
number of them cut in pieces. *Alexander* pursued his march into
Persis, or *Persia* properly so called; and when he was at some dis-
tance from *Persepolis*, the metropolis of that province, he received
letters from the governor of the place, urging him to hasten to the
city, to prevent the populace from plundering the treasures of
Darius. He accordingly marched with his cavalry all night; and
arriving by day-break within two furlongs of *Persepolis*, he as-
sembled the generals of his army, and represented to them, that
no city had ever been more fatal to *Greece* than *Persepolis*, the
capital of the *Persian* empire, from whence those mighty armies
had been sent, which had over-run and laid waste great part of
Europe; and that it was therefore incumbent on them to re-
venge on that proud metropolis the many injuries and calami-
ties which their ancestors had suffered. The soldiers having
thus received a licence to plunder, entered the city, and prac-
tised all manner of cruelties against the miserable inhabitants
that had not fled from their fury. The cruel massacre being
over, *Alexander* left *Craterus* and *Parmenio* in the place, and
went with a small body to reduce the neighbouring cities and
strong holds, which all submitting on the approach of his
troops, he then returned to *Persepolis*, where he took up his
winter-

Persepolis
submits;
but the in-
habitants
cruelly
used,

and the
palace
burnt.

winter-quarters. In this city he is said to have found one hundred and twenty thousand talents lodged in the treasury to defray the expences of the war.

During his stay at *Persopolis*, he gave himself up to feasting and drinking, making daily great entertainments for his officers in one of which, both the king and his guests having drank to excess, fire was set, at the motion of a drunken strumpet, to the magnificent palace of the king.

From *Persopolis*, *Alexander* marched early in the spring to *Pasargada*, resolving to pursue *Darius*, who was fled to *Ecbatani* in *Media*. That unhappy prince had still an army of 30,000 foot among whom were 4000 *Greeks*, who continued faithful to the last. Besides these he had 4000 slingers, and upwards of 300 horse, most of them *Bactrians*, commanded by *Bessus* governor of *Bactria*. When he heard that *Alexander* was in full march towards *Ecbatan*, he left that city, with a design to retire into *Bactria*, and there raise another army. He, however, soon altered his resolution, and determined to venture a third battle with the forces then about him. His troops declared that they would shed the last drop of their blood in his defence; but *Bessus* governor of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes*, a *Persian* lord of great distinction, basely conspired against him, and quickly corrupted the loyalty of the army, by maliciously insinuating that *Darius* was dragging them to destruction; and that they were now in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy. The two traitors proposed either to deliver the king to *Alexander*, if he pursued them, and by that means to make their peace with the conqueror; or, if they could escape, to murder their master, usurp his dominions, and renew the war. Tho' their practices were carried on with the greatest secrecy yet they came to the ear of *Darius*; but he could not believe them. *Patron*, who commanded the *Greeks*, earnestly intreated him to encamp among them, and trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. *Darius* replied that he would rather suffer any misfortune among those of his own nation than seek for shelter among strangers, how faithful soever he might believe them; and that he could not die too soon, if his own *Persians* thought him unworthy to live. Not long after, *Darius* had occasion to repent his having rejected the advice of *Patron*; for *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* seizing his person bound him, out of respect to the royal family, in chains of gold, and shutting him up in a covered cart, fled with him towards *Bactria*. The cart was covered with skins, and strangers appointed to drive it, without knowing who the prisoner was they had in their custody. *Bessus* was proclaimed commander in chief, in the room of *Darius*, by the *Bactrian* horse; but *Patron* with the *Greeks*, and *Artabazus* and his sons with the forces they commanded, retired from the body of the army under *Bessus*, and marched over the mountains towards *Parthiene*.

Bessus and
Nabar-
zanes trea-
cherously
seize
Darius.

Alexander

Alexander, in the mean time, arriving at *Ecbatan*, was informed that *Darius* had left that city five days before. He pursued him with part of his army, and arrived the eleventh day at *Rages*, having marched in that space of time 3300 furlongs. The greatest part of those who accompanied him died, thro' the fatigues of so long and expeditious a march; inso-much, that on his arrival at *Rages* he could muster but 60 horsemen. *Alexander* now despairing of overtaking the king, who had already passed the *Caspian* streights, staid five days at *Rages*, which was a long day's journey from the streights, to refresh his troops, and settle the affairs of *Media*. He then proceeded to *Parthia*, and two days after passed the *Caspian* streights, without opposition. Upon entering *Parthia*, *Bagisthenes*, a *Persian* nobleman, came and informed him, that *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* had conspired against *Darius*, and designed to seize him. On this intelligence, he left the main body of the army behind, under the command of *Craterus*, and taking a small troop of light-armed horse with himself, marched night and day, without ever halting, except a few hours, and the third day came to a village where *Bessus* with his *Bactrians* had encamped the day before. Here being informed that *Darius* was seized by the traitors, and that the whole army, except *Artabazus* and the *Greeks*, who had taken another route, obeyed *Bessus*, he again set out that same night, and early next morning was acquainted by two *Persian* officers, that the *Bactrians* were not above 500 furlongs off, and that they could lead him to them by a nearer way. Being at last come up with the enemy, his unexpected arrival struck them, tho' far superior in number, with such terror, that they immediately fled. *Darius* being before them, *Bessus* and his accomplices went up to him, and desired him to mount his horse, and fly from the enemy: but he refusing to follow them, they discharged their darts at him, and left him, wallowing in his blood, to the mercy of the *Macedonians*. They then dispersed, *Bessus* flying towards *Hyrkania*, and *Nabarzanes* into *Bactria*, that they might, by this means, elude the pursuit of the enemy, or at least oblige him to divide his forces. *Nicanor* being sent before with a troop of light-armed horse, put near 3000 of the stragglers to the sword, but could not come up with *Bessus* or *Nabarzanes*; which *Alexander*, who followed at the head of 3000 *Macedonians*, observing, he sent him orders to give quarters to all those that should throw down their arms. Meanwhile, the horses which drew the cart in which was *Darius* halted, of their own accord (the drivers having been killed) near a village about four furlongs from the highway, whither *Polystратus*, a *Macedonian*, being pressed with thirst, was soon after conducted by the inhabitants, to refresh himself at a fountain not far from the place where they stopt. The *Macedonian* hearing the groans of a dying man, looked round him, and discovered the cart, and, as he drew near, perceived *Darius* lying in the cart, very near his end, having several darts still sticking in his body. The king, however, had

Darius
Codmanus
mortally
wounded.

His death.
Bef. Ch.
330.

strength enough to call for some water, which *Polystratus* readily brought him, a *Persian* captive serving for interpreter. After drinking, he turned to the *Macedonian*, and told him with a faint voice, that in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, it was no small comfort to him that his last words would not be lost. He then charged him to return his hearty thanks to *Alexander* for the kindness he had shewn to his wife, mother, and children, and to acquaint him, that with his last breath he besought the gods to prosper him in all his undertakings, and make him sole monarch of the universe; adding, that he thought he need not intreat him to punish those traitors who had treated him with such cruelty, as it was the common cause of kings. Then taking *Polystratus* by the hand, "Give him," said he, "your hand, as I give you mine, and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am now able to give of my gratitude and affection." Having uttered these words, he expired in the arms of *Polystratus*. *Alexander* coming up quickly after, and beholding the body of *Darius*, burst out into tears, bewailing the cruel lot of a prince, who, he said, deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his own military cloak, and covered the corps, and causing it to be embalmed, sent it in a rich and magnificent coffin to *Sisigambis*, that it might be interred with the other *Persian* monarchs *.

Thus died *Darius*, in the 50th year of his age and 6th of his reign. He was a mild and pacific prince, his reign having been un sullied with injustice, cruelty, or any of those vices which most of his predecessors had been greatly addicted to; which was owing to his natural lenity, or the calamities in which he was personally involved. In him the *Persian* empire ended, after it had lasted, from the first of *Cyrus*, 209 years, under 13 kings.

Bessus put
to death.

Alexander being now acknowledged emperor by all the *Persian* commanders, restored them to their former honours and employments; but above all he distinguished *Artabazus*, on account of his unshaken fidelity to his master, and *Oxathres*, *Darius's* brother, whom he ever treated in a manner becoming his high station and noble birth. He was even, to his great dishonour, prevailed upon to receive and pardon the traitor *Nabarzanes*; but *Bessus*, the following summer, being brought to him in chains by *Spitamenes*, one of his confidants, who had betrayed him, he delivered him to *Oxathres*, to suffer whatever punishment he should think proper to inflict. According to *Plutarch*, several trees were bent down to the ground by main force, and one of the traitor's limbs being fastened to each, the trees were then suffered to return to their natural position; and flying back with violence, each carried with it the limb that was tied to it.

* Curt. Hist. Justin, l. ix. Arrian, l. iii. Plut. in Alex.

This is the substance of the relations of the best *Greek* and *Latin* historians concerning the *Persian* empire; but the *Persian* history has been recorded, in a stile and manner very different, by the *Persians*, from the origin of their monarchy to the extinction of the native *Persians* in *Jesdegerd* their last king. These accounts of the orientals, however, from whence the famous *Mirkbond* has compiled his *Persian* history, are so full of obscurity, uninteresting details, and wild romance, that instead of affording entertainment or instruction, they can only create disgust to the reader. According to them, *Alexander*, whom they stile *Islander ben Filouchous*, that is, the son of *Philip*, was really the son of *Darab*, or *Darius*, by one of *Philip*'s daughters, whom *Darab* never lay with but one night, and sent her home to her father, on account of her nauseous breath. She returning with child, bore her son in *Macedon*, where he was brought up by *Philip*; who leaving him his kingdom, he called himself, out of gratitude, his son, though he put in his claim to the kingdom of *Persia* as heir to *Darab* his father.

S E C T. V.

The History of the PARTHIANS, from their revolt under Arsaces, to the recovery of the supreme power by the PERSIANS.

THE *Parthians* were, by the antient *Greek* and *Latin* The *Par-* writers, considered as a distinct people from the *Persians*; *thians* not but the eastern writers make no such distinction: and if we re- different flect that both people governed nearly the same provinces, form- from the ing a large empire, of which their own province was but a *Persians*, small part; that the same religion, customs, manners, and when con- laws, were common to both; and that each of these people, sidered when enjoying the supreme power, looked upon themselves as collective- natives of the chief countries which they possessed, they will ly. appear to differ no more from each other than the inhabitants of different provinces of the same empire *.

Cyrus the Great was chiefly supported in his conquests by the *Median* power; but the empire which he raised was called the *Persian* empire, because he himself was a native of *Persis*, or *Persia*, a barren and poor province. In like manner, the province of *Parthia* gave name to a kingdom, formed of many other provinces, because *Arsaces*, who threw off the yoke of the *Syrian* kings, was first joined by the *Parthians* in his revolt. His power, however, was unanimously supported by many of those

* D'Herbelot bibl. orient. Mirkond. Justin, l. xii. c. 3 & 9. & l. xvi.

tions which had antiently formed the *Persian* monarchy, and now again united against the *Greeks* of *Syria*, whom they looked upon as foreigners, and detested as idolaters. The inhabitants of the ruling province, however, enjoyed some peculiar privileges; which made the *Persians*, as we shall find afterwards, eagerly seize an opportunity of recovering the supreme power.

The particular province of *Parthia*, upon the death of *Alexander* the Great, was despised, as a poor and barren country; and none of that prince's commanders caring for the government of it, it was left as an appendix to *Media*. It may, however, at this day be looked upon as the royal province of *Persia*, since the king chiefly resides in it. The empire of the *Parthians* was, according to *Pliny*, divided into eighteen kingdoms, eleven of which, extending from *Armenia* and the *Caspian* sea to the confines of *Scythia*, were distinguished by the names of the upper kingdoms; and the other seven were known by the name of the lower kingdoms.

Their origin and history.

The *Parthians*, tho' in after-times they adopted the customs and manners of the *Persians*, were originally, according to the general opinion, *Scythian*, or rather *Celtic* exiles, as their name in that language signifies. The particulars of their history prior to the reign of *Arsaces* I. have long ago been buried in oblivion, the works of the authors who treated of this subject not having reached our times. It appears that they were subject to the kings of the *Modes*; formed a part of the *Persian* empire; were conquered by *Alexander* the Great; and on his death they were held in subjection by *Seleucus Nicator*, and his son and grandson. In the reign of the latter, who was *Antiochus Theos*, *Arsaces* revolted, and founded a new kingdom, which was strengthened and enlarged by his successors, who held it for the space of 475 years.

Arsaces I.
Bef. Christ
248.

Arsaces I. according to some writers, was of the race of the *Achemenidæ*; others make him a *Parthian* by birth, and some a *Bactrian*. The weak and tyrannical administration of *Antiochus Theos*, the grandson of the great *Seleucus*, having inspired the *Parthians* with disaffection, *Arsaces*, who had slain the Syrian governor of *Parthia*, on account of an insult offered by him to the modesty of his brother, easily prevailed with them to take arms, and assert their independency. *Seleucus Callinicus*, the successor of *Theos*, made an attempt to reduce them; but was defeated and taken prisoner by *Arsaces*, who thereupon assumed the title of king, and so firmly established his empire, that it was afterwards able to contend with the *Roman* power, when at its greatest height. *Arsaces*, after annexing *Hyrkania* and some other provinces to his empire, was killed in a battle against *Ariarathes* IV. king of *Cappadocia*. From him the *Parthian* kings of the same race took the name of *Arsaces*, as the kings of *Egypt* did that of *Ptolemy*, and the *Roman* emperors that of *Cæsar*.

Arfaces II. the son of the founder of the monarchy, invaded *Arfaces* II. and reduced *Media*, while *Antiochus* the Great was engaged in *Bef. Ch.* a war with the king of *Egypt*. But *Antiochus* having disengaged 231. himself from his *Egyptian* war, recovered *Media*, and obliged *Arfaces* to retire into *Hyrkania*. The *Parthian* king, soon after, taking the field with 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, *Antiochus* thought proper to agree to a peace; by which it was concluded, that *Arfaces* should hold *Parthia* and *Hyrkania*, on condition of his assisting the *Syrian* monarch to recover the other revolted provinces.

Arfaces II. was succeeded by his son *Priapatius*, who reigned *Priapa-* fifteen years, and left three sons, *Phraates*, *Mithridates*, and *tius*. *Artabanus*. *Phraates*, who succeeded to the throne, conquered *Bef. Chr.* the *Mardi*, a most warlike nation, who had always main- 217. tained their independancy till the reign of *Alexander*. Though *Phraates*. *Phraates* left a numerous issue, yet he appointed his brother *Mi-* *Mithri-* *thridates* as his successor, on account of his extraordinary merit. *dates* I. *Mithridates* reduced the countries of the *Bactrians*, *Persians*, *Medes*, *Elymæans*, and even extended his dominions into *India*, beyond the conquests of *Alexander*. *Demetrius Nicator*, king of *Syria*, who attempted to recover some of his provinces from the *Parthians*, being defeated and taken prisoner by him, *Mithridates*, after that victory, reduced *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*, and was acknowledged as sovereign by all the nations betwixt the *Euphrates* and the *Ganges*. Tho' he detained *Demetrius* as a prisoner, yet he entertained him with great humanity, and confining him to the province of *Hyrkania*, gave him *Rhodaguna*, one of his sisters, in marriage. *Mithridates* was no less remarkable for the sweetness of his disposition than for his great courage and resolution. He is said to have examined the various constitutions of the many nations he had conquered, and from the whole to have formed a body of excellent laws.

Mithridates was succeeded by his son *Phraates* II. who had *Phraates* not been long in possession of the throne before he was attacked II. by *Antiochus Sidetes* king of *Syria*, who having defeated him in several battles, recovered all the western provinces that had been conquered by *Mithridates*. Soon after, however, *Phraates* defeated and slew *Antiochus*, and being flushed with his victory, resolved to invade *Syria*; but before he could set out on that enterprize, he was engaged in a war with a *Scythian* army of mercenaries, whom he had called in to his assistance. As *Antiochus* had been defeated before they had joined him, he refused to pay them the sum which he had promised them; upon which they began to ravage his territories. *Phraates* finding himself thus attacked in his own dominions, took into his pay a body of *Greek* mercenaries who had served *Antiochus* in his late expedition, and had been taken prisoners by the *Parthians*. The *Greeks*, however, in resentment of the bad usage they had received in an engagement when prisoners, joined the *Scythians* in the first engagement, which proved fatal to *Phraates*; for his army was defeated, and himself slain. He is slain in an engagement with the *Scythians*.

Artabanus I. The *Greeks* and *Scythians*, after ravaging the *Parthian* dominions, retired to their respective countries; when *Artabanus*, the third son of the late king *Priapatius*, took possession of the crown. He being killed a few days after, in an engagement with the *Thogarians*, a *Scythian* nation, was succeeded by his son *Pacorus* I. who hearing of the great exploits of the *Romans*, sent an embassy to *Sylla*, then in *Cappadocia*, to solicit their alliance. *Sylla*, tho' only a prætor, assumed great state in the audience he gave to the *Parthian* ambassador, placing *Ariobarzanes* king of *Cappadocia*, whom he had been sent to restore to his kingdom, on his right hand, and *Ormazes* the *Parthian* on his left. *Pacorus* was so highly offended with his ambassador for his condescension to a *Roman* prætor, that he caused him to be beheaded on his return. He afterwards sent ambassadors to *Lucullus*, and renewed the alliance concluded with *Sylla*.

Phraates III. *Pacorus* was succeeded by his son *Phraates* III. who gave his daughter in marriage to *Tigranes*, the son of *Tigranes* the Great king of *Armenia*, and invaded that country, with a design to dispossess the father, and give the crown to his son-in-law. On the approach of *Pompey* the *Roman* general, however, he withdrew, and by a solemn embassy to him, again renewed his alliance with the *Romans*. Soon after, in the 12th year of his reign, he was murdered by his two sons, *Mithridates* and *Orodes*. The latter, who was the eldest, took possession of the *Parthian* throne; but was soon dispossessed by *Mithridates*, who, rendering himself odious to his subjects by his cruelties, was obliged to take shelter with *Gabinus*, the *Roman* governor of *Syria*. *Orodes*, on the flight of his brother, was restored to the throne; but was soon threatened with an invasion from the *Romans*, *Gabinus* having undertaken to restore *Mithridates*, in hopes of satisfying his rapacity by the plunder of the *Parthians*. He accordingly set out on his march; but after he had passed the *Euphrates*, he abandoned the cause of *Mithridates*, and marched into *Egypt*, *Ptolemy Auletes* having promised him immense sums, if he would assist him in recovering his throne. *Mithridates*, tho' abandoned by *Gabinus*, invaded *Babylonia* with a small body of forces under his own command, and seized *Seleucia*, where he was soon after obliged to surrender at discretion to his brother, who caused him to be put to death.

Crassus resolves to invade the *Parthians*. Bef. Chr. 55. *Orodes* now saw himself in possession of the throne without a rival; but not long after his territories were unexpectedly invaded, even by his allies the *Romans*, under the command of *M. Licinius Crassus*. Tho' *Crassus* was the richest man in *Rome*, yet such was his insatiable avarice, that in hopes of augmenting his great wealth by the spoils of the *Parthians*, who were reckoned a very rich nation, he resolved to make war upon them, in direct violation of the alliances that had hitherto subsisted betwixt the two people. He accordingly got himself named governor of *Syria* and the neighbouring provinces, with a most unconstitutional power, being allowed to hold his government for the space of five years, to raise what forces he should think proper,

proper, and to make peace or war with whom he pleased, without having recourse to the senate or people of *Rome*. Some of the tribunes, the following year, opposed his undertaking the *Parthian* expedition with the greatest zeal; and when he went out of *Rome*, followed him to the gates with solemn execrations and curses.

Crassus, after a stormy and dangerous voyage, in which he lost many ships, landed his troops in the ports of *Galatia*; from whence he marched into *Syria* and *Palestine*, where his avarice prompted him to plunder the temple of *Jerusalem* of its sacred treasures. Having soon after crossed the *Euphrates*, he began hostilities against the *Parthians*, and quickly drove them from *Mesopotamia*. *Apollonius* governor of *Zenadotia*, a city near *Nicephorium*, made some opposition to the *Romans*, and slew a detachment of their troops, to whom he had agreed to surrender the place. The *Zenadotians*, however, paid dear for their breach of faith; for their city being soon after taken by assault, they were all sold as slaves. *Crassus*, upon the conquest of *Mesopotamia*, left 7000 foot and 1000 horse to garrison the places he had taken, and in the beginning of autumn returned to *Syria*, where he put his army into winter-quarters, and was soon after joined by his son, at the head of 1000 chosen horse. During the winter *Crassus* intirely neglected military discipline, and suffered his troops to indulge themselves in idleness, debauchery, and all manner of effeminate pleasures. He himself employed his time chiefly in oppressing and plundering the *Syrians*, by the most arbitrary and cruel exactions, not sparing even the temples of their gods, which he robbed of all their treasures and rich ornaments *.

The *Parthians*, in confidence of the alliance that subsisted between them and the *Romans*, had made no preparations for opposing *Crassus*; but his imprudent conduct in returning to *Syria* suffering them to recover from their consternation, they formed a powerful army during the winter, with which *Orodes* took the field in the following spring. The *Parthian* king being still desirous of maintaining a good correspondence with the *Romans*, sent an embassy to *Crassus* in *Syria*, to know for what reason he had invaded his dominions. The ambassadors, after putting *Crassus* in mind of the alliances that had subsisted between them and the *Romans*, told him, that if the people of *Rome* countenanced the breach of peace, a war must ensue, which could not be terminated without the intire subjection of one of the empires; but if he, to satiate his private interest, had undertaken the war, contrary to the inclination of the *Romans*, that the king their master, out of pity to his old age, would suffer the *Romans* in *Mesopotamia* to retire unmolested. *Crassus* reply- ing, in a vain and arrogant manner, *That they should have his*

* Joseph. Ant. l. xiv. Dio. l. xl. Plut. in Crass. & Appian. bell. civil.

thian am *answer at Seleucia; the chief of the ambassadors, named Vogeses,*
bassadors *smiled, and holding out the palm of his hand, said, You shall*
with con- *sooner, O Crassus, see hair grow here than be master of Seleucia.*
tempt.

Orodes, on the return of his ambassadors, finding it in vain to expect peace, marched in person with a large detachment of his army, to make a diversion on the frontiers of *Armenia*, as the *Armenians* were preparing to act in conjunction with the *Romans*. The brave *Surenas*, or *Surenas*, marched with the other part of the *Parthian* army into *Mesopotamia*. This general had been always faithfully attached to *Orodes*, and had even procured him the crown, by the expulsion of *Mithridates*. He was descended of one of the noblest families in *Parthia*, and renowned no less for his wisdom and discretion, than for his great bravery. He is said to have united the luxury of an *Asiatic* with the intrepidity of a conqueror. When he travelled, his equipage consisted of 1000 camels to carry his baggage, 200 chariots for the service of his wives and concubines, 1000 horsemen, completely armed, for his guard, together with a great number of light-armed troops, which, with his domestics, amounted to 10,000 more.

The *Par-*
thians re-
 cover
 many
 places in
Mesopota-
mia.

Surenas soon making himself master of several of the cities in *Mesopotamia* garrisoned by the *Romans*, the soldiers who escaped to *Crassus's* camp spread a panic among his troops, by their terrible accounts of the *Parthians*. They said, that it was impossible to overtake them when they fled, or escape them when they pursued: that the *Roman* darts would not penetrate their defensive arms; and that their offensive weapons were so sharp, that no buckler was proof against them. The *Roman* troops were greatly disheartened by these reports, and most of the chief officers advised *Crassus* to suspend his march; but *Artabazus* king of *Armenia* arriving at the camp with six thousand horse, and promising to send ten thousand cuirassiers and thirty thousand foot, whenever they should be thought necessary, *Crassus* persisted in advancing. *Artabazus* earnestly dissuaded him from marching thro' the plains of *Mesopotamia*, where he would be often distressed for want of water, and would be continually harrassed by the *Parthian* horse. He advised him, at the same time, to take his route over the mountains of *Armenia*, where he would meet with plenty of provisions, and be secured from any assaults of the enemy. *Crassus*, however, no-ways influenced by the solid reasons of *Artabazus*, alleged, that he must march thro' *Mesopotamia*, in order to relieve the *Roman* garrisons that were left there; and having desired the king to send the succours he promised, began his march for that province, which he entered at the head of upwards of forty thousand men.

Crassus
 impru-
 dently en-
 ters *Mes-*
opotamia.

The *Roman* army having crossed the *Euphrates*, *Crassus* was advised by his questor *Caius Cassius* (the same who afterwards conspired against *Cæsar*) to wait in the *Mesopotamian* towns that were still garrisoned by the *Romans* till he should get information of the number and strength of the enemy, or else to advance to *Se-*
leucia,

leucia, by marching along the *Euphrates*. *Crassus* seemed to approve of this last advice; but *Abgarus* king of *Edeffa*, who had formerly served under *Pompey*, arrived as a friend at the *Roman* camp, tho' in reality acting in concert with *Surenas*, persuaded him to march directly forward, by declaring that the enemy would not dare to face him; and that he had more need of wings to pursue them than of arms.

The *Romans* accordingly trusting to this deceitful guide, marched for some days over a most extensive and delicious green plain; but afterwards entered a frightful and barren desert, destitute of water, and without so much as a plant or blade of grass. Their desperate situation greatly alarmed the chief officers, who suspecting the intentions of *Abgarus*, pressed *Crassus* to retreat to the mountains. He was also urged to avoid the barren plains, by a messenger who had come express from *Artabazus*, and who also brought the disagreeable news, that the king of *Armenia* could not spare the succours he had promised, as his dominions were invaded by *Orodes*, at the head of a powerful army. *Crassus* paid no regard to the representations of his officers, or those of the *Armenian* messenger, but still followed the counsels of *Abgarus*, who, under pretence of going out on scouting-parties, had frequent conferences with *Surenas* about the best means of destroying the *Roman* army. The *Romans* had no sooner passed the desert, when news was brought them by their scouts, that a numerous army of *Parthians* was in full march to attack them. Tho' they were then greatly fatigued and exhausted, yet they were under a necessity of forming themselves into order of battle. *Crassus* accordingly, by the treacherous advice of *Abgarus*, formed his army into a square, with twelve cohorts in each front; having again despised the advice of *Cassius*, who had proposed to extend the infantry as wide as possible, that they might not be surrounded by the enemy.

The *Parthians* not appearing so soon as expected, *Crassus* was advised by his officers to refresh his troops, by encamping on the banks of a small river to which they had advanced. The *Roman* general, however, giving way to the inconsiderate ardour of his son, only allowed the legions to take a meal standing; and before that could be done by all, gave orders for their advancing as fast as they could move, contrary to the custom of the *Romans*. The greatest number of the *Parthians* having concealed themselves, the *Romans* at first thought their enemy contemptible; but they were quickly filled with the greatest astonishment, when the *Parthians*, upon a signal from *Surenas*, rose as it were out of the ground, and began the attack with dreadful cries and a most frightful noise. *Surenas* having at first in vain endeavoured to break the ranks of the *Romans* with his pikemen, drew off his troops, and discharged showers of arrows, which did great execution in the *Roman* phalanx. The *Romans*, in the beginning of the engagement, still advanced, in hopes of engaging the enemy hand to hand; but

The *Parthians* attack the *Romans*.
Bef. Chr.
53.

but as they advanced the *Parthians* retreated, and kept showering arrows upon them, even at the time when they had turned their backs to them.

Young *Crassus* advancing, with great intrepidity, at the head of a body of horse and some light infantry, the *Parthians* betook themselves to flight, and suffered the detachment to pursue them till they were separated at a great distance from the army, when suddenly wheeling about, they encircled them at some distance, and galled them with showers of arrows; the *Romans*, at the same time, scarce perceiving the enemy, on account of the thick dust raised by the motion of their horses. *Crassus*, impatient to annoy the enemy, left his infantry, and rushed upon their heavy-armed cavalry at the head of a thousand chosen horse whom he had recruited in *Gaul*. The *Gauls* attacked with the greatest desperation; and finding their weapons unserviceable against the armour of the enemy, some of them laid hold of their spears, and unhorsed them; and others dismounting, stabbed the horses in the belly, and made them throw their riders. They themselves, however, suffered the most, and were obliged again to retreat to their infantry, and with them to retire to an eminence, where, being quickly surrounded by the *Parthians*, they were almost all disabled or killed, without being able in the least to annoy the enemy. *Crassus* being wounded in the arm with a barbed arrow, and seeing his troops falling round him, without any hopes of being relieved, presented his side to one of his attendants, and from him received a mortal wound, his example being followed by most of the nobility who served under him. Of the whole detachment only 500 common soldiers survived, and these were taken prisoners.

Part of
the Roman
army de-
feated un-
der the
young
Crassus.

The elder *Crassus*, in the mean time, not having been much annoyed by the *Parthians* who stayed behind, retreated to a small hill, in hopes of soon seeing his son return victorious; but one of the many messengers dispatched by young *Crassus* escaping the enemy, and bringing him word, that his son was lost, if he did not send him an immediate and powerful reinforcement, his mind was thrown into such agitation, that he scarce knew what he was doing. He, however, advanced with his army; but had proceeded a very little way, when he was met by the *Parthians*, who, with loud shouts and songs of victory, presented to the *Romans* the head of young *Crassus* upon the point of a lance. The father, tho' almost sinking with grief, dissimbled his affliction, and strove in vain to animate his troops, who were now filled with dejection and despair. Many of the *Romans*, to avoid the painful wounds of the arrows which were now showered upon them from all sides, threw themselves on the enemy's heavy-armed horse, and sought from their spears a more quick and easy kind of death. The *Parthians*, when night approached, ceased their attack, and retired, crying out, that they would allow the father one night to lament the death of his son.

Crassus

Crassus spent the greatest part of the night lying upon the ground; but being roused and comforted by some of his officers, he, by their advice, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to retire immediately, without sound of trumpet, to the neighbouring city of *Charraë*, which was held by a *Roman* garrison. *Ægnatius* with 300 light horse proceeded directly to *Charraë*; but without stopping, only gave notice to the centinels, that *Crassus* had fought a great battle with the *Parthians*; which indistinct account alarming the governor of the place, he marched out with his garrison to the relief of *Crassus*, and conducted him and his army into the city.

The *Romans* retreat in great disorder.

The *Parthians*, tho' they were quickly informed of the retreat of the *Romans*, from the cries and lamentations of their sick and wounded, whom they left behind, yet did not offer to pursue them, from a superstitious custom that prevailed among them not to fight in the night. When it was day, they entered the *Roman* camp, where they put all the wounded, to the number of 4000, to the sword. *Surenas* soon after appearing before the walls of *Charraë*, and declaring, that he would grant no terms to the *Romans*, unless they delivered up *Crassus* and *Cassius* to him in chains, the *Roman* general, finding himself in no condition of standing a siege, by the advice of his officers, resolved to retire from *Charraë* that very night. *Crassus* who, as *Dio* observes, seems to have been infatuated by a Divinity, most imprudently imparted the resolution of the council of war to one *Andromachus*, an inhabitant of *Charraë*, who undertook to conduct the *Romans*; but at the same time treacherously informed *Surenas* of their design, and promised to conduct them in such a manner that they should not get out of his reach before day-break. He accordingly, after many windings and turnings, brought them into deep and marshy grounds, where the infantry were up to the knees in mire. In that situation *Crassus* was overtaken by *Surenas*; but *Cassius*, who from a distrust of the guide, had returned to *Charraë*, from thence escaped with 500 horse to *Syria*. *Octavius* also, one of the lieutenants, had gained some mountains near *Crassus* with a body of 5000 men. *Crassus* who, with great difficulty, had gained the summit of a hill, being hard pressed by the *Parthians*, the troops of *Octavius* quitted their safe post, and running to the assistance of their general, quickly repulsed the enemy. *Surenas* finding his troops backward in making a second attack, and afraid lest the *Romans* should escape by marching off in the night, pretended a willingness to come to an accommodation; and having dismissed some *Roman* prisoners, expressed his desire before them of having an interview with *Crassus*. The *Roman* general, suspecting the designs of *Surenas*, declined the interview; but was forced to agree to it, much against his inclination, by his own soldiers, who flocked round him, and not only abused him in an outrageous manner, but even menaced him, if he did not accept of the proposals made him by *Surenas*. He accordingly

They are cordingly left his camp, accompanied by several of his chief officers, and was received at first by *Surenas* with an excess of courtesy; but the *Parthians*, who had him now in their power, and *Crassus* is slain. mixing a great deal of insult with their pretended civilities, a scuffle ensued, in which *Crassus*, and most of the officers who attended him, were slain. The *Parthians*, upon the death of *Crassus*, attacked the *Romans* on the hill, who were almost all put to the sword or taken prisoners. The latter continued in captivity among the *Parthians*, where, as *Horace* mentions, they contracted ignominious marriages, to the disgrace of *Rome*. The *Parthians* hung up the standards of the vanquished legions as trophies at *Seleucia*, which city was entered in triumph by *Surenas*, who, to amuse the people, pretended that *Crassus* was still alive, and made one of the prisoners, who resembled him, to march thro' the streets in a mock parade.

An alliance between *Orodes* and the king of *Armenia*.

During these transactions, *Artabazus* king of *Armenia*, foreseeing the fate of *Crassus*, had concluded an alliance with *Orodes*, and had given one of his daughters in marriage to *Pacorus*, *Orodes*'s son. While the two kings were solemnizing their new alliance, the head of *Crassus* was brought to *Orodes*, who, after expressing the most lively transports of joy, commanded melted gold to be poured into *Crassus*'s mouth, reproaching him thereby with his detestable avarice, which had drawn upon him a deserved fate.

The *Parthians* invade *Syria*.

Surenas did not long enjoy the honour of his great exploits; for *Orodes*, growing jealous of his glory, caused him to be put to death soon after, and gave the command of the army to his own son *Pacorus*, who, at his desire, invaded *Syria*, in hopes of finding it defenceless. *Cassius*, however, having drawn together some new levies, and joined them to the small remains of the late army, opposed the progress of the *Parthians*, and obliged them to repass the *Euphrates*. The following spring, a numerous army of *Parthians* entered *Syria*, under the command of *Orsaces*, an old and experienced commander, who, having quickly reduced all the country between the *Euphrates* and *Antioch*, closely besieged that metropolis. The celebrated *Cicero*, however, sending some succours from his province of *Cilicia* to the relief of the besieged, the *Parthians* raised the siege, and, after some fruitless attempts, marched homewards. *Cassius* the *Roman* general being informed of their route, drew them into an ambuscade, in which great numbers of them were cut off, with *Orsaces* their leader.

Those who escaped repassed the *Euphrates* with *Pacorus*; but a new army, in the end of summer, again entered *Syria*, and wintered in the northern province of *Cyrrhestica*. Early in the spring they again besieged *Antioch*, where they met with very little opposition, *M. Calpurnius Bibulus*, the governor of *Syria*, having no experience in war, and being of a very inactive disposition. Having succeeded, however, in stirring up *Ordontes*, a *Parthian* nobleman, to raise a rebellion in the heart of the

the kingdom, he, by that means, obliged the *Parthians* intirely to evacuate *Syria*.

As the *Parthian* affairs were now unconnected, for some time, with those of the *Romans*, we are left in the dark as to the transactions that happened during this rebellion. But when the civil war broke out between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, *Dio* tells us, that *Orodes* was solicited for succours by *Pompey*, and that he offered to send him assistance, on condition that *Syria* should be delivered up to the *Parthians*; which the *Roman* general would not agree to. After the death of *Pompey* and the ruin of his party, the *Parthians* were threatened with an invasion from *Cæsar*; but when he was just going to set out on his expedition, he was killed in the senate-house.

Not long after, the *Syrians*, on account of the oppression of *Syria* the *Romans*, but particularly of *Marc Antony*, who then governed the eastern provinces, rose up in arms, and invited the *Parthians* to their assistance. *Orodes*, on this invitation, sent a powerful army into *Syria*, under the command of *Pacorus* and *Labienus*, a *Roman* of *Pompey's* party, who, some time before, had been sent to solicit succours of the *Parthians* by *Brutus* and *Cassius*. *Labienus* having defeated *Saxa*, *Antony's* lieutenant in *Syria*, slew him afterwards in *Cilicia*, and reduced all *Asia Minor*, while *Pacorus*, with another part of the army, made himself master of *Syria* and *Phœnice*, *Tyre* being the only place in those parts that held out against him. They were soon, however, driven from their new conquests by the *Romans*; for *Ventidius*, the lieutenant of *Antony*, entering *Asia* with a new army, *Labienus* being in no condition to oppose him, retreated as he advanced, till he secured an advantageous camp on mount *Taurus*, from whence he sent to solicit succours from *Pacorus*. A body of *Parthians* accordingly marched to his assistance; but presuming upon their late successes, and venturing to engage the *Romans* before they joined him, they were intirely defeated. Upon the news of this defeat, *Labienus* was quickly abandoned by his men, who were mostly raw troops, and many of them entered into the service of *Ventidius*. *Labienus*, after skulking some time in disguise, was taken and put to death. The *Parthians*, notwithstanding the losses they had suffered, still attempted to defend *Syria*, by occupying the passes of mount *Amanus*; but being defeated there with great slaughter by *Ventidius*, *Pacorus* retreated with great precipitation beyond the *Euphrates* with the forces that remained.

Syria
again in-
vaded by
the *Par-
thians*.
Bef. Chr.
40.

Ventidius
the *Roman*
gains
great ad-
vantages
over them.

The following spring the *Parthians* again entered *Syria*, the news of their great preparations even drawing *Antony* into the field. Before he could reach *Syria*, however, *Ventidius* gained a complete victory over them, and slew *Pacorus* their general. The *Parthians*, upon the death of *Pacorus*, fled in the utmost confusion towards the *Euphrates*; but a detachment of the

* Dio. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 5.

Roman troops having got to the river before them, their retreat was cut off, and they were almost all put to the sword, a few only escaping into the dominions of the king of *Comagene*. This signal victory was gained on the same day of the year on which, 14 years before, the famous battle of *Carrhæ* was lost.

Orodes, upon the news of the loss of his army and the death of his son, was so overwhelmed with grief, that for some days he was unable to utter a word, and abstained from all food. When he recovered his speech, nothing at first was heard from him but the name of *Pacorus*, his dear *Pacorus*. Sometimes he talked to him as if he had been present; but at other times, recollecting that he was dead, he burst into a flood of tears, and was ready to lay violent hands upon himself. The young prince whom he lamented is greatly extolled by all the antients for his justice, clemency, valour, and other princely qualities. During the short time that he lived among the *Syrians*, he so endeared himself to them, that they never expressed more affection for any of their native sovereigns than they did for him.

Ventidius, that he might not give umbrage to the jealous temper of *Antony*, did not push his conquests into *Mesopotamia* and *Babylonia*, which he might easily have done; but marching into *Commagene*, made war upon the king of that country, who had sided with the *Parthians*. *Antony* at length arriving at *Comagene*, took the command of the army upon himself, and dismissed *Ventidius*, under pretence that he deserved a triumph, and ought to go to *Rome* to ask it of the senate; but really from a motive of jealousy; as he thought his authority eclipsed by the great talents of *Ventidius*, who, upon his arrival at *Rome*, obtained a triumph with general applause, being the only *Roman* who ever triumphed over the *Parthians*.

Orodes murdered by his son *Phraates*. *Orodes*, in the mean time, having in some measure recovered his tranquillity of mind, appointed *Phraates*, the eldest, but the most wicked of his children, as his successor, and assumed him even as his partner upon the throne. *Phraates* no sooner found himself vested with the sovereign authority, than he put to death his brothers by the daughter of *Antiochus Eusebes* king of *Syria*, because they were of a more noble descent than himself. His father highly resenting such inhumanity, he endeavoured to poison him, by giving him some juice of hemlock; but that proving only a medicine against the dropsy, which grief had brought upon the king, he caused him to be stifled in his bed; and soon after put to death all his brothers, to the number of thirty.

Antony resolves to attack the *Parthians*. As he exercised the same cruelty over the nobility, not sparing even his eldest son, lest the *Parthians* should place him on the throne, many of the chief lords of *Parthia* took refuge in *Syria* under the protection of *Antony*, who was persuaded by *Moneses*, one of these refugees, to make war on the *Parthians*. The *Roman* general was also pressed by his officers to revenge the death of *Craffus*; and accordingly made great preparations for invading

invading *Parthia*. To attach *Monæses* to his service, he allowed him the revenues of three cities for his maintenance, and promised to place him on the throne of *Parthia*, on his conquering that country. *Phraates*, in the mean time, dreading the advantage which the enemy might receive from the counsels and authority of *Monæses*, sent an embassy to invite him home, offering such terms as were accepted by the banished *Parthian*. *Antony*, tho' he was greatly exasperated against *Monæses*, dissembled his resentment, that he might not discourage others from revolting; and dismissing him with great civilities, sent ambassadors with him to *Phraates*, to amuse him with offers of peace, in hopes of attacking him unprepared. In this, how- His fa-
ever, he was disappointed; and finding the passes at the *Eu-* tiguig
phrates strongly guarded by the *Parthians*, he directed his march march.
towards *Media*, at the persuasion of *Artabazus* king of *Armenia*, who was at enmity with the *Median* king. *Artabazus*, however, betrayed him, and led his army over rocks and mountains, so that before they had reached the frontiers of *Media*, they had marched upwards of 1000 miles, and the season for acting in the field was almost past *. *Antony*, however, pushed forward 300 miles further with the main body of his army, leaving *Statianus* with 10,000 men to guard the baggage, and 300 waggons loaded with battering rams and other military engines. After his fatiguing marches, *Antony* invested *Praaspa*, or *Phraata*, the capital of *Media*; but without success, for want of battering engines. The *Parthians* and *Medians*, leaving *Antony* engaged in the siege, bent their march against *Statianus*, who was defeated and slain by them, with almost all his troops. *Antony* had endeavoured to relieve *Statianus*; but coming too late, he returned again to the siege. As he was greatly harassed, both by the garrison and the army without, he attempted to draw the *Parthians* to a general engagement, and in fact twice repulsed them; but when he thought he had gained a complete victory, he found that he had killed only 80 of the enemy's men, and taken 30 prisoners. Finding that he made no pro- He is
gress in the siege, and that his provisions were almost all spent, obliged to
he sent an embassy to *Phraates*, offering to agree to a peace, if retreat.
he would return the standards and prisoners taken at *Charrae*.

Phraates, who received the ambassadors sitting on a golden The *Par-*
throne, rejected the offers of *Antony*; but promised to suffer him *thians* har-
to retire unmolested; which promise, however, he did not per- rafs the
form; for during the retreat of the *Romans*, he attacked them *Romans*
eighteen times with all his forces. He also laid several ambus- in their
cades for them; but *Antony* escaped these, by receiving intelli- match.
gence from the *Parthian* camp. *Monæses* forewarned him twice
of his danger, in return for the kindness he received from him
during his banishment. The *Romans*, at the same time, were
so distressed for want of provisions, that many fled over to the

* Dio. Plut. Strabo, l. xi. xvi.

Parthians, who very impolitically murdering them in sight of the rest, prevented others from deserting. Great numbers of *Romans* died daily, and the distress in their camp at length put an end to all discipline; so that the common men began to plunder the rich, and to rifle their general's baggage, and commit many other disorders. *Antony*, being quite dispirited with his misfortunes, desired one of his freedmen to kill him; but a *Mardian* guide, who had been of great service to him, coming at that instant into his tent, prevailed with him to alter his resolution, by assuring him that he was but at a small distance from the *Araxes*. The *Romans* accordingly, in a few days, passed the *Araxes*, when they fell down on the ground and kissed it for joy, as the *Parthians* now no longer pursued them. Tho' *Antony* in this unfortunate expedition lost 20,000 foot and 4000 horse, yet he would not now give respite to his troops, by putting them in winter-quarters in *Armenia*; but from his fondness to join *Cleopatra*, he imprudently continued his march over the snowy mountains, by which he lost 8000 more of his men.

Phraates
reduces
Media.

During this march, a rupture having happened between the *Median* and *Parthian* kings, about the division of the *Roman* booty, and the king of *Media* offering to act as an auxiliary to *Antony*, the *Roman* general resolved upon a second expedition against the *Parthians*, who, he heard, were ready to revolt against their king, on account of his tyranny and cruelty. He accordingly proceeded to *Syria*, to make preparations for the campaign; but *Cleopatra*, by her artifices, prevailed upon him not to command in person, but to return to *Egypt*. A body of *Romans*, however, being sent by him to the assistance of *Artavasdes* the king of *Media*, *Phraates* was defeated by him in a general engagement. The year after, *Antony*, on account of a rupture that happened between him and *Augustus*, was not only obliged to recal the *Romans* from *Media*, but also to detain a body of *Medians*, which had served him in place of his own troops; by which means *Phraates* defeated and took the king of *Media* prisoner, and also reduced all *Media* and *Armenia*.

Civil dis-
ensions in
Parthia.

Phraates, not long after, on account of his oppressions and cruelty, was expelled by his nobility, who conferred the crown upon *Tiridates*, one of their own body; but *Phraates*, the year after, defeating his rival in a pitched battle, recovered the crown. *Tiridates* flying into *Syria*, and soliciting the assistance of *Octavianus*, who had defeated *Antony*, *Phraates* thought proper also to send an embassy to him. *Octavianus* gave fair promises to both parties, but assisted neither. He gave *Tiridates* leave to continue in *Syria*, and to act against his rival when he should be able, accepting from him a son of *Phraates*, whom he had made prisoner, and who was conducted to *Rome*, and there detained as an hostage. Not long after, *Tiridates* again drove out *Phraates*; but he being assisted by the *Scythians*, quickly recovered his kingdom; upon which *Tiridates*, and the leading men of his party, fled to *Rome*. *Phraates*, to counteract his intrigues, immediately sent an embassy thither, and desired of

Augustus

Augustus to send back his son, and to deliver up the rebels. The Roman emperor still kept a kind of neutrality, by settling a pension on *Tiridates*, and sending back the son of *Phraates*, on his promising to restore the captives and standards that had been taken from *Crassus* and *Antony*.

Phraates deferred fulfilling his promise for some time; but his subjects still continuing discontented, and *Augustus* arriving in Syria about three years after, he then thought proper to restore all the captives and ensigns taken from the Romans, to agree to such terms of peace as the emperor thought fit to propose, and to give four of his sons, with their wives and children, as hostages for the performance of them. According to *Strabo* and *Josephus*, he parted with his sons that his discontented subjects might have none of the race of *Arfaces*, of an age fit to govern, to substitute in his room *.

The Roman standards restored by the Parthians.
Bef. Ch.
21.

Phraates kept a fifth son at home, named *Phraatices*, whom, according to the above-mentioned authors, he had by a beautiful Italian woman, named *Thermusa*, and him he designed for his successor. He had banished his other sons, in hopes of securing the quiet possession of the crown; but what he had thus projected proved his ruin; for *Thermusa*, impatient to see her son in possession of the throne, poisoned her husband, and, upon his death, *Phraatices* was declared king. The Parthians, however, soon drove him into banishment, and conferred the crown upon *Orodes*, who was of the royal family of *Arfaces*; but he governing with great cruelty, they killed him, soon after, at a banquet. Upon his death, *Vonones*, one of the sons of *Phraates*, who, at their request, had been sent from Rome; was declared king; but he affecting the Roman dress and manners, they stiled him a Roman slave; and disdaining to obey him, offered their crown to *Artabanus* king of *Media*, who was likewise of the race of *Arfaces*, and willingly accepted of the offer made him. A party, however, still adhering to *Vonones*, he raised an army, and defeated *Artabanus*, who, nevertheless, in a second engagement, gained a complete victory, and obliged *Vonones* to fly into *Armenia*, from whence he in vain solicited the assistance of *Tiberius*. *Vonones* afterwards retired into Syria, and lived for some time at *Antioch* with the splendor of a king; but was at length killed by a Roman soldier, because he had fled from *Pompeiopolis* in *Cilicia*, where he had been, for a short time, detained as a prisoner at large †.

Phraatices declared king.

Orodes II.

Vonones.

Artabanus

Artabanus treating the Parthians with great cruelty, many of the nobles entered into a conspiracy against him, and sent privately to Rome, requesting another son of *Phraates* for their king. As *Artabanus* had lately behaved with great haughtiness towards the Romans, had claimed all the countries that had been possessed by *Cyrus*, and afterwards by *Alexander*, and had seized

* Justin. l. xiii. Liv. 139. Eutrop. l. vii. Oros. l. vi.
in Tiber. Tacit. annal. l. ii.

† Suet.

Tiridates on *Armenia*, which he had conferred on his son *Arsaces*, the emperor *Tiberius* willingly embraced the opportunity of raising disturbances in his kingdom, and sent *Phraates*, the son of the late king of that name, to recover his father's crown. *Phraates* dying before he reached *Parthia*, and the plot being discovered, *Artabanus* put some of the chiefs of the conspirators to death, and watched the conduct of the rest very narrowly. *Tiberius*, in the mean time, set up *Tiridates*, another prince of the royal family of *Parthia*, against *Artabanus*; and, at his desire, the king of *Iberia* and his brother invaded *Armenia*, took *Artaxata* the capital, and procured the murder of *Arsaces* by one of his own servants. *Artabanus*, on the news of the death of *Arsaces*, sent a powerful army into *Armenia*, under the command of his other son *Orodes*, who was besieged in his camp, and obliged to hazard an engagement, in which he was wounded, and his army defeated. The conquerors made themselves masters of all *Armenia*, and soon after totally defeated *Artabanus*, who had marched thither in person, and obliged him to abandon his own dominions, and to take refuge among the *Carmanians* and *Hyr-canians*.

who is
driven
from the
throne.

He is re-
called.

Driven
out a se-
cond time,
and again
restored.

Soon after the flight of *Artabanus*, the Roman governor of Syria entered *Parthia*, and proclaimed *Tiridates*, who was immediately joined by a great many *Parthian* lords, one of whom, *Abdageses*, brought with him all the ensigns of royalty, and quickly acquired great influence with the new king. The great authority of *Abdageses* disgusting many of the nobles, the Roman commander had no sooner returned to Syria, than they revolted from *Tiridates*, and recalled *Artabanus*, who, being assisted by the *Dahæ*, *Sacæ*, and other *Scythian* nations, quickly recovered the quiet possession of the crown, *Tiridates* first retiring into *Mesopotamia*, and afterwards into Syria.

The *Parthian* nobility, not long after, being disgusted with the tyranny of *Artabanus*, forced him again to quit the kingdom; but at the intercession of *Izates* king of the *Adiabeniens*, *Cinnamus*, whom the *Parthians* had declared king, voluntarily resigned, and *Artabanus*, who had taken refuge with *Izates*, was again restored, after he had promised, by a solemn oath, to forgive all those who had taken arms against him. He, from this time, governed with great moderation and equity, and, after a reign of 30 years, died, much regretted by his subjects, leaving behind him seven sons, *Darius*, *Bardanes*, *Gotarzes*, *Orodes*, *Vologeses*, *Pacorus*, and *Tiridates*.

Bardanes. *Bardanes*, who by his father's last will was appointed his successor, most ungratefully made war upon *Izates*, because he would not join him against the *Romans*; and his nobles, resenting his ingratitude, slew him, and raised his brother *Gotarzes* to the throne. This is the account of *Josephus*; but, according to *Tacitus*, *Gotarzes* and *Bardanes* were brothers of *Artabanus*, and *Gotarzes* was his successor; but so hated for his cruelty, that the nobles called *Bardanes* to the throne. All the *Parthian* cities submitted to *Bardanes*, except *Seleucia*, which he was

An. Chr.
44.
Gotarzes.

was obliged to besiege; but before he could reduce the place, A war
Gotarzes arrived, at the head of a numerous army of *Dahans* and between
Hyrceanians, which obliged *Bardanes* to retire to the plains of them.

Bactria. *Gotarzes* marched thither after him; but the two brothers, being informed that the nobility were conspiring against both of them, entered into an accommodation, *Gotarzes* voluntarily resigning the crown to *Bardanes*. *Gotarzes*, not long after, repenting his resignation, and being invited by many of the nobility, marched from *Hyrkania*, at the head of a powerful army; but was intirely defeated, at the river *Charinda*, by his brother, who reduced all the country as far as the *Gindes*, which parts the *Dahans* from the *Arians*. The glory he acquired in this expedition filling him with pride, which rendered him insupportable to his subjects, he was murdered by them at a hunting-match. *Bardanes* murdered.

Upon his death, some of the nobles declared for *Gotarzes*, and others for *Meherdates*, the grandson of *Phraates*, who had been delivered as a hostage to *Augustus*. *Gotarzes*, however, was declared king; but by his cruelties he soon disgusted a great part of his subjects, who privately solicited the emperor *Claudius* to send *Meherdates*, and to support his claim. *Meherdates* soon after arriving in *Syria*, *Caius Cassius*, the governor of that province, conducted him across the *Euphrates*, at the head of an army, when he was joined by *Abgarus* king of *Edeffa*, and many *Parthian* nobles. He was urged by the Roman general, and many of the *Parthian* nobility, to advance with all speed; but *Abgarus*, who was privately in the interest of *Gotarzes*, detained him a long time, on trifling pretences, at *Edeffa*, and at last persuaded him to march over the snowy mountains of *Armenia*. *Gotarzes* marched to oppose him; but declined coming to an engagement, till he had prevailed with *Izates* king of the *Adiabeni-ans*; *Abgarus*, and many others, to abandon him. *Meherdates*, tho' deserted by his allies, risked a battle in despair; but, after a long and obstinate dispute, was defeated and taken prisoner; when *Gotarzes*, to express his contempt for the Romans, caused his ears to be cut off; but granted him his life, to shew his clemency. *Gotarzes* dying not long after, was succeeded by *Vonones*, whose short reign was distinguished by no remarkable transaction. *Gotarzes*. *Meherdates* supported by *Claudius*. He is defeated, and put to death.

Vologeses, the successor of *Vonones*, invaded *Armenia* in the very beginning of his reign; and having driven out *Rhadamistus* the *Iberian*, who had usurped that crown, he conferred it on his own brother *Tiridates*, having before appointed his other brother *Pacorus* king of *Media*. His two brothers having resigned the crown of *Parthia* to him, tho' born of a *Greek* concubine, he thought himself in gratitude bound to procure a crown for each of them. However, he had no sooner left *Armenia*, than *Tiridates* was driven out by the Roman general *Domitius Corbulo*, who conferred that kingdom on *Tigranes*, a *Cappadocian*. *Vologeses*, being resolved to support his claim to *Armenia*, sent a powerful army, under the command of *Monases*, against *Tigranes*; *Vologeses*. An. Chr. 56. Wars between him and the Romans.

Tigranes; and he himself, laying aside an expedition which he intended against the *Hyrceanians*, made preparations for invading *Syria*. *Monæses* having met with greater opposition in *Armenia* than he expected, and the *Roman* general having, with great activity, provided for the defence of *Syria*, *Vologeses* was easily inclined to agree to a suspension of hostilities, and to send ambassadors to *Rome* to renew the antient alliances with the *Romans*. *Nero* received the ambassadors in a very obliging manner; but refused to conclude an alliance with the *Parthians*, unless they renounced all pretensions to *Armenia*; which answer so incensed *Vologeses*, that he quickly drew together his troops, and entering *Armenia*, gained several advantages over the *Romans* in that kingdom. Being, however, averse to a war with the *Romans*, he consented that his brother *Tiridates* should go in person to *Rome*, and receive the crown of *Armenia* as a gift from *Nero*; which he accordingly did.

The alliances between the *Romans* and *Parthians* renewed.

Vologeses, a few years after, hearing that the legions in the east had declared *Vespasian* emperor, offered to assist him with forty thousand *Parthian* horse. *Vespasian* did not accept of these succours; but renewed all the antient treaties with the *Parthians*, and dismissed the ambassadors loaded with presents. *Vologeses*, in the end of his reign, being disengaged from all foreign and domestic wars, applied himself to the building of a city, which he called *Vologesecerta*; but he was prevented by death from finishing his design.

Artabanus III.

He was succeeded by his son *Artabanus* III. who espoused the cause of a pretender to the *Roman* empire against *Vespasian*. That emperor, however, dissembled the affront, as the kingdom of *Parthia*, at this time, was in a very flourishing condition, and the *Roman* provinces were greatly weakened by the irruption of the *Alani*, a *Scythian* nation.

Pacorus II.

Artabanus was succeeded by his son *Pacorus* II. of whom nothing is mentioned, but that he entered into an alliance with the king of the *Daci*, and maintained, during his whole reign, a strict friendship with the *Romans*.

Cosroes.

Cosroes, the brother and successor of *Pacorus*, after driving out *Oxadares*, who had been appointed king of *Armenia* by the emperor *Trajan*, placed his eldest son *Parthamasiris* on the throne of that kingdom. This being an open violation of the treaties subsisting between the two empires, *Trajan* came, with the utmost dispatch, into *Armenia*, reduced the whole province, and took *Parthamasiris* prisoner. He afterwards made an intire conquest of *Mesopotamia*, and formed it into a *Roman* province; on which account the surnames of *Armenicus* and *Parthicus* were given him by the *Roman* senate.

The following spring, he marched from *Syria* with a powerful army, with a view of extending his conquests. As the *Parthians*, under *Cosroes*, guarded the banks of the *Euphrates*, *Trajan* met with great difficulty in passing that river. He was twice or thrice repulsed in attempting to ford it; but at length passed it on a bridge of boats, though not without great loss.

The

The *Romans* having passed the *Euphrates*, made themselves masters of *Arbela* and *Babylon*; and not only reduced all *Chaldæa*, *Media*, *Chal-* and *Assyria*, the two richest provinces of the *Parthian* empire, *Assyria*, and but also the city of *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian* monarchy *. *Cosroes*, in the mean time, marched into *Mesopotamia*, reduced with a design of cutting off all communication between the *Roman* army and *Syria*. As the inhabitants of many of the cities declared for him, and drove out the *Roman* garrisons, *Trajan* sent a detachment of his army thither, under *Maximus* and *Lucius*, to oppose the *Parthians*. *Maximus* having ventured a battle, was defeated and slain by *Cosroes*; but *Lucius* having received some new reinforcements from the main army, gained several advantages over the *Parthians*, and recovered *Nisibis* and *Seleucia*.

who con-

Trajan being sensible that it would be impossible to form his conquests into a province, appointed *Parthaspates*, a crown prince who had shewn a steady attachment to the *Romans*, king of *Parthia*, making his dominions, however, tributary to *Rome*. The *Parthians* continued but a very short time in this state of subjection; for they no sooner heard of the death of *Trajan*, than they drove out *Parthaspates*, and recalled *Cosroes*, who had taken refuge in *Hyrkania*. *Adrian*, the successor of *Trajan*, not thinking it for the advantage of the *Roman* state to extend its conquests beyond the *Euphrates*, made that river the boundary of their empire, withdrew his garrisons from *Mesopotamia*, and, to shew his desire of living on terms of friendship with the *Parthians*, dismissed their prisoners without ransom. *Cosroes* in return, during the remainder of his reign, shewed himself always ready to assist them, as his best friends and allies.

After a long reign, *Cosroes* was succeeded by his eldest son *Vologeses*, in whose reign the *Alani* broke into *Media*, which was then subject to the *Parthians*. *Vologeses*, by rich presents, prevailed upon them to retire, and soon after he invaded *Armenia*; and having put all the *Roman* soldiers in that kingdom to the sword, he entered *Syria*, defeated the *Roman* governor, and advanced to the neighbourhood of *Antioch*. The *Parthians*, not long after, were driven out of *Syria* by the emperor *Verus*, who ordered *Statius Priscus* to invade *Armenia*, and *Cassius*, with *Martius Verus*, to enter the *Parthian* territories. Tho' *Vologeses* had an army of 400,000 men under his command, *Cassius* nevertheless reduced, in the space of four years, all the provinces formerly conquered by *Trajan*, and plundered and burnt the famous cities of *Babylon* and *Ctesiphon*, with the stately palaces of the *Parthian* monarchs. An epidemical sickness, however, prevailing among the *Roman* troops, and destroying great numbers of them, *Cassius* was obliged to abandon his conquests. The emperor *Antoninus*, surnamed the *Philosopher*, coming into

The *Romans* gain great advantages over him.

* Spart. in *Trajan*. Sext. Ruf. in brev. ar.

He agrees *Syria* soon after, *Vologeses*, rather than continue the war with
to hold the *Romans*, offered to hold his territories of the emperor,
his king- who granted him a peace upon these terms, which death pre-
dom of vented him from long enjoying.
the Ro-
mans.

Vologeses III, Upon his death, *Vologeses* III. the son of his brother, was
raised to the throne. As *Vologeses* sided with *Niger*, the compe-
titor of *Severus*, that emperor, in resentment, had no sooner
conquered his rival, than he invaded *Parthia*, and, after a long
and bloody siege, made himself master of *Ctesiphon*. He was
not, however, able to keep his conquests; and had no sooner
retired, than *Vologeses* recovered all the provinces he had re-
duced, except *Mesopotamia*. Upon the departure of the *Romans*,
Artabanus the king's brother revolted; and before *Vologeses* could
put an end to the war, he was cut off by death.

Artabanus IV. *Artabanus*, on his death, immediately took possession of the
throne; and soon after received an embassy from the emperor *Ca-
racalla*, who desired his daughter in marriage, to which he wil-
lingly consented. The emperor declaring that he was coming to
solemnize the nuptials, *Artabanus* went with a large body of his
nobility to meet him; but he no sooner approached the *Romans*,
than they fell upon his retinue, and put them almost all to the
sword. *Artabanus*, who with great difficulty had escaped, im-
mediately raised the most numerous army that had ever been
known in *Parthia*, and entering *Syria*, put all to fire and sword.

An obli- *Caracalla* having been murdered before his arrival, *Macrinus*,
nate en- his successor, marched against the *Parthians*, and a most despe-
gagement rate engagement ensued, which was contended for two days,
between without either side being able to decide the victory. *Macrinus*
the *Par-* finding the *Parthians* resolved to renew the fight, informed them
thians and of the death of *Caracalla*, and proposed an alliance; which was
Romans agreed to by the king, on condition that all the prisoners taken
by *Caracalla* should be restored, and a large sum of money paid
him, to defray the expences of the war.

The *Per-* *Artabanus*, in the desperate engagement with the *Romans* in
sians re- *Syria*, lost the flower of his army; which encouraged the *Per-*
volt, and *sians* to revolt, under the conduct of *Artaxerxes*, a person of
recover the su- mean descent, but of great courage and experience in war.
preme Upon the news of the revolt, *Artabanus* marched, with the
power. whole strength of his kingdom, to suppress it; and coming up
An. Chr. with the *Persians*, a battle ensued, which is said to have been
229. renewed, with the greatest obstinacy, for three days successively,
and to have ended in the total ruin of the *Parthian* army. *Ar-
tabanus* himself was taken, and put to death; and in the conse-
quence of the battle the *Parthians* lost the supreme dominion in
those parts, which was again transferred to the *Persians*, who,
since the revolt of *Arfaces*, had been tributary to those who
had formerly been subject to them. The race of *Arfaces* did not
end with *Artabanus*, but continued to reign in *Armenia* for more
than a century afterwards.

S E C T. VI.

The History of the PERSIANS, from their recovering the empire from the PARTHIANS, to their being subdued by the ARABS.

ARTAXERXES, or *Artaxares*, the restorer of the supreme dominion to the *Persians*, was, according to *Agathias*, a private person of a spurious birth; but according to the oriental historians, was legitimately descended from a royal line, which some time before had fallen into obscurity. Having, from his youth, addicted himself to a military life, he soon distinguished himself by his activity and great abilities; so that the *Persians* were easily persuaded by him to a general revolt. Upon the defeat of the *Parthian* army and the death of *Artabanus*, he assumed the double diadem and the proud title of *king of kings*. *Artaxares.*
An. Ch.
229.

Not contented with restoring the supreme power to the *Persians*, he formed a design of reuniting to their empire all the provinces formerly subject to the *Persian* kings. He accordingly sent to the governors of the *Roman* provinces on his frontiers, ordering them to quit *Syria* and *Asia Minor*; which countries, he said, unquestionably belonged to him as the successor of the great *Cyrus*. *Alexander Severus*, who at this time was emperor of *Rome*, being but a very youth, and averse to war, hoped to awe the *Persian* king by writing to him in a peremptory stile, and threatening him with the resentment of the *Romans* if he should violate the peace*. *Artaxerxes* paid no regard to these letters; but entered the *Roman* territories with a powerful army, which obliged *Alexander*, much against his inclination, to leave *Rome* and march against him. The *Persian* king did not abate of his pretensions upon the approach of the *Roman* emperor; but on the contrary, chose 400 persons of extraordinary stature and great strength, and having furnished them with rich habits and fine horses, sent them as ambassadors or heralds to the *Roman* camp, ordering them to address *Alexander* in the following terms: *The great king Artaxares commands the Romans and their prince to depart out of all Syria and Asia Minor; and to restore to the Persians all the countries on this side the Ægean and Pontic seas, as of right descending to them from their ancestors.* Claims all the provinces of the antient *Persian* empire.

Alexander, tho' a prince of the mildest disposition, was, however, so irritated with the haughty message of these heralds, that he sent them as prisoners to *Phrygia*, where he assigned them farms which they might cultivate for a subsistence. The *Romans*, soon after, reduced all *Mesopotamia*; and according to *Ælius Lampridius*, *Alexander* was extremely successful through-

* Agath. Scholast. hist.

The emperor *Alexander* gains great advantages over the *Persians*. out the whole expedition, gained a victory over the *Persians* in the plains where *Crassus* had been formerly defeated, cut in pieces an army of 120,000 horse, made many prisoners, killed 200 elephants and took 300; on which account he was complimented by the senate with the title of *Conqueror of the Parthians and Persians*. *Herodian*, however, a cotemporary author, has left us a quite contradictory account of this expedition. He says, that *Alexander*, after he had gained a victory over the *Persians*, and driven them with great loss into their own dominions, resolved to penetrate into their country; but imprudently dividing his army into three separate bodies, the *Persians* entirely cut off one of them; which so disheartened the emperor, that he returned to *Antioch*, his conduct being much censured by his troops. *Artaxares*, upon the departure of the *Romans*, soon recovered what he had lost; and after reigning with much reputation, died in peace in the 15th year of his reign.

Sapor. He was succeeded by his son *Sapor*, by the *Persians* called *Schabour*. The *Greek* and *Latin* writers represent this prince as of a haughty, insolent, and cruel disposition; but according to the *Persian* historians, he was generous and magnificent, but a strict lover of justice. We are told, that he countenanced one *Cyriades*, the son of an eminent *Roman* commander of that name, who after robbing his father, had fled into his dominions, from whence he made frequent incursions into the *Roman* territories. His successes encouraged *Sapor* to march in person against the *Romans*; and *Cyriades* being daily joined in the mean time by new troops, at length assumed the title of emperor. The young *Gordian*, who was then emperor, marched into *Syria* to oppose the progress of the *Persians*, and of the usurper *Cyriades*, and soon made himself master of *Charra*, or *Haran*, in *Mesopotamia*. While he was preparing to push his conquests, he was murdered by the treachery of the captain of his guards, named *Philip*, who assumed the title of emperor, and concluded a peace with *Sapor*, to whom he yielded up *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*. Soon after, *Philip*, being informed that the *Roman* senate disapproved of his conduct, reconquered these provinces without regarding his former treaty; and leaving a good body of troops to secure the frontiers, he set out for *Italy*. Upon his departure, *Cyriades* and *Sapor* renewed their incursions; and the former became so powerful, that he was treated in all respects as an emperor. *Valerian*, in the mean time, succeeded to the *Roman* empire; and as *Sapor* continued to harass the eastern provinces, he marched thither to oppose him. Upon his approach, the troops of *Cyriades* put him to death, and declared for the emperor, who proceeded to *Edeffa* to relieve that city, which was then besieged by the *Persians*; but in an engagement that ensued, the *Persians* not only totally defeated him, but took him prisoner.

Takes the emperor *Valerian* prisoner.

Sapor, upon this victory, gained a great superiority in the east; but as he treated the people in an oppressive and tyrannical manner, they took arms, first under the command of *Cal-*

listus,

Ullus, and afterwards under *Odenatus* prince of *Palmyra*, who was so successful as to gain a compleat victory over *Sapor*, and oblige him to retire into his own dominions with the loss of part of his baggage and all his concubines. *Sapor*, in his retreat, is said to have used the bodies of his unfortunate prisoners to fill up the hollow roads that lay in his way. He is said to have treated the emperor *Valerian* with great indignity, to have set His inhu- his foot on his neck when he mounted his horse, and to have manity to caused him, after several years confinement, to be flayed alive, him. *Odenatus* being invested with the title of president over the Ro- man provinces in the east, attacked the *Persians* in their own territories, and twice advanced as far as the city of *Ctesiphon*. After his death, his wife, the celebrated *Zenobia*, successfully opposed the *Persians*; but having assumed the title of empress, she drew upon herself the resentment of the emperor *Aurelian*, who put an end to her dominions, and took her prisoner. *Aurelian*, in this expedition, gained some advantages over *Sapor*, who died soon after in the 31st year of his reign.

Sapor was succeeded by his son *Hormisdas*, who was named *Hormisdas*. *Hormouz* by the *Persian* historians. He was greatly celebrated An. Ch. for his generous disposition; but his reign, which lasted only 273. a year and ten days, was distinguished by no remarkable trans- action.

Varanes, called by the *Persians* *Baharam*, succeeded his father *Varanes I.* *Hormisdas*. He is commended as an excellent prince, who earnestly fought the welfare of his people. After he had reigned three years and three months, he was basely murdered by one of his kinsmen, while he was endeavouring to appease a tumult in his capital.

He was succeeded by his son *Varanes*, or *Baharam II.* who *Varanes II.* was diverted from a design of invading the *Roman* territories, An. Ch. by the news that the emperor *Probus* was advancing into the 277. east. The fame of that emperor's military exploits having reached him, he ordered *Narses*, his general in *Armenia*, to send ambassadors with presents to him, and to treat of peace. *Probus* refused the presents of *Varanes*, and returned the following haughty answer, "That all that the king of *Persia* possessed was his: that he wondered he could send him such trifles, wherefore he had sent them back, knowing well how to have all that he possessed when the *Romans* should desire it." He, however, concluded a peace, which *Varanes* not long after had some intention of violating; but was prevented by domestic seditions raised by his discontented nobles. *Carus*, the successor of *Probus*, invaded *Mesopotamia*, and advanced into the *Persian* territories, even beyond *Ctesiphon*; but being murdered, as is supposed by *Aper* the captain of his guards, the *Roman* army returned to *Europe*, fully persuaded that fate had assigned the city of *Ctesiphon* as the boundary of their empire. Upon their departure,

* Trebel. in vit. Valer. Agath. Schol. hist. l. iv.

Varanes again thought of invading the eastern provinces; but *Dioclesian*, who had slain *Aper*, and was declared emperor, entering *Armenia* at the head of a powerful army, so awed *Varanes*, that he did not attempt any thing against the *Romans*. *Varanes*, according to the oriental historians, governed with such austerity, haughtiness, and cruelty, that he was surnamed by his subjects *the unjust*. Upon a warm and loyal remonstrance from the magi, however, he altered his conduct in the latter part of his reign, which is said to have lasted 17 years.

Varanes
III.

His son and successor *Varanes* III. according to the Greek writers, reigned only four months, but according to the eastern historians, 13 years and four months. None of the transactions of his reign are preserved to us.

Narses.
An. Ch.
292.

He was succeeded by his brother *Narses*, or *Narsi*, a prince of an excellent character and great spirit. The *Roman* empire was at this time so enfeebled by the incursions of the barbarous northern nations, that *Dioclesian* had not only taken a partner on the throne, but had also chosen two *Cæsars*, each of whom had the command of an army to defend the frontiers. *Narses* thought the opportunity favourable for the recovery of the *Persian* territories possessed by the *Romans*, and accordingly invaded *Mesopotamia*, where his army met with considerable

The various
successes
of his arms
against the
Romans.

success. *Dioclesian*, in the mean time, sent an army against him under the command of *Galerius*, one of the *Cæsars*, who was so fortunate as to gain two successful victories over the *Persians*. *Narses*, tho' obliged to retreat, still watched the motions of the enemy, in hopes of surprising them; and at length succeeded, when he gained so complete a victory, that very few of the *Romans* escaped. As *Galerius*, by his forwardness and presumption, had drawn this disgrace upon himself, *Dioclesian*, upon his return, would hardly deign to speak to him. At length, however, by his humble solicitations, he obtained the command of another army, and returning against the *Persians*, imitated the conduct of *Narses*, by joining prudence to fortitude. *Narses*, soon after, was in his turn surprised, and totally defeated; losing not only his baggage, treasure, and papers, but likewise his sisters, his queen, his concubines, and his children. As *Dioclesian* soon after joined the victorious *Romans*, *Narses* found it impossible to make head against his enemies, and was obliged to give up five of his provinces to release his queen and obtain a peace. His sisters, his concubines, and the other prisoners of quality, were led as captives at the emperor's triumph; which so affected *Narses*, that 'tis said he died of grief, after he had reigned, not quite 8 years, according to the *Byzantine* historians, but nine years, according to the eastern writers.

Hormiz-
das II.
An. Ch.
301.

Hormizdas, or *Hormouz*, the son and successor of *Narses*, is commended by the eastern historians as a wise and active prince. He distinguished himself chiefly by his attention to the peaceable arts of government. He repressed the insolence of his nobles, published several laws for the protection of his poorer subjects.

jects, for the encouragement of trade, and built several cities in different parts of his dominions (A). He reigned nine years, and at his death left his queen big with child. The magi declaring she was with child of a boy, the nobility placed the royal crown upon her belly, and swore allegiance to her son, who, at his birth, was named *Sapor*, or *Schabour*.

During the nonage of *Sapor*, *Persia* suffered greatly from the incursions of the *Arabs*; but the king no sooner attained to the age which qualified him for martial exploits, than he raised an army, over-ran great part of *Arabia*, and took the king of *Yemen* prisoner. *Sapor*, in imitation of *Artaxerxes*, formed the design of uniting all the territories of the antient *Persian* kings under his obedience; but not daring openly to oppose the *Roman* power, he encouraged the barbarians on the frontiers of the *Roman* provinces to ravage and harass them: he increased his revenues, by encouraging industry and trade among his subjects, and was careful to restore the discipline of his troops.

Though the eunuch who had the care of his infant years was secretly a christian, and may be supposed to have impressed his mind with favourable sentiments of that religion, he nevertheless professed a zealous attachment to the antient *Persee* religion, and, at the instigation of the magi and the *Jews*, cruelly persecuted the Christians, whom he accused of being the favourers of the emperor *Constantine* *. *Sapor* himself professed to cultivate the friendship of *Constantine*, and with that view sent an embassy to *Constantinople*; but desired his ambassadors to enquire privately into the strength of the *Romans*, and to buy up a quantity of arms. The emperor, tho' informed of the chief design of the ambassadors, received them very graciously, and wrote to the king of *Persia* in favour of the Christians, who were probably, in consequence of this letter, afterwards treated with less severity (B).

* *Soxomen. hist. l. ii. Euseb. in vit. Constant.*

(A) He particularly built the city of *Hormuz*, or *Ormuz*, on the coast of *Caramania*, which quickly became a place of great trade; but as the inhabitants were often pillaged by some of their neighbours, they transplanted themselves to an island in the *Persian* gulph, and there built a city, to which they gave the name of the other, which they had abandoned. This city, in after-ages, was conquered by the *Portuguese*.

(B) According to the oriental writers, *Sapor*, probably on some other occasion, went in person to *Constantinople* in the character of one of his own ambassadors; so desirous was he of being thoroughly acquainted with the state of the *Roman* empire. He was there imprisoned upon suspicion; but procured his liberty by the assistance of a lady of the court, who fled with him to *Media*, where he raised an army, with which he defeated the *Romans*.

Sapor,

Engages
in a war
against the
Romans.

Sapor, however, not many years after, sent a letter, or rather a manifesto, by his ambassadors to *Constantinople*, claiming all the dominions antiently belonging to the *Persian* kings, and affirming that the river *Strymon* was the legal boundary of his empire. *Constantine* returned him an answer full of dignity and resolution, and the following spring began his march to defend the eastern provinces; but dying soon after, *Sapor* took advantage of the disorders which happened in the empire upon his death, and annexed several of the *Roman* provinces to his own dominions. Tho' the *Romans* were frequently worsted in the field, yet they were greatly superior to the *Persians* in the art of defending towns. *Sapor* often attempted to wrest *Nisibis* from them; but his utmost efforts always proved fruitless, and he was several times obliged to raise the siege of it with great loss. The emperor *Constans* conducted his troops in the field with the greatest circumspection; but was nevertheless surprized at *Singara*, in the night, by *Sapor*. The *Persians*, in the beginning of the engagement, gained some advantages; but after the *Romans* had recollected themselves, they were repulsed with loss, *Sapor's* son being left among the slain. Both parties, soon after, left the care of the war to their generals; and *Sapor* turned his arms against the nations on his eastern frontiers, in which expeditions he was much more fortunate than against the *Romans*.

Soon after he sent an embassy to *Constans*, offering to agree to a peace, on condition that *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia* should be delivered up to him, still, however, mentioning his claim to all the territories of the antient *Persians*. The *Roman* emperor refused to hearken to those terms; but sent ambassadors to *Sapor* at *Ctesiphon*, where they had several conferences with the king, without coming to any conclusion.

About this time one *Antoninus*, a *Roman* officer of great rank and credit, having been ill used by the emperor's favourites, fled to *Sapor*, who received him with great joy, and admitted him into his highest confidence. By his advice *Sapor* raised a powerful army to invade the *Roman* territories, as he was informed by him, that the emperor had recalled a general of great capacity, and given the command of his army in the east to an old weak officer, named *Sabinian*. *Sapor*, however, to his great surprize, when he arrived at the *Euphrates*, found the former general again reinstated in his command, and the banks of the river so strongly guarded, that instead of passing the river, he was obliged to undertake the siege of *Amida*. In the neighbourhood of this city he took several strong castles, and in one of them a considerable number of Christian virgins, who had dedicated themselves to the service of God. These he treated not only with humanity, but with great politeness.

He takes
the city of
Amida by
storm. *Sapor* took *Amida* by storm, when he caused the principal officers of the garrison to be hanged, sent the private men into slavery,

slavery, and destroyed the place *. He afterwards took *Singara* in *Mesopotamia*, and ruined it, and making himself also master of *Bezabda*, he left a garrison in that place. Soon after the emperor in person passed the *Euphrates*, and laid siege to *Bezabda*; but the rainy season coming on, he was obliged to abandon the siege, and return to *Syria*, where he wintered.

Sapor, the following spring, drew together his troops, and seemed as if he intended to force his passage over the *Euphrates*; but finding *Constans* in a condition to oppose him, he prudently declined acting offensively, and after putting strong garrisons into his frontier places, retired with the remainder of his forces. *Constans*, perceiving that the war was thus suspended, likewise ordered his frontier places to be strongly garrisoned, and began his march against *Julian*, who had assumed the title of *Augustus*. The emperor dying in his march, *Julian* was raised to be absolute lord of the *Roman* empire. Being a very martial prince, and finding himself at the head of a powerful army, he resolved to break the power of the *Persians*; and in this design he was seconded with great ardour by his troops, by whom he was greatly beloved.

The emperor accordingly entered the *Persian* territories; and *Persia* in- being joined by a *Persian* nobleman, named *Hormisdas*, he re- vaded by gulated his conduct by his advice. After making himself mas- the em- ter of a great number of places, most of which were delivered peror *Ju- up to him by treachery, he laid siege to Ctesiphon, the bulwark lian.* of the *Persian* empire. This place was well fortified, and de- fended by a strong garrison; so that *Julian* soon began to despair of making himself master of it, especially as his troops were also greatly harrassed by a *Persian* army that had come to the relief of the city. He was proposing to remove to the *Tigris*, on which he had a fleet of transports laden with provisions; but another *Persian* nobleman deserting to him, he was by him fa- tally persuaded to advance farther into the country, and to set fire to his fleet. His soldiers having accordingly furnished them- selves with twenty days provisions each, the fleet was set on fire; but while it was yet burning, the emperor was convinced he was betrayed, and ordered the nobleman and his servants to be put to the torture. The nobleman had fled, and his servants confessed, that they were sent to mislead him. *Julian*, never- *Julian is theless, after he had done his utmost to extinguish the flames, slain, and began his march in the road which had been pointed out to him a peace by his enemies. After he had marched three or four days, his concluded.* army began to be harrassed by the *Persians*; and in one of the encounters that happened between the two armies, he himself was slain by an arrow. *Sapor*, upon the news of the death of *Julian*, made offers of peace to *Jovian* his successor, which he readily agreed to, and in four days a treaty was concluded; when, the five provinces in dispute were for ever yielded to the *Persians*,

* Ammian. Marcel. l. xviii. Eutrop. l. x. Zonar. Zosim.

together with the strong fortrefs of *Nisibis*. The *Romans* fulfilled the treaty with great reluctance, tho' the remains of their army, which were hardly a tenth part of their former number, undoubtedly owed their safety to the peace *.

Sapor
makes
conquests
towards
Tartary
and *India*.

Sapor having thus enlarged and secured his western frontiers, marched with his forces towards *Tartary* and *India*, where he made several successful campaigns, and extended the bounds of his empire. Upon the death of *Jovian*, *Sapor* again invaded the *Roman* territories, in direct violation of the treaty subsisting between the two empires, according to the *Latin* writers; particularly *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who had served under *Julian* in the war against the *Persians*. *Sapor* at first met with great success in *Armenia*, having slain *Arsaces*, who then reigned in that country; but before he could reduce the capital, a *Roman* army arrived, under the command of *Arinthius*, and obliged him to abandon part of his conquests. As he was very anxious to enlarge his territories on this side, he about this time transferred his imperial seat to *Ctesiphon*, the old capital of the *Parthian* empire. *Sapor* lived some years after, and died in the beginning of the reign of *Gratian*, in the 70th, or according to some, in the 72d year of his life and reign.

Artaxerxes
II.

An. Chr.
380.

To *Sapor* succeeded *Artaxerxes*, who, according to the *European* historians, maintained the peace with the *Romans*, and governed the *Persian* dominions quietly four years. According to the eastern historians, this *Artaxerxes*, whom they name *Ardshir*, was a relation of the late king, and assumed the government at first only as tutor or protector to the son of *Sapor*, during his minority. He governed *Persia*, according to them, 12 years.

Sapor III.

An. Chr.
385.

Varanes
IV.

Sapor, or *Schabour* III. reigned only five years four months; and being of a pacific disposition, he cultivated a strict friendship with the emperor *Theodosius* the Great.

Varanes IV. or *Baharam*, was the son and successor of *Sapor* III. As he had been governor of the province of *Kerman*, or *Carmania* in his father's life-time, he assumed the title of *Kerman-Shaw*, which the *Greek* writers converted into the surname of *Cermanfa*. He reigned eleven years; during which time he strictly observed the peace with the *Romans*. According to the eastern writers, he was murdered while he was endeavouring to appease some of his mutinous subjects.

Isdigertes.

An. Chr.
401.

Varanes was succeeded by his son *Isdigertes*, or *Isdegerd*, who is represented by the eastern writers as an avaricious, despotic, and cruel prince. But as he kept a very strict hand over the magi, and tolerated the Christian religion in his dominions, we have great reason to suspect that his character has been injured thro' the malice of the magi, especially as the *Latin* writers praise him for his many virtues. They even mention a circumstance which justifies the many encomiums they bestow upon

* *Ammian. Cedren. Gregor. Abulfar. dynast. vii.*

him. The emperor *Arcadius*, with whom he always lived on terms of peace and friendship, had such an opinion of his virtue, that at his death he declared him protector of his son *Theodosius*, and of the *Roman* empire. *Isdigertes* accepted of the charge; and sending one of his eunuchs, named *Antiochus*, a person of great wisdom and experience, to take care of his pupil's education, he declared to the senate of *Constantinople*, that he would use the whole force of the *Persian* monarchy in defence of the *Roman* empire. As the young *Theodosius* grew up, the ties of friendship became stronger between the two empires, and peace subsisted between them during the whole reign of *Isdigertes*, which lasted 21 years.

Varanes, or *Baharam V.* succeeded his father *Isdigertes*. According to the eastern writers, many of the children of *Isdigertes* had died within a month after their birth; on which account, *Varanes*, when an infant, was sent into an *Arabian* province famous for its fine air, where he was educated under the care of an *Arab* prince. As he was absent at his father's death, the *Persians*, who were in general discontented, conferred the crown on a nobleman, named *Kersa*, who was acknowledged by the greatest part of the provinces of the empire. *Varanes* who, by the great care that had been taken of his education, had become a most accomplished prince, marched at the head of an *Arabian* army, to recover the crown of his forefathers. When both armies approached each other, he proposed an expedient to decide the dispute without much bloodshed, and by his advice it was agreed to place the crown of *Persia* on a cushion between two hungry lions, and that the person who would fetch it should wear it. *Kersa* declining the enterprize, *Varanes* attacked and slew both the lions; and taking up the crown, was immediately acknowledged as king by *Kersa*, and the rest of the nobility. *Varanes* had not long enjoyed the throne, when the imprudent zeal of *Abdas* bishop of *Persia* drew a severe persecution upon the Christians in that kingdom. *Abdas*, not thinking it enough to enjoy his own religion in quiet, burnt a fire-temple to the ground; which so incensed the people, that *Varanes*, much against his own inclination, was obliged to put *Abdas* to death, and to punish those who professed Christianity. As many of the persecuted Christians fled into the *Roman* territories, a rupture soon ensued between the two empires. The *Romans*, under the conduct of *Ardaburius*, invaded *Azazene*, a *Persian* province, and defeated a body of their troops under *Narses*; who soon after assembled a powerful army, and invaded *Mesopotamia*, which obliged the *Roman* general to march to the relief of that province.

The *Saracen* captain *Alamundarus*, at the instigation of *Varanes*, broke into *Syria* with a most numerous army, and made a most rapid progress in that country; but his troops plundering, and maltreating the inhabitants in a most licentious manner, they were so exasperated, that great numbers of them joined

Varanes V.
An. Chr.
421.

An instance of
courage.

He persecutes the
Christians.

A war between him
and the
Romans.

joined the *Roman* army; and falling upon the *Saracens* in their march, slew above 100,000 of them, and obliged the rest to retire. The *Romans*, about the same time, laying close siege to *Nisibis*, *Varanes* immediately assembled a most numerous army, in which he had a great many elephants, and marched to the relief of the place in person. The *Romans* hearing of the prodigious army he was conducting against them, raised the siege before his arrival; which gave *Varanes* such an opinion of his superiority, that he left the conduct of the war to his generals, and returned to his capital. The *Romans*, upon his departure, recovered their spirits, and totally defeated the *Persians*. They also repulsed the *Saracens* a second time, and gained several other advantages over the *Persians*; but by the prudence of *Varanes*, who kept his magazines on the frontiers always supplied, and sent continual recruits to his armies, the *Persians* found themselves better able to bear their defeats than the *Romans* to support their victories. The emperor *Theodosius*, fully sensible of this, ordered his general to propose terms of peace. He accordingly sent a messenger to the *Persian* camp; but before *Varanes* granted him an audience, he made an attempt upon the *Roman* camp, in hopes of gaining such an advantage as would intitle him to better terms from the *Romans*. The *Persian* band who undertook the assault being repulsed with great loss, a peace was soon after concluded between the two empires, when *Varanes* promised to put an end to the severities exercised against the Christians. The following circumstance, much to the honour of the Christian clergy, greatly contributed to the re-establishment of peace. When the *Romans*, in the beginning of the war, ravaged the province of *Azazene*, they conducted 7000 *Persian* prisoners to *Amida*, where they were exposed to great want and misery. *Acases*, the bishop of that place, assembling his clergy, and representing to them, that as the Almighty preferred mercy to sacrifice, he certainly would be better pleased with the relief of these miserable objects than with being served in gold and silver vessels in their churches. The clergy, sensible of the justness of his representation, sold all the consecrated vessels, and having maintained the *Persians* during the war, sent the whole 7000 home at the conclusion of the peace; which act of charity so astonished *Varanes*, that he invited the bishop to his capital, and, at his request, conferred many favours upon the Christians.

Persia invaded by the *Turks*, who are driven out with great loss.

Besides these transactions mentioned by the *Latin* writers, the eastern historians relate, that the khacan or sovereign of the *Turks* on the north-east of *Persia*, hearing that the *Persians*, who had been eased of many taxes by *Varanes*, spent their time chiefly in dissipation and merriment, invaded *Persia* with an army of 300,000 men. *Varanes*, not being able to oppose the invaders, abandoned his kingdom at the head of 1000 chosen horse: but passing quite round the *Caspian* sea, he came soon after upon the back of the enemy, and entering their camp in

the night, slew the khacan, and afterwards totally routed his army*. *Narfi*, the brother of *Varanes*, having governed the kingdom with great prudence during the absence of the king, *Varanes* still left the administration to him, and travelled, in the habit of a private person, to the court of an *Indian* prince, where he distinguished himself so much by his bravery, that he was first appointed his general, and afterwards his vizir; the king also giving him his daughter in marriage, with an immense fortune. *Varanes*, not long after, discovered himself to the *Indian* king, and returned to *Persia*, where he was joyfully received by his subjects. Upon his return, he sent his brother *Narfi* with an army into *Romestan*, or the territories of the *Roman* empire; and he himself invaded *Arabia*, where he reduced the kingdom of *Yemen*. After reigning 20 years he died, beloved and honoured by his subjects.

Varanes VI. or, as he is named by some, *Isdigertes*, succeeded his father *Varanes* V. We have no account of any of his transactions in the *Greek* historians. The eastern writers give him the character of a great lawgiver, and of a wise and moderate prince. They also mention that he invaded the *Roman* territories, and behaved with so great moderation, that the *Roman* emperor, fearing lest his subjects should become attached to him, offered to pay the arrears of the tribute, if he would withdraw his troops, which he accordingly did.

Varanes
VI.
An. Chr.
441.

Hormouz, the second son of *Isdigertes*, by his father's desire, succeeded him on the throne; but after he had reigned one year, he was expelled and put to death by his elder brother *Ferouz*, called by the *Greeks* *Peroses*, who had been appointed governor of a distant province bordering on the *Haiathelite*, or *Euthalite* *Huns*, by whose assistance he obtained possession of the throne. During the first six years of his reign, *Persia* was greatly afflicted by a continued drought; but the king and the nobility, to avert the wrath of the Almighty, having done public penance, the scourge was at length removed. Tho' *Peroses* was indebted to the *Huns* for the possession of the crown of *Persia*, yet he ingratfully invaded their country at the head of a numerous army; but having imprudently suffered himself to be cut off from receiving any provisions, he was obliged to sue for peace; which the king of the *Huns* granted him, on his swearing that he would never again invade his territories. *Peroses*, unmindful of his oath, marched a second time against the *Huns*, when he was cut off, with the greatest part of his army, after he had reigned twenty years, according to the *Greek* writers; but 30 years, according to the best of the eastern historians †.

Peroses.
An. Chr.
448.

* Khondemir. D'Herbelot. bibl. orient.
Agath. Procop. de bell. Persic. Cedren. hist.

† Ibidem ibid.

Valens, or The next *Persian* king was *Balach*, or *Valens*, the son of *Far-
bair-fh.* *rouz*, according to the eastern writers; tho' by the *Greeks* he is
An Chr. reckoned his brother. During the reign of *Valens*, who is said
482. to have been an excellent prince, but not of a warlike disposi-
tion, the *Haiathelite Huns* reduced great part of *Persia*, and re-
ceived tribute from the *Persians* two years. *Valens* made war
upon them the two years following, and died in the fourth year
of his reign; but in the fourteenth, according to some eastern
historians.

Cavadus. *Cobad*, or *Cavadus*, the brother, or, as the *Greek* writers say,
An. Chr. the nephew of *Valens*, succeeded him on the throne of *Persia*.
485. He was a warlike prince, of a proud enterprizing disposition,
which in the end rendered him no less formidable to his subjects
than to his enemies. Having, by his bravery and conduct, re-
duced the *Huns*, and obliged them to own him for their sovereign,
He re- he began to oppress his nobles, and to deprive them of many of
duce, the their antient privileges. Being of a very dissolute disposition,
times. he embraced the doctrines of a religious impostor, named *Maz-
dek*, and, in consequence of his advice, published an edict,
declaring all the women in the empire common to all the men.
He is de- The *Persian* nobility, not able to bear his licentiousness, seized
posed. on his person, and solemnly deposing him, cast him into
prison.

Zambades. *Zambades*, by the eastern writers named *Giamasp*, was ap-
An. Chr. pointed regent, or, according to the *Greek* writers, elected king,
497. in the room of *Cavadus*. As he was a person of great wisdom
and integrity, he applied himself, with the utmost industry, to
remedy those evils which had taken birth from his predecessor's
wicked life and bad conduct: but *Cavadus*, in the mean time,
escaping out of prison, the kingdom was again thrown into the
utmost confusion. The person who had the charge of him,
falling in love with his queen, granted her permission to visit
him. As she frequently staid late in the evening, the king in
one of her visits exchanged cloaths with her, and deceiving his
guard by his female dress, was suffered, unsuspected, to leave
the prison. His queen, who feigned herself sick for two or
three days, gave him an opportunity of escaping to the king of
the *Haiathelite Huns*, who entertained him splendidly, gave
An. Chr. him his daughter in marriage, and some time after sent an army
501. with him into *Persia*, by the assistance of which he recovered
the kingdom.

According to the *Greek* writers, he imprisoned *Zambades*, and
deprived him of sight; but according to the eastern historians,
he used him with great respect. As *Cavadus* had promised to
repay the sums expended by the king of the *Haiathelites* in his
rehabilitation, and could not raise the money, he asked a loan of
a considerable sum from the emperor *Anastasius*; but was re-
A war be- fused. Being urged for the money by his father-in-law, to
tween him avoid breaking with him, he committed hostilities against the
and the *Romans*, and made an irruption into *Armenia*, where he raised
a number. large contributions, and after a siege of 80 days, took *Amida* by
storm.

form. Upon the news of this invasion, the emperor sent a powerful army to protect the frontiers; but his generals differing among themselves, and dividing the troops, *Cavadés* gained several advantages over them. In the mean time, however, the northern provinces of his empire were invaded by the *Huns*; which obliged him to return with his whole army into *Persia*. The king soon drove out those barbarians; but while he was thus employed, the *Romans* gained the superiority in *Armenia*, and recovered *Amida*. Some time after, a truce for seven years being concluded between the *Romans* and *Persians*, and hostages being given on both sides for the observance of it, *Cavadés* turned his arms against the *Huns* and *Indians*, and in his expeditions against them met with great success.

As he had nominated his youngest son *Cosroes* for his successor, he was desirous of establishing him in a more glorious situation than any of his predecessors; and entered into a negotiation with the emperor *Justin*, in order to induce him to adopt *Cosroes*. This motion was at first well entertained at *Constantinople*; but the emperor, soon reflecting that it would have fatal consequences for the empire, rejected it. Commissioners, however, met on both sides, to treat of the adoption, and to settle the boundaries of the two empires. *Sesoses*, a nobleman, who had adhered to *Cavadés* when in prison, and who had been created lieutenant-general of the kingdom upon his restoration, was one of the *Persian* deputies, and the other was *Mebodes*, a military officer of great experience. As the conferences broke off without any effect, *Sesoses* was charged by *Mebodes* with having contributed to the miscarriage of the negociation; and being also accused of burying his wife, contrary to the law of *Persia*, he was condemned and put to death; the king lamenting his fate, but suffering him to be cut off, although he was chiefly indebted to him for the recovery of his crown.

Soon after, *Justinian*, who had succeeded *Justin*, ordered *Mindone*, a place close adjoining to *Nisibis*, to be fortified; which was so disagreeable to the *Persians*, that they fell upon the workmen and the troops who guarded them, cut many of them in pieces, and took great numbers of prisoners, who were sent to *Persia*. This occasioning a new war, *Cavadés* sent a powerful army into the field, under the command of *Peroses*; but he was intirely defeated by the *Roman* general *Belisarius*. The *Persians* also were twice defeated in *Armenia*, the *Tzani*, a free and barbarous people, who inhabited that country, embracing the *Roman* party, and seizing on the gold mines in their neighbourhood belonging to *Cavadés*. *Narses* and *Aratius*, two *Persian* generals, also deserted to the *Romans*; *Cavadés*, nevertheless, still prosecuted the war with vigour. He disgraced *Peroses*, and gave the command of a new army to *Azerathas*, who made an irruption into the country bordering on the *Euphrates*, and gained a victory over *Belisarius*, who was constrained, by the impatience of his troops, to risk a battle. As *Belisarius*, however, still hindered the *Persians* from getting possession of

The *Romans* gain considerable advantages over the *Persians*.

any important place, *Azarethas*, upon his return to court, was also disgraced.

Belisarius, soon after, being recalled to oppose the *Vandals*, the *Persians* had better success against the *Romans*; and their army, even in view of the enemy, laid siege to *Martyropolis*, a place of the last importance to the *Roman* empire. *Sittas* the *Roman* general, despairing of being able to raise the siege by force, had recourse to artifice, and sent a person in whom he could confide into the *Persian* camp, who as a friend told the *Persian* general that the *Massagetæ*, whom *Cavades* had hired to fall into the *Roman* territories, had accepted a sum of money from *Justinian*, and were on the point of invading *Persia*. On this intelligence, the *Persians* consented to a truce with the *Romans*, and the *Massagetæ*, soon after, quitted the *Roman* territories. *Cavades*, who was oppressed with years, died soon after, in the 30th year of his reign, reckoning from his restoration, and in the 45th, or, according to some, 43d, from the time of his first receiving the crown. Before his death he put his will, by which he appointed his youngest son *Cosroes* his successor, into the hands of *Mebodes*, his confident and minister, charging him to see it fully executed.

Cavades
leaves the
succession
to his
youngest
son.

Cosroes II.
An. Chr.
531.

Upon the death of *Cavades*, *Caoses*, his eldest son, took upon him the title of king; but *Mebodes* interposed, and insisted that an assembly of the nobles was necessary to recognize his title. An assembly was accordingly called, in which the will of the king was produced and read; and such a regard was paid by the nobility to his memory, that the claim of *Caoses* was set aside, and *Cosroes* declared monarch of *Persia* (A). *Cosroes*, or *Khosrou*, became famous throughout all the east under the name of *Nouschirvan*, or the magnanimous. The *Persian* word, taken literally, signifies a soul candied in honey; and metaphorically, a mind equally distinguished by sweetness of temper and great abilities. *Nouschirvan*, tho' the mildest prince in the world, began his reign with an act of severity. He caused the impostor *Mazdek*, whose licentious doctrines had such a fatal tendency, to be seized and put to death; which struck such a terror into his followers, that they professed to abandon his doctrines; the king having laid them under the alternative of restoring what they had wrongfully taken from others, or of suffering capital punishment as thieves.

(A) *Caoses*, the eldest son, was a great favourer of the *Manichees*, who were held in abhorrence by the *Persians*, and suffered a violent persecution during the reign of *Cavades*, from a suspicion that they had formed a design of raising *Caoses* to the throne during

the life of his father. The apprehension that *Caoses* would attempt a change in the national religion, if ever he should come to the throne, probably prevailed with his father to deprive him of the succession, and influenced the nobility to confirm his father's will.

Cosroes,

Cosroes, in the beginning of his reign, received an embassy from *Justinian*, who was very desirous of concluding a peace with the *Persians*. As *Cosroes* insisted upon receiving a large sum of money from the *Romans*, who, from time to time, had been constrained to pay subsidies to the *Persians*, for many years past, *Rufinus*, who was at the head of the embassy, returned to *Constantinople* for new instructions. During his absence, a report prevailing at the *Persian* court that *Justinian* had put *Rufinus* to death, *Cosroes* immediately marched towards the frontiers at the head of a powerful army; which struck such a terror into the *Romans* in those parts, that many of them deserted their habitations. *Rufinus*, however, arrived before the *Persians* proceeded to hostilities, and a treaty was soon after concluded.

Cosroes, in the second year of his reign, divided all the *Persian* dominions into four vizirships. The first consisted of the frontier provinces towards *Tartary* and *India*; the second included *Parthia*, *Armenia*, and the provinces bordering on the *Caspian* sea; the third comprehended *Persia Proper*, and all the provinces between it and the gulph; and the 4th was composed of *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldæa*, and the countries conquered from the *Arabs* and the *Greek* emperors.

The *Persian* nobles did not relish the patriot designs of *Cosroes*, who they thought acted in too arbitrary a manner, which seemed to lessen their dignity. They accordingly entered into a conspiracy to dethrone him, and to confer the crown on his brother *Zames*, who was elder than he. As *Zames* was blind of an eye, he was by law incapacitated; but to elude the law, they resolved to proclaim his son *Cavades* king, and to vest the regal authority in *Zames*, as his tutor. As *Cosroes* made it a rule to spare no money to procure intelligence, he soon received full information of the conspiracy; upon which he caused all the conspirators to be seized and put to death. The young *Cavades* alone escaped, being in a distant province, under the tuition of the governor *Adergudunbades*, who received orders from court to put him to death. The wife of the governor, who had nursed *Cavades*, prevailed on her husband to spare the young prince. He easily hearkned to her persuasions, and intrusted none with the secret but his eldest son and an old servant. Some years after, when *Cavades* was capable of conducting himself, he received a sum of money from the governor, and retired to *Constantinople*, where he was treated by the emperor *Justinian* with all the respect due to his birth. *Varrahames*, the eldest son of *Adergudunbades*, about the same time, betrayed his father, by disclosing the secret to *Cosroes*, who caused *Adergudunbades* to be put to death, and conferred his government on his son. As the treason of the father, according to the *Persian* maxims, did not prejudice the children, and most of their governments were also hereditary in certain noble families, the children of governors thus became checks upon their

A conspiracy against him.

The conspirators put to death.

their fathers, and sometimes sacrificed their parents to their ambition, or to their zeal for the public welfare.

Cosroes, in the beginning of his reign, cultivated peace with the *Romans*, and by an embassy, congratulated *Justinian* upon the victories of *Belisarius* in *Africa*, claiming also, in a jocular manner, some of the spoils of his enemies, since, as he alleged, if the *Persians* had not continued quiet, the emperor would not have had either forces or leisure to make conquests in *Africa*. *Justinian* not only entertained the *Persian* ambassadors with great kindness, but also sent a considerable sum of money to *Cosroes*. This good correspondence, however, was but of very short continuance; for the *Saracens*, soon after, making incursions into the *Roman* territories, and *Justinian* thereupon complaining to *Cosroes*, who was accused of supporting them, the *Persian* king replied, that he had no right to complain, as he could prove by his own letters that he had endeavoured to excite both the *Saracens* and *Huns* to invade *Persia*. Not long after, *Vitiges* king of the *Goths*, and the *Arfacidæ*, or *Armenian* princes, complaining of the usurpations and oppressions of the *Roman* emperor, *Cosroes* began to make preparations for a war with the *Romans*.

He invaded the
Roman
territories.

Justinian, who was informed of these preparations, wrote to him to divert him from violating the peace; but *Cosroes*, paying no regard to the emperor's letter, the following spring marched with a powerful army thro' *Mesopotamia*, and began hostilities in *Syria* and *Cilicia*. To those who made any opposition he used severity, and those who readily submitted he treated with clemency; but upon all, however, he imposed heavy contributions. He offered to retire from before *Antioch*, if the inhabitants would pay him a large sum of money: but the *Antiochians*, confiding in the strength of their fortifications, which had been newly repaired, and in their numerous garrison, not only refused his demand, but maltreated his messengers; which so irritated him, that he invested the place, and, contrary to the rules of war, stormed the city before the walls were at all battered. In this rash and desperate attempt the *Persians*, though they behaved with the greatest resolution and bravery, were beaten off with great slaughter. In a second attack, the scaling-ladders and machines, by which the *Persians* mounted, were overturned by the *Antiochians*; but their fall over the craggy mountains made such a dreadful noise, that the garrison imagined part of the walls of the city had fallen down, and in that apprehension opened the gates, and abandoned the place, with the utmost precipitation. Those on the walls also apprehending that the *Persians* had gained admittance into the city, quitted their post, and retired to the market-place. *Cosroes* taking advantage of the consternation of the besieged, scaled the walls, and, after a bloody contest in the market-place, inflicted on the *Antiochians* all the severities that could be expected from an incensed enemy. While he continued at *Antioch*, ambassadors arrived from *Justinian*, to expostulate with him on his breach

He takes
Antioch.

breach of the peace, and to treat of an accommodation. *Cosroes*, after he had heard their representations, declared that he had been in a manner compelled to take arms by the nobility of *Persia*, who could no longer see with patience *Justinian* stirring up enemies against them on every side. He, with tears in his eyes and most vehement gestures, gave them a pathetic description of the miseries of war; and concluded with intimating, that a considerable sum of money in hand and an annual tribute would be an effectual means of restoring peace.

The ambassadors demurring a little upon this, *Cosroes* burnt the city of *Antioch* to the ground, and not long after concluded an advantageous peace. The eastern writers mention that he transported the inhabitants of *Antioch* to the province of *Irak*, and gave them the city of *Mahouza* near *Babylon* for their habitation, changing the name of the place to that of *Antioch*. Notwithstanding the peace he had concluded, he still continued hostilities, and raised contributions upon the inhabitants of a great number of cities, which he slighted as soon as he had robbed them of their wealth. Towards the end of the campaign, however, he was obliged to raise the siege of *Dara*, and soon after returned to his own territories. As he had now answered the ends he proposed in the war, he endeavoured to renew the negotiations for a peace, which was now rejected by *Justinian*, who resolved to employ the chief strength of his empire in curbing the *Persians*. *Justinian*, by aiming at an encroachment upon the liberties of the *Lazi*, a free and independent people of *Colchis*, most imprudently gave an advantage to the *Persians*, who transferred the war into that country. Tho' the *Lazi* had for a long time acknowledged the emperors of *Constantinople*, yet it was rather as allies than subjects; for they were neither charged with any taxes, nor obliged to admit any new magistrates, as a conquered people. On the death of any of their princes, the emperor of *Constantinople* named his successor. *Justinian*, however, aimed at extending his prerogatives over them; and with that view recommended it to one *Tzibus*, whom he named a prince of the *Lazi*, to build and fortify a city on the coast of the *Euxine* sea. The *Lazians* joyfully assisted in building the city; but when they saw that *Tzibus* received into it a *Roman* garrison, they instantly took the alarm, and implored the protection of *Cosroes*. The *Persian* king willingly laid hold of this opportunity of extending his frontier; and raising a great army, with a pretence of opposing the *Huns*, who threatened to invade his territories, he marched towards *Iberia*; but suddenly changing his route, he cut his way thro' a forest, till then impenetrable, and entering *Colchis*, was joined by the *Lazi*, under one of their princes named *Gubazes*. The conjoined army drove *Tzibus* and the *Roman* garrison from *Petra*, and made themselves masters of that strong city.

Belisarius, in the mean time, laid siege to *Nisibis*; but the garrison making a vigorous resistance, he withdrew from thence, and made an incursion into *Persia*; upon which *Cosroes* left

The war transferred to *Colchis*.

The *Romans* driven out of *Colchis* by the *Persians*.

Colchis, and returned to his own dominions, where he made great preparations during the winter. The following spring he marched with an army into the *Roman* territories; but by the diligence and activity of *Belisarius*, who came post from another part of the empire, his progress was stopped; upon which, he had recourse to negotiation. The conferences, however, had no effect, and hostilities continued during the whole campaign; in the end of which the *Persians* gained a considerable advantage, near *Anglon*, over the *Roman* army, commanded by *Narses*.

Cosroes repulsed before *Edeffa*.

The year following, *Cosroes* made his fourth expedition into the *Roman* territories, with a professed view, according to *Procopius*, of expressing his contempt for our Saviour. This author, and several of the ecclesiastical writers, relate, that there was a tradition among the inhabitants of *Edeffa*, that Christ had promised to *Abgarus* their king, that their city should never be taken. *Cosroes*, with a view to falsify this alleged prophecy, now marched against *Edeffa* with a most formidable army. He prosecuted the siege with the utmost vigour; but the inhabitants defended themselves with so much resolution and bravery, that he was at length constrained to raise the siege, after he had lost a great number of men. He had placed his chief hopes in an artificial mount, which he attempted to raise as high as their walls; but the inhabitants, having dug a mine under the foundation of the mount, found means to destroy it by fire. They themselves, however, attributed their deliverance to a miracle; the fire, as they relate, not kindling till they had brought the miraculous print of our Saviour's face, which he had sent to *Abgarus*, into the mine, and poured water upon it. *Cosroes*, after his unsuccessful campaign, retiring into his own dominions, was followed thither by the *Roman* ambassadors, who were prevailed upon to agree to an insidious treaty, more destructive to their master than an open war.

The *Lazi* in *Colchis* revolt from the *Persians*.

Not long after the conclusion of this peace, *Cosroes* formed a design of transporting the *Lazi* into *Persia*, and settling a colony of *Persians* in *Colchis*. The *Lazi*, although they had thrown off their dependance upon the emperor, still kept up a connection with the *Romans*, who lay conveniently for supplying them by sea with corn, wine, salt, and other commodities. Being also zealous Christians, they endeavoured to convert the *Persians* who dwelt among them; so that *Cosroes* despaired of their being firmly attached to him in their present situation. To facilitate the design he had formed, he resolved to build a navy at *Petra*, and accordingly sent thither great quantities of timber, under pretence of repairing the fortifications. *Gubazes* king of *Lazi*, suspecting the designs of *Cosroes*, solicited the protection of the emperor; and a *Roman* army soon after arriving at *Colchis*, under the command of *Dagistheus*, the *Persians* were obliged to shut themselves up in *Petra*. The city was invested on one side by the *Lazi* under *Gubazes*, and on the other by the *Romans*, to whom the guard of a pass was intrusted, thro' which alone the besieged

besieged could receive any succours. The *Roman* general being a young man of little capacity and experience, suffered a *Persian* army, under *Mermeroes*, to get possession of the pass, and to relieve the city, when it was reduced to the greatest extremity, 900 men only remaining of 5000, and of these 350 disabled. *Mermeroes* having left a fresh garrison in the place, and repaired the breaches, prevailed with the *Lazi* to agree to a short truce, and withdrew towards *Iberia*. Tho' he had many disadvantages to struggle with, yet by his great abilities and skill in the art of war, he maintained a superiority in the field, and gained several advantages over the *Romans*. He died full of years and glory; but his successor, by his bad conduct, suffered the *Romans*, in a great measure, to re-establish their authority in that country; for which, on his return to *Persia*, *Cosroes* ordered him to be flayed alive. *Cosroes*, perceiving that his affairs were in a declining condition in *Colchis*, prevailed on *Justinian* to agree to a peace; the articles of which, together with the principal arguments used on both sides in the negotiations, our readers will find in *Mcander's* fourth book of the history of embassies. By this treaty each party was to keep what he was in possession of at the time of its conclusion. Thus the *Lazi*, by calling in their too powerful neighbours, were deprived of their liberties.

A peace concluded between the *Persians* and *Romans*.

This peace continued during the remainder of the reign of *Justinian*; but soon after the accession of the emperor *Justin*, a new war broke out between the two empires, which was owing to the ambition of the emperor. He encouraged the inhabitants of *Greater Armenia*, who were almost all Christians, to revolt from the *Persians*, and to declare themselves allies and dependants of the *Romans*. When *Cosroes* remonstrated against the infraction of the peace, *Justin* refused to give him any satisfaction; and being bent upon renewing the war, ordered his general *Marcian* to invade the *Persian* territories, and besiege *Nisibis*. As the *Roman* army was neither numerous, nor well provided with necessaries for a campaign, the *Persian* governor disdained to shut the gates against them; and *Cosroes* soon arriving to the relief of the place, they broke up the pretended siege, and retired in disorder, being dissatisfied with the emperor's measures, and his suddenly changing their commander, without any reason assigned. *Cosroes* having driven the enemy from *Nisibis*, took and sacked all the great cities, and gave the plunder to his soldiers. He also besieged and reduced *Dara*; and as it was a very strong fortress, and had always been a curb upon his subjects, he left in it a very numerous garrison. He treated all the *Roman* provinces which he over-run with great severity; alleging the emperor's breach of faith for a justification of his proceeding. While he was meditating new exploits, he received letters from the empress *Sophia*, her husband *Justin* being disordered in his senses. The empress pathetically described the miseries of the *Roman* empire, and intreated *Cosroes* to remember the kindness of former emperors, and the little glory that would

Cosroes
agrees to
a truce.

would result to him from conquests made from an *headless nation*, and an *helpless woman*. *Cosroes*, upon reading the letters, immediately withdrew his troops, and consented to a truce for three years, *Armenia*, however, being excluded.

He renews
the war.

During the truce, *Tiberius*, who succeeded to the empire, applied himself with the utmost diligence to recruit the armies on the frontiers, and to restore the exertive strength of the empire. *Cosroes*, not suspecting any change in the administration of the affairs of the empire, rejected the proposals of *Tiberius* of turning the truce into a lasting peace, and even treated his ambassadors in a contemptuous manner. The emperor, at the same time that he sent ambassadors to *Persia*, appointed *Justinian* general of all the forces in the east, and ordered him to form an army as soon as possible. *Cosroes* hearing that the *Romans* had taken the field, marched against them with the utmost expedition; but when he drew near them, and saw their cavalry extremely numerous, disposed in excellent order, and the soldiers eager to engage, he expressed his great

He is de-
feated in a
general
engage-
ment.

disappointment by fetching a deep sigh. The *Persians* were attacked by the *Romans* with great vigour, and, after a sharp and bloody engagement, were totally defeated, the royal treasure and the sacred fire being both taken before the king's eyes. The day after the battle, *Cosroes* being informed that the *Romans* were encamped in two separate bodies, attacked and routed one of them at midnight; and afterwards setting a village on fire that was in the rear of their camp, began his march for the *Euphrates*. The *Roman* army under *Justinian*, however, followed him so closely, that he was himself forced to pass the river on an elephant, and many of those about him were drowned. The *Romans* passing the river after him, and wintering in the *Persian* provinces, he was so affected therewith, that he broke his heart, and died the following spring, after he had reigned 48 years. During the winter, however, he had begun a negotiation with the *Romans*, and before his death saw a treaty of peace concluded.

He drives
the *Huns*
out of
Persia.

The eastern writers mention several other transactions of this prince, about which the *Latin* historians are wholly silent. They tell us, that *Nouschirvan* intirely drove out the *Haiathe-lite Huns*, who had encroached upon several provinces; and that he enlarged his frontiers towards *India*. While he was on his *Indian* expedition, the khacan of the *Turks* invaded *Persia* with a most numerous army; but was obliged to retire with great loss by *Hermouz* the king's son. *Nouschirvan* afterwards invaded *Turkestan*, and forced the khacan to accept of peace on the terms he was pleased to prescribe; after which he married his daughter. Upon the conclusion of this peace, which happened in the 12th year of his reign, he settled the boundaries of his vast dominions, which extended on the west to the *Mediterranean*, on the east to the river *Indus*, on the north to the *Taxartes*, and on the south to *Arabia*, and the borders of *Egypt*.

The

Tho' *Nouschirvan* had rendered himself formidable to all his His son neighbours, he did not, however, enjoy tranquillity at home; rebels for one of his sons, named *Nouschizad*, whom he had by a against Christian captive, and who had suffered some restraint, because him. he himself was a Christian, revolted, and was joined by many of the Christians in *Persia*, and several of the nobles. The rebellion, however, was but of short continuance; for *Nouschizad* having ventured an engagement, was defeated and slain. *Nouschirvan*, upon the suppression of the rebellion, marched into *Arabia*, where he freed the people from the oppression of a great number of petty tyrants. Upon his return to *Madain*, or *Ctesiphon*, his capital, he began to adorn it with a multitude of new and sumptuous buildings, particularly with a palace, that was accounted one of the wonders of the east. In his last war with the *Roman* emperor, he met with bad success, which we have already related; and finding his end drawing near, as he was then 80 years of age, he delivered to his son *Harmouz* most wholesome instructions for the government of his people, and for his private conduct; after which he expired. His memory was, for a long time, held in the greatest veneration in the east. He was the most learned man of his age, the most beneficent patron of those who cultivated the sciences, was most skilful, even in the mechanic arts, and the most polite man of his court.

He adorns his capital.

Hormouz, or *Hormisdas*, the successor of *Nouschirvan*, was a *Hormisdas* prince of a very despicable character. He was hasty in his temper, haughty in his behaviour, and cruel in his disposition. The eastern writers, however, commend his conduct during the three first years of his reign, while he followed the counsels of his tutor, who had been prime minister to *Nouschirvan*, and was privately a Christian. The *Latin* writers, particularly *Theophylact* and *Evagrius*, give *Hormisdas* the character of a cruel, weak, and tyrannical prince. He never notified his accession to the emperor *Tiberius*; and he treated the *Roman* ambassadors, who came to compliment him, and to renew the peace, with great disdain, and insisted upon a sum of money being paid to him, by way of tribute; which was the occasion of the renewing the war between the two empires. The hostilities, during the two first campaigns, were not of any great consequence; but the *Romans* generally had the advantage, and carried the seat of the war into the *Persian* territories. In the third campaign, the *Persians* gained several advantages, owing to the want of discipline among the *Roman* troops, and their frequent change of generals.

III.
An. Chr.
579.

His imprudent conduct.

As the *Persians* were at this time engaged in a war with the *Turks*, which was conducted with great success by their general *Varamus*, or *Baharam*, he was ordered to pass the *Araxes*, and invade the *Roman* territories on that side. *Varamus* quickly made a great progress in the *Roman* province; but venturing an engagement with the enemy, he was defeated with great loss. Tho' *Varamus*, some time before, had defeated the *Turks*, killed

killed the khacan, and drove them out of *Persia*, which they had invaded with an army of 300,000 men, yet the king, forgetting his former services, now treated him with the greatest indignity, by sending him the compleat apparel of a woman, and threatening his troops with decimation. *Varamus*, in resentment of the treatment he had received, formed a resolution of dethroning the king; and haranguing the troops in his female dress, he easily prevailed with them to declare in his favour.

Varamus
revolts.

They were encouraged to revolt, by the mal-administration of *Hormisdas*, who, from his cruel and suspicious temper, put great numbers of his subjects to death; and removing the judges that were appointed by his father in every village thro' his dominions, to the number of 30,000, would be sole judge of his people himself. His wild conduct not only filled his subjects with disaffection, but encouraged the frontier provinces towards *India* and *Arabia* to throw off the *Perian* yoke, and to set up princes of their own. The distracted state of affairs so irritated the *Persians* against *Hormisdas*, that the revolt of *Varamus* was quickly followed by several other insurrections, the people plundering the palaces in the royal cities, and setting at liberty many of the nobles, who had been imprisoned by the king. One of these nobles, named *Bindoes*, being acknowledged as general by the royal army, marched to *Ctesiphon*, entered the palace, and after insulting the king, thrust him into prison. The *Persian* lords soon after assembling, *Hormouz*, who was conducted into their presence, endeavoured to justify his conduct, dissuaded them from naming his eldest son *Cosroes* as his successor, who was of a haughty and cruel disposition; but recommended to them his other son, who was of a mild temper, and inclined to think right and do well. The assembly paid no regard to his speech; but caused the youngest prince, with his mother, to be murdered, and cut to pieces; ordered the eyes of *Hormisdas* to be put out, and declared *Cosroes* king.

Hormisdas
deposed,

The eastern writers differ considerably from the *Latins* in their accounts of this revolution. They relate, that *Varamus* first declared *Cosroes* king, who accordingly retired from court; and that during his absence his two uncles caused his father's eyes to be put out. Upon his return, he visited his father, and obtained his pardon for what he had acted against him, on condition he punished those who deposed him and put out his eyes; which he promised to do. *Varamus*, suspecting that he himself would not be pardoned, marched against *Cosroes*, whom he defeated before *Nisibis*, and forced to fly into the territories of the *Greek* emperor. When he was preparing for his flight, his uncles, from an apprehension that *Varamus* would reinstate the late king, caused him to be strangled, in the 15th year of his reign, but, according to the *Latin* writers, in the 21st.

and slain.

Varamus
assumes
the royal
authority.

Upon the death of *Hormisdas*, and flight of *Cosroes*, *Varamus* assumed the regal authority, tho' without the title. He was descended of the antient princes of *Rei*, and had raised himself,

self, by his long services and great merit, to the rank of general. When he revolted from *Hormisdas*, he formed the design of transferring the empire to his own family; but made use of the name of *Cosroes* till his scheme was ripe for execution. As he affected to govern with great lenity, the nobility and people remained for some time attached to him: but at length hearing that *Cosroes* was powerfully supported by the *Greek* emperor, great numbers declared for the absent prince. *Varamus* endeavoured to maintain the possession of the throne by force, and for some time made head against the *Roman* troops; but his army at length being intirely defeated, he retired to the khacan, by whom he was well received, as he rendered great services to him by his military skill. But after having been put off for many years with fair promises, he was at length poisoned, at the solicitation of *Cosroes*, who could never be easy so long as he lived. He is put to death.

Cosroes, upon his being restored by the troops of the emperor *Mauritius*, expressed his gratitude to him in a letter, which is still extant in the history written by *Theophylact*. He also sent to the church of *Sergius* the martyr a golden cross set with jewels, which he had vowed; returning likewise another, formerly carried off by *Cosroes* the son of *Carades*. While *Cosroes* was in exile, he fell in love with a *Roman* lady, whom he married, and honoured with the title of queen, tho' contrary to the *Persian* laws. For her sake, he at first shewed so great favour to the Christians, that many were of opinion that he himself was inclined to that religion; but a few years after he manifested an implacable hatred against them. *Cosroes* III. An. Chr. 593.

From the moment he had recovered the peaceable possession of the throne, he laid aside the foreign customs, which he had used to ingratiate himself with the *Romans*; and put on the state and behaviour of a *Persian* prince. All those who had any concern in the administration of *Varamus*, or had any share in the favour of that usurper, were prosecuted by him with the utmost rigour. Having thereby extinguished that faction, he restored the antient *Persian* constitution, and soon aggrandized himself so as to become formidable to his neighbours. He soon forgot the obligations he owed to *Mauritius*, and threatened to invade the *Roman* provinces, on a pretence that the *Roman* governors in the east excited the *Saracens* to make excursions into his dominions. *Mauritius*, to divert the storm which he would not be able to repel, sent ambassadors to justify his conduct to *Cosroes*. These the king treated with the greatest disrespect, denying them an audience for a long time; but at length, upon a warm representation from the chief of the embassy, he acknowledged his obligations to the emperor, and dropped his resentment *.

* Theophan. Chronog. Cedren. Zonar.

Invades *Mauritius*, not long after, being murdered by *Phocas*, *Cosroes* the *Roman* resolved to invade the *Roman* territories, under pretence of revenging the death of his benefactor. *Phocas* endeavoured to appease him, by large presents and larger promises; but he threw the *Roman* ambassador into prison, and soon after marched into the *Roman* provinces, where at first he met with some opposition; but the emperor's troops being badly supported, and their general being slain, the *Persians* soon became superior, and laid all the frontiers under contribution. In the seventeenth year of his reign, he reduced several fortresses; and the year following, he recovered the strong city of *Dara*, and plundered all *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*. The next campaign, he passed the *Euphrates*, and ravaged, in a most barbarous manner, *Syria*, *Palestine*, and part of *Phœnicia*.

The year after, his troops, under *Cardareganus*, wasted *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, defeated the *Roman* army with great slaughter, and afterwards ravaged *Galatia*, *Paphlagonia*, and all the country as far as *Chalcedon*, burning cities, and massacring the inhabitants, without any respect to sex or age. *Cosroes*, two years after, took *Apamea* and *Edeffa*, and blocked up *Antioch*; upon which the *Romans* venturing an engagement, their army was totally defeated, and almost all put to the sword. Next year he took *Cæsarea*, and carried many thousands of people into captivity. *Syria* was ravaged in the two next campaigns, in the latter of which he made himself master of *Damascus*, whither *Heraclius*, who had succeeded to the empire, sent ambassadors to sue for peace; but *Cosroes* did not even condescend to return them an answer. The year following he took and plundered the city of *Jerusalem*, carried away the cross on which Christ suffered, and the patriarch *Zacharias*, into *Persia*. In this campaign he sold 90,000 Christians for slaves to the *Jews* in his dominions, who put them all to death. In the sacking of *Jerusalem* he was assisted by the *Jews*, who made high professions of loyalty to him, that under his protection they might exhaust the Christians with usury.

The rapid conquests of *Cosroes* served only to inflame his ambition; and the year following, which was the 27th of his reign, he made an expedition into *Egypt*; and having divided his forces, with one part of his army he took *Alexandria*, and subdued all the country towards *Lybia*; while the other reduced *Upper Egypt*, and advanced to the very frontiers of *Ethiopia*. The year after he again entered *Asia*, and marched with his army within sight of *Constantinople*, making himself master of *Chalcedon*, which stands opposite to it. He employed the remaining part of that year, and all the next, in regulating the government of the conquered provinces. *Heraclius* the emperor, who found himself incapable of making any resistance, again solicited a peace; but his ambassadors received the following contemptuous answer from *Cosroes*, who seems to have aimed at the utter extinction

tion of the *Roman* name. “Let your master know (said he) His info-
 “that I will hearken to no terms, till he has, with all his sub-^{lent an-}
 “jects, renounced his crucified God, and adored the sun, the ^{swer to the}
 “great god of the *Persians*.” This impious and insulting an- ^{Roman}
 swer roused *Heraclius* as it were from a lethargy. He concluded ambassa-
 a peace with the other barbarians; and by that means having dors.
 leisure to direct his whole strength against *Cosroes*, he defeated him
 in several pitched battles, and recovered all the provinces he had
 seized, as will be more fully related in the history of the *Constanti-*
nopolitan empire. *Cosroes*, soon after this reverse of fortune, find-
 ing himself loaded with the infirmities of age, declared his
 younger son *Merdasas* his successor; which so provoked *Siroes*
 the eldest, that he openly revolted; and being joined by many
 malcontents and the *Roman* captives, whom he set at liberty, he
 seized on his father, loaded him with chains, and threw him
 into a dungeon, where he caused him and his brother *Merdasas*
 to be inhumanly murdered.

As *Cosroes* carried his conquests farther than any of his pre- His mag-
 decessors from the days of *Artaxerxes*, he seems also, by the ac- nificence.
 counts of the eastern writers, to have exceeded them in magni-
 ficence and rapacity. He adorned the palace of his grandfather
 at *Madain* in a most wonderful manner, by disposing the upper
 part thereof in the form of a throne, which was supported by
 40,000 silver columns. The concave over them was adorned
 by 1000 globes of gold, wherein all the planets and great con-
 stellations were seen to perform their natural revolutions. The
 walls were all covered with tapestry, wrought with gold flowers,
 and enriched with pearls and other precious stones. The vaults
 underneath the palace were filled with treasure. He had 3000
 women who were free, and 12,000 slaves, the most beauti-
 ful that could be found throughout his dominions. In his sta-
 bles he had 6000 horses and mules for his own riding; 12,000
 large mules, and 8000 of the ordinary kind served to carry his
 baggage. He had also 960 elephants, which he made use of in his
 armies. He was an outrageous persecutor of the Christians;
 but did not even spare his other subjects, who were at length so
 exasperated by his cruelty, that they seized him, and loading
 him with chains of gold, thrust him into one of the vaults where
 he had laid up his treasure.

Siroes, called by the eastern writers *Khobad Schirouieh*, not *Siroes*.
 only caused his father to be put to death, but also murdered se- An. Chr.
 venteen of his brothers. The eighteenth, named *Scheheriar*, 620.
 had the good fortune to escape. He also concluded a perpetual
 peace with *Heraclius*, set at liberty all the *Roman* captives, and
 among the rest *Zacharias* patriarch of *Jerusalem*, restored 300
 ensigns, also the wood which was supposed to have been part of
 the cross on which our Saviour died. He died, or, according *Ardeser*.
 to some writers, was murdered, in the first year of his reign.
Ardeser, or *Ardschir*, his son, a boy of seven years of age, was
 declared his successor; but he was murdered in the second year
 of his reign, by the orders of *Sarbas*, or *Scheheriar*, the general
 of

of the army. According to some writers, the young prince reigned only seven months; but, according to *Mirkond*, only 50 days. *Sarbas*, presuming on the affection of his troops, placed himself on the throne; but he was soon opposed by *Barabanes*, a prince of the royal blood. *Barabanes* dying, the *Persians* murdered *Sarbas*, and raised *Isdigertes*, or, as some writers call him, *Hormisdas*, to the royal dignity.

Isdigertes,
or *Hormis-*
das.

The eastern writers, however, say, that *Isdigertes*, or *Jezdegerd*, who was the last of the *Persian* kings, and the son of that brother of *Siroes* who had saved his life when his other brothers were murdered, was not the immediate successor of *Sarbas*. According to them, upon the death of *Sarbas*, *Touran-Docht*, the sister of *Siroes*, was declared queen, who governed with great firmness and wisdom, and protected the poor against the influence of the nobility. She died, after a short reign; and the nobility, in hopes of governing as they pleased, declared *Giban Schedah* king, who was of the royal blood, but a man of very weak parts. He was deposed a few days after, and *Azurmi Docht*, the other sister of *Siroes*, was declared queen. This princess gave the people the strongest hopes of a mild and happy reign; but was soon seized and put to death by the son of a governor of one of the provinces, whose father she had refused to accept of for her husband. Upon her death, a grandson of *Cosroes*, named *Ferokhzad*, who had escaped the general slaughter of the royal family intended by *Siroes*, was made king. Before this prince had reigned a month, he was poisoned by one of his slaves; and his successor was *Jezdegerd* III. the son of *Scheriar*, and grandson of *Cosroes*.

He is
driven
from the
throne by
the *Sarac-*
ens.

Jezdegerd, or *Isdigertes*, ascended the throne in the 16th year of his age, and had nothing but misfortunes to struggle with during his whole reign, which lasted 20 years. He had hardly quelled the domestic factions, and restored tranquillity, when *Persia* was invaded by the *Saracens*, under the conduct of the successors of *Mohammed*. The invaders were for some time opposed by the *Persian* general *Ferokhzad*; but at length having gained a compleat victory, after an obstinate engagement, which is said to have lasted three days and three nights, they took possession of the capital city, and made an intire conquest of the greatest part of the *Persian* dominions. *Jezdegerd* was driven from his capital in the third year of his reign, and from that time was gradually stript by the conquerors of all his dominions, except the provinces of *Kerman* and *Sigestan*, which he held as long as he lived. In the last year of his reign, the provinces that remained to him were invaded by the *Turks*, who were basely called in by one of his governors. *Jezdegerd* hazarded an engagement with the rebels and invaders; but was defeated, and slain in his flight, while the waterman who had undertaken to carry him over the river *Oxus* was disputing about his fare. After the death of *Jezdegerd*, the *Arabs* maintained themselves in possession of *Persia*, almost all the *Persians* embracing the *Mohammedan* religion, and quietly submitting to the conquerors.

His death.
An. Chr.
652.

Jezdegerd

Jezdegerd left behind him a son and a daughter. His daughter, named *Dara*, married *Bostenay*, the head of the captivity, as the *Jews* call him; that is, the prince of the *Jews* settled in *Chaldæa*. His son *Ferouz* still preserved a little principality, and left an only daughter, who married the son of the caliph *Abdalmalek*, to whom she bore a son, named *Jezid*. This *Jezid* became caliph or sovereign of *Persia*; and was so far from thinking himself above claiming the title derived to him from his mother, that he constantly stiled himself the son of *Khosrou*, or *Cosroes*, king of *Persia* *.

* Theophan. Chronogr. Cedren. Zonar. Gregor. Abulfar. D'Herbelot. bibl. orient. Lebtakikh.



B O O K VII.

The GRECIAN History.



C H A P. I.

The History of the antient kingdoms of GREECE, in the fabulous and heroic times.

The extent and bounds of Greece.

GREECE properly so called was bounded on the north by the mountain *Hæmus* and the river *Strymon*, the former dividing it from *Illyricum* and *Mæsia*, and the latter from *Thrace*; and extended southwards to the promontory of *Tenarus*, the most southern point of the *Peloponnese*, about six degrees and a half. On the east it had the *Ægean* sea; and on the west the *Ionian*; and extended from east to west about 300 miles. It was divided into the five following countries; the *Peloponnese*, *Greece* properly so called, *Epire*, *Thessaly*, and *Macedonia*. The *Peloponnese* contained the kingdoms of *Sicyon*, *Argos*, *Messenia*, *Corinth*, *Achaia Proper*, *Arcadia*, and *Laconia*. In *Grecia Proper* were the kingdoms of *Attica*, *Megara*, *Beotia*, *Locris*, *Epichnemidia*, *Doris*, *Phocis*, *Locris*, *Ozolæa*, and *Ætolia*. In *Epirus* were the *Molossi*, *Amphilochi*, *Cassiopæi*, *Dræopes*, *Ghaones*, *Thresyetii*, *Almeri*, and *Acarmania*. *Thessaly* contained the countries of *Thessaliotis*, *Estotis*, *Pelasgiotis*, *Magnesia*, and *Phthia*: and *Macedonia*, according to *Pliny* (if no error has crept into his text) contained no less than 150 different nations*. All these have, at one time or other, been severally governed by kings of their own, some of whose names we find only occasionally mentioned in the history of the more considerable kingdoms among them.

The various names of the Grecians.

The general names by which all these various inhabitants were known, and are mentioned by old historians and geographers, were those of *Graioi* and *Graicoi*, derived from *Græcus* the

* Ptol. Herod. Diod Sic. Mela. Cluver. &c.

father, or, according to others, the son of *Thessalus* *. These names were quickly changed for those of *Achæi* and *Hellenes*, by which they are generally called in antient authors. The first is derived from *Achæus*, the grandson of *Hellen* the son of *Jupiter*, according to the fable †. The other from *Hellen*, by some reckoned the son of *Deucalion*; tho' some, with great probability, think the names *Hellas* and *Hellenes* derived from *Elisba* the eldest son of *Javan*, or *Ion*, the father of all the *Greeks*. *Thucydides* observes, that the name *Hellenes* did not universally obtain over *Greece*, since *Homer* appropriates it to those only who followed *Achilles* from *Phthiotis*. In several parts of *Greece* they were called *Pelasgi*; which name the *Arcadians*, who are generally reckoned the most antient inhabitants, challenged from their pretended founder *Pelasgus*, who gave the name of *Pelasgia* to the whole *Peloponnese*. But the most antient name of all is universally allowed to be that of *Iones*, which the *Greeks* themselves derive from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, or, according to the fable, of *Apollo*, by *Creusa* the daughter of *Erichtheus*, grandson of *Deucalion*. But *Josephus*, with great probability, affirms that their original is of a much older date; and that *Javan*, or *Ion*, the son of *Japhet* and grandson of *Noah*, and his descendants, were the first who peopled these countries, as the learned *Bochart* seems to have proved by very strong arguments ‡. Among the *Greeks*, indeed, only the original *Athenians*, and such colonies, as sprung from them, were called *Iones*; but the *Hebrews*, the *Chaldæans*, the *Arabians*, and others, give no other appellation than that of *Iones* to the whole body of the *Grecian* nations. And *Moses* expressly tells us, that the descendants of *Japhet* peopled the isles of the *Gentiles*; which expression, according to the genius of the *Hebrew*, means all maritime countries at any distance from *Palestine*, especially those along the *Mediterranean* ||.

Greece, in its infant state, appears, even by the confession of the *Greek* writers, to have been one continued uncultivated forest, inhabited by ignorant and wild savages, who lived on every fruit, herb, or root, that came in their way, and sheltered themselves from the inclemency of the weather in dens, clefts, and hollow trees §. The first improvement in their way of living was introduced by *Pelasgus*, who, having taught them to feed on acorns, as a more wholesome food, to live in huts, and cover themselves with the skins of beasts, was afterwards highly revered among them on that account. The savageness of their manners, nevertheless, still continued for a long time. They were intirely ignorant of agriculture, and knew no other law than force. Their mutual violences, however,

The manners of the antient *Greeks*.

* Euseb. Chron. Isidor. orig. l. xiv. Plin. hist. l. iv. Steph. Byzant. † Byzant. sub voce. ‡ Phaleg. l. iii. || Hesych. schol. Aristoph. ap. Hind. introd. hist. Græc. § Isa. cap. ult. ver. 19.

teaching them the necessity of uniting under some head, small societies began to be formed; but these continuing in a state of hostility against each other, the stronger were perpetually dispossessing the weaker of their settlements. Those only were safe from an invasion who inhabited the most craggy and barren spots of ground, such as the country of *Attica*, where the inhabitants having remained undisturbed for a long time, while the rest of *Greece* was in a continual fluctuation, took the name of *Autochthones*, that is, men born in the country where they lived.

Even after agriculture was introduced, and they began to live in cities and towns, they still continued their mutual incursions, and their greatest occupation was robbery and piracy; so that for a long time they remained strangers to the conveniences of civil life, which had been improved to a great degree by the *Jews*, *Egyptians*, *Midianites*, *Phœnicians*, &c. ages before. By *Homer's* making oxen the standard of the value of things, it may be questioned whether the use of money was common even in his days.

They seem to have been first civilized by the *Egyptian* and *Phœnician* colonies that arrived in their country. They knew nothing of writing, arithmetic, navigation, and commerce, till the arrival of *Cadmus*. *Orpheus*, *Museus*, and some others, who travelled into *Egypt*, introduced the *Egyptian* divinity and religious rites. But as for astronomy, geometry, philosophy, and magic, they were fetched long after, the first from *Babylon*, the next from *Egypt* and *Judæa*, and the last from *Persia* *. Their antient government was most rude and barbarous; every city, and almost every obscure town or village, being a petty tyranny, governed by a head, to whom, nevertheless, they gave the name of king. Laws, at least a written body of them, we do not find that they had, till the times of the *Athenian* archons; the sentence of their kings being probably definitive, except in dubious and important cases, when it was usual for them to consult some oracle, of which they had variety; but the two most famous were, that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, and that of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, situated on the hill *Parnassus*.

What was their religion or worship before the coming of *Cecrops* is uncertain; but he seems first to have introduced the *Egyptian* theology, having, according to *Pausanias*, set up the worship of *Jupiter* in his new kingdom of *Athens*. *Orpheus*, *Dedalus*, and *Melampus*, went and fetched new supplies of *Egyptian* idolatry and superstition, which were received by the ignorant *Grecians* with great veneration.

Such were in general the first beginnings of *Greece*. We shall now enter into a more particular detail, and give a brief account of the several different states whereof the whole country consisted.

* Herod. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. i. Tatian. orat. cont. Grec.

S E C T. I.

The History of the antient Kingdom of Sicyon.

THE most antient kingdom of Greece was that of *Sicyon*, which boasts a succession of 26 kings, whose several reigns make up an epoch of 960 years and upwards. It was originally called *Ægiala*, from its supposed founder *Ægialeus*; then *Apia*, from its fourth king *Apis*; and lastly *Sicyon*, from *Sicyon* the 19th monarch, from whom even the whole *Peloponnese* was called *Sicyonia*; which name continued for some time after the kingdom was extinct *. This little kingdom was seated on the bay of *Corinth*, having the province of *Achaia* on the west, and the isthmus of *Corinth* on the east. What its extent was cannot be known. Besides its capital, which is supposed to have been seated on the river *Asopus*, and was much adorned by *Sicyon*, *Ptolemy* mentions another city, named *Pletius*. According to *Eusebius*, this monarchy was founded 1313 years before the first *Olympiad*, that is, about 259 years after the flood. By this computation it might claim to be the most antient kingdom of the world next to the *Egyptian*; but several things seem to discountenance this opinion, particularly the account of the unformed and unsettled state of the savage *Grecians*. Besides, no mention is made of any memorable action performed by any of their kings, during the long space of 960 years; tho' this epoch, dark and remote as it is, is so fruitful of the most surprising exploits in most other cotemporary kingdoms. The reigns of the kings are also spun out to an unnatural length, amounting one with another to 35 and 40 years a-piece; which is almost double the time that those of *Judah* and *Israel* reigned. *Sir Isaac Newton* conjectures, with great probability, that chronologers have inserted eleven or twelve feigned names of kings, who did nothing, and thereby made *Ægialeus*, the founder of the monarchy, 300 years older than his brother *Phoroneus*. After the death of *Zeuxippus*, the last of the 26 supposed kings, the state is said to have been governed by the priests of *Apollo Carneus* for five years; after which *Amphytyes* held it nine years, and *Charidemus* eighteen. The *Heraclidæ* having then returned to the *Peloponnese*, became masters of it, or, according to *Pausanias*, the kingdom was incorporated with the *Dores*, and became subject to that of *Argos* †.

Sicyon
antiently
called
Ægiala.

Its situa-
tion.

* *Stephan. de urb. Strab.*

† *Euseb. Chron. Pausan. in Corinth.*

S E C T. II.

The History of the antient Kingdom of ARGOS.

The situa-
tion and
extent of
Argos.

THIS kingdom is supposed by *Eusebius* to have begun about 1080 years before the first *Olympiad*. It was at first called *Ægiala*, like the kingdom of *Sicyon*, and received the name of *Argolis* from *Argos* its fourth monarch. It was also called *Hippim* and *Hippoboton*, from the neighbouring pastures, in which *Neptune* is said to have fed his horses *; or rather from an excellent breed of horses which that country was famed for. It was situated on the north-east side of the *Peloponnese*, being washed by the sea on that side; having part of *Laconia* on the south, and the kingdom of *Sicyon* on the north and west. Its chief river was the *Machus*, which washed the metropolis of the same name, both so called from the founder of the kingdom. In this city was the brazen tower in which *Danae* being confined by her father, was deflowered by *Jupiter*. Next to *Argos* was *Mycenæ*, which became in process of time the seat of the kingdom. There were also *Troezen*, *Nauplia*, *Nemea*, famous for the *Nemean* games, and *Epidaurus*, in which stood the most famed temple of *Æsculapius*, resorted to from most parts of *Europe* and *Asia* for the cure of all distempers.

Govern-
ment of
the *Ar-
gives.*

The government of the *Argives* continued altogether monarchical, from its first foundation to its establishing itself into a downright democracy. But by what laws they were governed, and how far their monarchs were limited, is impossible to be determined.

Their his-
tory.

Inachus

their first
king.

The founder of the kingdom, as we have observed, is said to have been *Inachus*, the supposed son of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*; which perhaps means no more than that he came thither by sea. He married his sister *Melissa*, by whom he had two sons, *Phoroneus* and *Ægialus*.

Phoroneus.

Phoroneus succeeded his father, enlarged his territories, and built the city *Phoroneum*, into which he brought great part of his subjects, who were before dispersed. By the nymph *Lao-dice* he had a son, named *Apis*, and a daughter, called *Niobe*, who, being deflowered by *Jupiter*, had by him a son, named *Argos*.

Apis.

Apis succeeded his father; but for his tyrannical government was expelled by a faction supported by *Thelxion* king of *Sicyon*; which account shews how little dependance there is in writings of this epocha, since *Thelxion*, the sixth *Sicyon* king according to *Eusebius*, reigned near 100 years before *Inachus*.

* Pausan. in Corinth.

Argos, the son of *Jupiter* and *Niobe*, succeeded his uncle. He *Argos.* is supposed to have been the founder of the capital city, and to have called it and the whole kingdom by his name. He first taught the *Grecians* agriculture, and from that time they came to be called *Argivi* from him. The four following kings were, *Crius*, *Phorbas*, *Triopas*, and *Crotopus*. In the reign of this last, *Apollo* is said to have sent a monster, called *Pene*, against the *Argians*, which snatched the children from the mothers bosom, and destroyed them, because a child which the king's daughter had borne to him, being exposed by its mother, had been devoured by the king's hounds. This monster being killed at length by *Cærebus*, *Apollo* sent them a grievous pestilence. *Cærebus* consulting the oracle how the anger of the god might be appeased, was forbid to return to *Argos*, and directed to take a tripod in his hand, and to build a temple to *Apollo* wherever it chanced to drop from him, which he accordingly did.

The two next kings were, *Sthenelus* the son of *Crotopus*, and *Geleanor* his son, who was expelled his kingdom by *Danaus* an *Egyptian*.

Danaus having been banished *Egypt* by his brother *Ægyptus*, *Danaus.* for refusing to marry his fifty daughters to the fifty sons of his brother, came to *Argos*, and claimed the kingdom, as a descendant of *Io* the daughter of *Inachus*. The people, to whom the dispute was referred, decided in his favour: but soon after he was settled on the throne, his kingdom was invaded by his fifty nephews from *Egypt*, who reduced him to such extremity, that he was forced to grant them his daughters in marriage, tho' he had been forewarned by an oracle that he should be killed by a son-in-law. To prevent the fulfilling of the oracle, he ordered his daughters to kill all their husbands on the wedding-night; which they all punctually performed, except one, named *Hypermnestra*, who saved her bridegroom *Lynceus*; on which account her father ordered her to be immediately put to death: but she was honourably acquitted by the more humane *Argives*.

Lynceus, the husband of *Hypermnestra*, afterwards expelled *Danaus* out of his kingdom, and reigned in his stead. He was *Lynceus.* succeeded by his son *Abas*, whose two sons, *Prætus* and *Acrisius*, who were twins, are said to have struggled together in their mother's womb; a sure presage of the fatal struggle they afterwards had for the kingdom. They are reported to have been the first who made use of targets in battle.

Prætus found means to step first upon the throne, and held it *Prætus.* about seventeen years; his brother *Acrisius* having then raised a party against him, and forced him to fly to his father-in-law *Sobates* king of *Lycia*. These two, raising an army in *Lycia*, soon invaded *Argos*, and obliged *Acrisius* to agree to a treaty; by which *Prætus* had *Tyrius*, and other maritime places; and *Acrisius* *Argos*, and the inland towns. *Prætus* had 43 daughters by his wife *Stenobæa*, or *Antea*, as she is called by *Homer*.

Acrisius.

Acrisius, on the other hand, by his wife *Eurydice* had a daughter, named *Danae*. Having been forewarned by the oracle that a son of hers sh. uld kill him, he shut up the young princess in a strong brazen tower, to prevent her having any conversation with mankind, and kept such strict watch over her, that in all likelihood she might have been out of danger of fulfilling the oracle, had not *Jupiter* melted himself, as the poets feign, into a golden shower, which sliding thro' the tiles into her lap, eluded all her father's caution. This golden shower seems to have been only some considerable bribe to those who guarded the tower. The fruit of the stolen embraces was *Perseus*, who, when he was grown up, prevented *Acrisius*, who had then fallen in love with his mother, from offering violence to her. The king, to be rid of him, sent him into *Africa* against the famous *Medusa*; but contrary to his expectation he returned victorious with her head, which was called *Gorgon*, having in that expedition saved *Andromeda*, the daughter of the king of *Joppa*, from a sea-monster; in recompence of which service she was given to him in marriage. His grandfather *Acrisius*, hearing of his return, fled from *Argos* to *Larissa* on the river *Peneus*. *Tantalus*, the king of that city, soon after, instituting funeral games in honour of his deceased father, *Perseus* went thither, among a great croud of *Grecian* princes, and unwittingly killed his grandfather, by an unfortunate cast of the disk, which fell upon his foot. *Perseus*, after the unhappy death of his grandfather, would not return to *Argos*, but chose to exchange it with *Megapenthes* the son of *Prætus* for the small kingdom of *Tyrius*; afterwards building the city *Mycenæ*, and making it the seat of his kingdom. This new metropolis becoming, in a short time, more populous and opulent than the other, the kingdom of *Argos* was said to have been translated hither; tho' presently after the dissolution of the kingdom of *Agamemnon*, as it is called, it fell into such decay, that *Strabo* tells us there were scarce any footsteps of it left in his time. *Perseus* having reigned 18 years in the kingdom of *Tyrius*, was succeeded by his son *Alcæus*, two of whose brothers were, *Sthenelus* the father of *Eurystheus*, and *Electryon* the father of *Alcmena*. *Amphytrion* was the son and successor of *Alcæus*; and by his wife, *Alcmena*, *Jupiter* is said to have begot *Hercules*. *Amphytrion*, soon after, accidentally killing *Electryon*, his uncle and father-in-law, was forced to fly to *Thebes*, where the child *Hercules* began to give early proofs of his courage, strength, and fierceness, having killed a lion before he was 18 years of age.

*Perseus.**Eurystheus.*

Being reputed the son of *Amphytrion*, *Eurystheus*, the cousin-german of his supposed father, who was then in possession of the throne of *Mycenæ*, began to be jealous of him, and left no way untried to be rid of him. *Hercules*, who perceived it, went to consult the oracle; and being answered, that it was the pleasure of the gods that he should serve *Eurystheus* 12 years, he was seized with melancholy, which afterwards turned into a furious madness, during which he put away his wife *Megara*,

para, and murdered all the children he had by her; as an expiation for which, twelve labours were imposed upon him when he had recovered his senses. These labours are, for the most part, fabulous, and some of them probably stolen from the history of *Samson*, and other *Hebrew* worthies (A).

The line of *Perseus* only subsisted in *Hercules*; he, however, upon the death of *Eurystheus*, did not ascend the throne of *My-* *Atreus and Thyestes.*
cenæ, which was filled by *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, the sons of *Pelops*, and grandsons of *Tantalus* king of *Sipylus*. These two are justly branded, *Thyestes* for defiling his brother's wife, and *Atreus* for murdering his nephews, and feasting his brother with their flesh. The *Heraclidæ*, or descendants of *Hercules*, in this reign came, under the conduct of *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules*, and claimed the kingdom of *Mycenæ*, from which they had been driven by *Eurystheus*. They agreed to decide the controversy by single combat; and their champion *Hyllus* being killed, they immediately retired, not to return into the *Peloponnese*, according to agreement, till fifty years were expired. Their grandmother *Alcmena* disappearing about this time, divine honours were instituted and paid to her *. Soon after their departure, *Atreus* was killed by *Ægisthus* the son of *Thyestes*, who was begot after the murder of his brothers.

Agamemnon, the son of *Atreus*, succeeded to the throne of *My-* *Agamem-*
cenæ, and was reckoned in his time the wealthiest and most *non.*
powerful potentate of all *Greece*, not only a great part of the *Peloponnese* being subject to him, but also several neighbouring islands. We have already given an account of his expedition, in conjunction with the other *Grecian* princes, against *Troy*. After the burning of that city, a fatal quarrel arose between *Agamemnon* and his brother *Menelaus*, *Agamemnon* parting in great anger. Upon his arrival at *Mycenæ*, he was murdered by his cousin-german *Ægisthus* and his wife *Clytemnestra*, who during his long absence had contracted an unlawful amour together.

Ægisthus held the kingdom about 10 years; when both he and *Clytemnestra* were murdered by *Orestes* the son of *Ag-* *Ægisthus.*
memnon.

Orestes, who at his father's death was but a child, had been *Orestes.*
privately conveyed by his aunt *Eleëtra* to *Phocis*, where he was educated. Having murdered the usurper and his own mother, he took possession both of the kingdom of *Mycenæ* and of *Argos*;

* Pausan. Apollod.

(A) There were many fabulous heroes of the name of *Hercules*. Authors differ greatly as to their number and genealogy; neither are they agreed in fixing upon the hero who performed the won-
derful exploits. *Diodorus* and *Eusebius* mention three of the name of *Hercules*; *Servius* speaks of four, *Cicero* of six, and *Varro* of forty-four.

which

Orestes.

which last fell to him by the flight of *Diomedes* into *Italy*, after his return from the siege of *Troy*. *Orestes* soon after ran reflecting on the guilt of his parricide, became raving mad; but recovering his senses, he went and killed *Pyrrhus*, the son of *Achilles*, in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, as he was espousing *Hermione*, the daughter of his uncle *Menelaus*, who had been promised to him in marriage. Then marrying *Hermione*, by her he got also the kingdom of *Sparta**.

Penthilus.

Penthilus succeeded his father *Orestes* in both kingdoms; but in the third year of his reign was killed in a battle against the *Achæi*. The *Heracidae*, who had already taken possession of the greatest part of the *Peloponnese*, after his death made themselves masters of the kingdoms of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*, which they held until the conquest of the *Peninsula* by the *Macedonians*.

After the parting of the kingdoms of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*, as we have seen above, we find *Adrastus* a descendant of *Perseus*, and the son of *Talaon* and *Eurinome*, reigning in *Argos*. This valiant prince married his two daughters; the one to *Polinices*, prince of *Thebes*, and the other to *Tydeus*, who had come to his court upon different accounts. *Polynices* came to beg his assistance against his brother *Eteocles*, who had deprived him of his alternate share of the government, and soon prevailed upon him to assist him in person with a numerous army. *Adrastus* having arrived with his army at the foot of *Cithæron*, a celebrated hill among the poets, sent *Tydeus* to *Thebes* to demand the performance of the contract between *Polynices* and him. Upon his refusal, the *Argians* besieged the city, but were almost all cut off, *Adrastus*, of all the generals, alone escaping. After this siege there is no more mention of him.

Ægialeus.

He was succeeded by his son *Ægialeus*, who, a few years after, entered into a confederacy with *Diomedes*, the son of his brother-in-law *Tydeus*, and with the five sons of the other generals who had lost their lives in that expedition, to revenge their deaths upon the *Thebans*; and, if possible, to level that city with the ground. Thence these seven captains were called *Epigoni*. Following the advice of the oracle, and appointing *Alcæan* their general, they succeeded in their enterprise.

Diomedes.

Diomedes after succeeding to the crown of *Argos*, went with other *Grecian* princes to *Troy*. During his absence, his wife *Ægiale*, being plagued by *Venus* with a *furor uteri*, in revenge for the wound she had received from him at *Troy*, entertained a criminal familiarity with *Cometes*, the son of *Sthenelus*. Soon after his return, *Ægiale* perceiving that he had discovered her intrigue, attempted to kill him; but he first retired into the temple of *Juno*, and thence into *Apulia* in *Italy*, where he settled with a few followers.

* Idem ibi!.

The *Heracidae* in the mean time, since their first expulsion out of the *Peloponnese*, by *Euristheus*, had made several fruitless attempts to regain it, failing in some of their expeditions, by misapprehending the meaning of the oracle. When they again consulted the oracle, they were promised better success under a general that had three eyes. Where to find such a general was the difficulty. At length, meeting an *Ætolian*, named *Oxylus*, who was mounted on a horse or mule, and returning to his own country, they stopped him, as he and the beast he rode on had but three eyes betwixt them, and supposing him to be the person pointed at by the oracle, they chose him for their general, and promised him the country of *Elis* for a recompence.

The kingdoms of *Argos*, *Mycenæ*, and *Lacedæmon*, they challenged as their undoubted right, the first as the descendants of *Perseus*, and the two last as the descendants of *Hercules*; who, having conquered them, left the first to *Nestor*, and the last to *Tyndarus*, in trust for his own children. Having reduced the three kingdoms, they kept their promise to their three-eyed general, who being a descendant of *Ætolus*, had a right to *Elis*, as his progenitor had been expelled from thence. The three chief heirs, *Temenus*, *Cresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*, or rather his two sons *Euristhenes* and *Procles*, made a division of their conquests. *Temenus* had *Argos*, *Cresphontes* *Mycenæ*, and *Lacedæmon* fell to the two last.

Temenus expressing a particular regard for *Deiphontes*, his son-in-law, his sons fearing he would appoint him his successor, hired the *Titans* to murder their father. According to some, *Deiphontes* was his successor, but according to others, his eldest son *Cisus*, who was succeeded by *Lacidamas*. But the royal prerogative losing ground very fast, he had little else but the title of a king. *Meltas*, the son of *Lacidamas*, impatient of such restraint, endeavoured, when it was too late, to restore it to its ancient dignity. The people, however, proving too powerful, put a final end to the kingly authority; reduced the government into a downright democracy; and condemned their unhappy prince to death*.

Temenus
at *Argos*.

The kingdom of *Mycenæ* was not much longer lived. *Cresphontes* soon lost his new-gotten kingdom and his life, being murdered by the nobles with two of his sons, for his caresses to the people. His third son, *Epytus*, fled to the king of *Arcadia*, who was his grandfather by the mother's side, and when of age regained his kingdom by his assistance. By wisely dividing his favours between the nobles and people, he gained the affections of both to such a degree, that the kings from thenceforth were called *Æpytidae* in honour of him. This popular liberality, however, could not secure the regal dignity, which the people daily encroached upon, and at length totally suppressing, established their own power.

* Polyen. Stratag. Apollod. Pausan. in Messene.

S E C T. III.

The History of the antient Kingdom of ATTICA.

The
bounds of
Attica.

Its soil,
climate,
and inha-
bitants.

ATTICA was seated along the south coast of the gulph of *Saron*, having on the west *Megara* and part of *Bæotia*, on the east the *Ægean* sea, and on the north the rest of *Bæotia* and the *Euripus*. It reached in length about sixty miles, and its greatest breadth was about fifty-six miles. It was antiently called *Acte* and *Atthis*; and, according to *Pliny*, extended quite to the *Isthmus*, so that it must have included *Megara*; which, however, by the greater part of historians, is reckoned a distinct country*.

The soil being naturally barren and craggy, the country remained unmolested by invaders; whence the antient inhabitants losing all remembrance of their first progenitors, absurdly imagined that they were the spontaneous production of the soil, as well as the insects; and as a badge of it, *Thucydides* tells us, they wore a golden grasshopper in the curls of their hair. The climate is very moderate and the air serene, especially about *Athens*, which stood about two miles from the sea, with which it had a communication, by a channel reaching to the large harbour, called *Piræus*, capable of containing above one hundred ships. There were some other ports and cities of note in this kingdom; particularly *Rhamnus* and *Eleusis*, which last being the frontier towards *Megara*, had been so strongly fortified, that it was reckoned impregnable. But the largest and most opulent was the metropolis, called at first *Cecropia*, from its founder, *Cecrops*; but afterwards *Athens*, from the goddess *Minerva*, called by the *Greeks* *Athene*, to whom the city was dedicated. Besides its strength, beauty, and opulence, it was chiefly famed, 1. For the inviolable faith of its citizens: 2. For being the nursery of the best scholars and orators, choicest wits, and greatest philosophers: 3. For having produced the greatest number of brave generals of any city in the world, not even excepting *Rome*.

The go-
vernment
of the
Athenians.

The chief river in this small kingdom was the *Asopus*, which divided it from *Bæotia*, and emptied itself into the *Euripus*.

Their government, till the establishment of the *Archontes*, continued altogether monarchical under a succession of seventeen kings. The archons differed only from their kings, in succeeding not by inheritance, but by election, and in being accountable to the people whenever it was required.

The revenues of this kingdom, occasioned by its commerce and frugality, are said to have amounted to 1200 *Attic* talents a year; which vast income gave them a vast superiority over all their neighbours: and as their coin was commonly stamped with

* Mela. Cluver. Byzant. &c. Plin.

the figure of an ox, hence was the phrase so frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth 10 or 100 oxen*. Nothing more visibly displays the wealth, strength, and populousness of the *Attican* state, than the numbers of tribes into which it was divided, each of which had a great number of large and populous cities and towns belonging to them, fenced with stately walls, towers, &c. for a particular account of which we must refer our readers to the learned *Spon*.

1. The *Alcmantid* tribe contained 13 towns or districts. 2. The *Æantid* 5 towns. 3. The *Antiochian* 18. 4. The *Attalid* 2. 5. The *Egeid* 12. 6. That of *Erietheus* 12. 7. That of *Hadrian* 4. 8. The *Hippothoontid* 16. 9. The *Cecropian* 10. 10. The *Leontine* 16. 11. The *Oeneid* 13. 12. That of *Ptolemais* 4. 13. That of *Pandion* 9. To these our author adds 40 more cities, belonging to uncertain tribes, so that the whole amounts to 178. Each tribe sent fifty deputies or *Prytanes*, to the grand council, which sat in the *Prytanæum*, and had a right to the greatest places of the government †.

This kingdom is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cecrops*, an *Egyptian*, who brought hither a colony of *Saïts* from the mouth of the *Nile* of that name, according to the chronology of *Eusebius*, 780 years before the first *Olympiad*, that is, about the year of the flood 792. According to the same author, it continued under its monarchs 486 years. Those ancient monarchs, however, at first, both here and in other kingdoms of *Greece*, were seldom consulted by the people, except in cases of danger, each city being governed by its own magistrates and courts: but in process of time the kings found means to engross almost the whole civil power. The *Archontic* government, which followed, though made elective by their law, yet continued in the family of their last king 313 years. One hundred and sixty years elapsing, from this time to the establishment of the commonwealth; the whole duration then of this government, from *Cecrops* to *Solon*, amounted to 959 years. Their history.

Cecrops, the first king, is said to have built the city of *Athens*, and to have married the daughter of *Actæus*, supposed to have been king of *Attica* before him, and in her right laid the foundation of a new monarchy. He first deified *Jupiter*, and ordained sacrifices to be offered to him as the supreme deity ‡. He is affirmed to have been the first who set up altars and idols, offered sacrifices, and instituted marriage among the *Grecians*; who, before his time, it seems, lived promiscuously. He taught his subjects the art of navigation, and for the better administration of justice among them, is said to have divided them into the first four tribes. Some likewise make him the founder of the *Areopagus*, which institution others attribute to his successor. *Cecrops* reigned 50 years, and at his death leaving only three

Cecrops
first king.

* *Plut.* in vit. *Thes.* † *Spon.* voy. into Greece Vol. 2. ‡ *Pausan.* in *Attic.*

Cranaus. daughters, *Cranaus*, one of the wealthiest citizens of *Athens*, found means to ascend the vacant throne; probably by marrying one of the daughters of the deceased monarch.

Cranaus, after reigning about nine years, was dethroned by *Amphiclyon*, the son of *Deucalion*, who had married his daughter *Attis*, from whom the country was named *Attica*. In his reign happened the flood of *Deucalion*; but the deluge of *Ogyges*, which destroyed all *Attica*, where *Ogyges* is supposed to have reigned, was much more antient, and happened upwards of 200 years before the coming of *Cecrops*.

Amphiclyon.

Amphiclyon, after he had reigned 10 years, was himself deposed by

Eriethonius.

Eriethonius, the reputed son of *Vulcan* and *Tethys*. He is said to have been the first inventor of coaches, being lame of his feet, and to have been the first who brought, or at least stamped silver into coin.

Pandion.

After reigning 50 years, he left the throne to his son *Pandion*, the father of *Progne* and *Philomela*, who reigned 40 years, and was succeeded by his son *Eretheus*. In his reign *Triptolemus* is affirmed to have taught the *Athenians* agriculture, which he had learned from *Ceres*, in whose honour the *Eleusinian* mysteries were instituted, and so called from the town of *Eleusis*.

Eretheus.

Eretheus was reckoned the most powerful prince of his time, and after reigning fifty years, was unfortunately killed in a battle against the *Eleusinians*. *Cecrops II.* the eldest son of *Eretheus*, succeeded his father. He is said to have been the first who gathered the people into 12 towns, they having before his reign lived scattered here and there in cottages. After reigning 40 years he was expelled from the throne by his two brothers, *Metion* and *Pandorus*, who, upon the death of their father, had for some time contested the succession with him.

Cecrops II.

Pandion II.

His son, *Pandion II.* however, held the throne for some time, but was expelled by the sons of his uncle *Metion*. *Pandion* flying to *Megara*, *Pylas*, the king of that city, gave him his daughter *Pelia* in marriage, and afterwards made him his successor. During his abode there he had four sons, and returning with them to *Athens*, he recovered the throne from the sons of *Metion*, and after he had reigned 25 years in all, either left the kingdom among his four sons, or they agreed to divide it after his death among themselves; notwithstanding which, the royal dignity remained with the eldest son *Ægeus*.

Ægeus.

Ægeus finding himself despised by his subjects, on account of his want of issue, went and consulted the oracle of *Delphi*; and the answer of the *Pythones* being very obscure, he had recourse to *Pitheus*, king of *Trezen*, for an explanation. By the advice of that wise king, he privately got his daughter *Æthra* with child, but left her with her father and returned to *Athens*. She was soon after delivered of a son, who was the famous *Theseus*. At 10 years of age, being informed of his real father, he took leave of his mother and set out for *Athens*, fired with an ambition of imitating the exploits of *Hercules*.

Ægeus

Ægeus in the mean time laboured under no small perplexities from his discontented subjects, and his haughty brother *Pallas*, who had no less than 50 sons. An accident happened which almost drove him to despair. *Androgeus*, the son of *Minos*, king of *Crete*, who had come to *Athens* to be present at one of their feasts, was privately murdered by the orders of the king, who suspected his intrigues with his nephews. Others say he was killed in an encounter with the *Marathonian* bull: but however it was, *Minos* wanted to revenge the death of his son upon the *Athenians*, and praying to the gods to assist him, the *Athenians* were punished with pestilence, famine, and several other calamities, and were told by the oracle, that they must expect no relief till they were reconciled to the *Cretan* king. *Minos* required a very high satisfaction, and imposed upon them a yearly tribute of seven young men and seven young virgins, whom he condemned to be devoured by a minotaur, or monster, during the space of seven, or according to others, of nine years*. These unhappy victims were to be drawn by lot.

In the third year of this treaty, *Theseus*, after having performed many glorious exploits, arrived at *Athens*, and found that his father had married the enchantress *Medæa*, who had fled thither from *Corinth*, and deluded the old king with the hopes of renewing his age, and making him capable of begetting children. *Theseus* was honoured and esteemed by the king and the *Athenians*, as a young stranger of extraordinary valour; but *Medæa*, who knew him, persuaded the king to poison him. *Theseus*, however, before the poisoned draught was given him, luckily drawing his sword, which *Ægeus* had left with his mother for his use, his father immediately knew him, embraced him as his son, and owned him for such before all the court. This discovery cutting off the expectations of *Pallas* and his sons, they broke out into open rebellion, but were without much difficulty reduced. *Theseus* after this, having encouraged his old father with hopes of killing the minotaur, went and embarked voluntarily as one of the unhappy victims. Upon arriving in *Crete*, he obtained leave of *Minos* to fight the minotaur, and being so successful as to kill that monster, he prevailed on *Minos* to restore all the *Athenian* captives that survived, and to remit the tribute. He even carried off *Ariadne*, the king's daughter, who, from her ardent passion for him, had been of great service to him in *Crete*; but he afterwards basely deserted her in the island of *Naxos*. When he approached to *Athens*, he neglected to hang out the white flag in token of victory, as he had agreed with his father, who being anxious for the fate of his son, went frequently to a high rock to look for his return. Happening at last to observe the ship with a black flag, he concluded his son had fallen a victim to the minotaur; and in a fit of despair, threw himself into the sea, which from him was after-

* Plutarch. Pausan. Diodor. Sic.

wards called the *Ægean Sea*. He reigned 40 years, and was succeeded by *Theseus*.

Theseus.

The young king being of an active and warlike temper, and fond of imitating the great *Hercules*, upon his first accession to the throne, gathered all the people of *Attica* into the old and new town, which he incorporated into one city. He then divested himself of his regal power, excepting only the title of king, the command of the army, and the guardianship of their laws; committing the rest to proper magistrates, chosen out of the three different orders of the people, namely, nobles, husbandmen, and artificers. He likewise abolished all their distinct courts of judicature, and built one common-council hall, called *Prytanæum*, a noble building, which stood for many ages. Having thus new modelled the government, his next care was to join the kingdom of *Megara* to his own, in right of his grandfather, *Pandion II.* who, as we have mentioned, succeeded his father-in-law *Pylas*.

The account of his expeditions against the *Amazons*, is full of fable and contradiction. The first expedition he is said to have undertaken in favour of *Hercules*, whom we mentioned in the *Argian* history. *Hercules*, as a reward for his assistance, gave him *Antiope*, one of the *Amazonian* queens, whom he had taken prisoner, keeping the other, named *Hippolyte*, for himself. This is said to have occasioned a second war, in which some affirm, that the *Amazons*, who were seated on the eastern part of the *Euxine* sea, invaded *Attica*. Others say that *Theseus* attacked them in their own country; but all agree that he gained the victory: and having taken their queen, *Hippolyte*, afterwards married her. Some time after these expeditions, *Theseus* contracted an intimacy with *Pirithous*, the son of *Ixion*, and being invited to his nuptials, helped him to kill a great number of Centaurs, or rather *Thessalian* horsemen, who, in their cups, had offered violence to their female guests. From thence these two went to *Sparta*, where they seized and carried off the famous *Helena*, who, though then only nine years of age, was famed for the greatest beauty in the world. The time, place, and circumstances of this rape, are variously reported. According to *Plutarch*, the two ravishers were pursued as far as *Tegea*, but having the fortune to escape, they cast lots for their fair prisoner, who falling to the share of *Theseus*, he assisted his companion in the like attempt upon *Proserpina*, daughter of *Aidonius*, king of the *Molossi* in *Epirus*, which however proved unsuccessful.

During the absence of *Theseus*, *Mnestheus*, the son of *Petus*, had so ingratiated himself with the nobles and commons, that upon his return he found them very cold towards him. *Castor* and *Pollux* soon after invading his territories, to force him to restore their sister *Helena*, the *Athenians*, by the persuasions of *Mnestheus*, opened their gates to the invaders; *Theseus* conveying himself and family away privately, after he had pronounced a solemn curse against his faithless subjects, which did not go unheard. As he was sailing to *Crete*, he was unfortunately cast

by a tempest, upon the island of *Scyros*, where he was soon after killed by a fall from a high mountain, after he had reigned 30 years. For brevity's sake we omit many other famous exploits of this renowned hero, which the reader may find more fully in *Plutarch's* life of him. We shall only add, that the *Athenians* some time after dedicated a temple to him, and that the famous *Cimon* razed the whole island of *Scyros* in revenge of his death, and carried his bones to *Athens*.

Mnestheus, who had been the cause of *Theseus's* leaving *Athens*, was the great grandson of *Eretheus*, the *Athenian* monarch, and established himself on the throne by the assistance of *Castor* and *Pollux*, who had recovered their sister *Helena*. The new king being apprehensive of the known valour of *Theseus*, is said to have bribed the king of *Scyros* to have him pushed from the precipice. *Mnestheus* after reigning 23 years, being killed at the siege of *Troy*, the kingdom of *Athens* returned again to the *Thesian* line. *Mnestheus.*

Demophon, one of the sons of *Theseus*, by *Phædra*, succeeded *Mnestheus* both in the kingdom and in the command of the *Athenian* forces before *Troy*. In his return from thence, he was entertained at bed and board by *Phillis*, the daughter of *Lycurgus* king of *Thrace*, to whom he promised to come back from *Athens*; but breaking his word, she died of grief. In his reign was erected the famous court of the *Ephetæ*, consisting originally of 25 *Athenians*, and as many *Argives*, for trying of wilful murders and lying in wait to kill. *Demophon* reigned 38 years, and was succeeded by his son or brother

Oxyntes, who reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his son *Aphydas*. *Oxyntes.*

Thymætes, the bastard son of *Oxyntes*, murdering *Amphydas*, in the first year of his reign, seized the throne, which he held about eight years. He committed many base actions during his reign, and was deposed for his pusillanimity. He had a contest about one of his frontier towns, with *Xanthus*, king of *Bæotia*, who proposed to decide the affair in single combat. *Thymætes* cowardly declining this offer, one *Melanthus* of *Mycenæ* answered the challenge, and killing *Xanthus* by a stratagem, so pleased the *Athenians*, that they set him upon the throne. *Melanthus* persuaded the *Athenians* to receive the *Messenians* and *Nestoridæ*, who were then expelled by the *Heraclidæ*. After reigning 37 years he left the kingdom to his worthy son *Codrus*. *Thymætes.*

Codrus reigned about 21 years. Being informed that the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ*, who had conquered the *Peloponnese*, and were going to invade *Attica*, were promised success by the oracle, if they did not kill the king of the *Athenians*, he resolved to sacrifice his life to the safety of his country, and disguising himself like a peasant, went into the enemy's camp, where, in quarrelling with some of their soldiers, he was slain by them. On the morrow, the *Athenians* knowing what was done, sent to demand the body of their noble prince, which struck such a panic into the invaders, that they decamped without striking a blow. *Codrus.*
Bef. Chr.
1069.

blow. The *Athenians* conceived such veneration for their deceased monarch, that they esteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him; and therefore committed the management of the state to elective magistrates, called archons, chusing *Medon*, the eldest son of *Codrus*, to that new dignity; from whom all the archons who succeeded him were called *Medontidæ*. This epoch proved very unactive and barren, except that the people from time to time shewed their dislike of the supreme authority's becoming hereditary, as bearing too great a resemblance to royal power. During the first archon, *Attica* being crowded with foreigners and exiles from other states, they were forced to discharge them in great multitudes upon the maritime coasts of *Asia* minor. Upon the very first of these expeditions, *Nileus* and the rest of the brothers of *Medon*, discontented with his promotion, went with a great number of *Athenians*, *Ionians*, and *Thebans*, to the coasts and islands of *Asia*, where they founded the 12 following cities, *Ephesus*, *Miletum*, *Priene*, *Colophon*, *Myos*, *Zeos*, *Lebedos*, *Clazomenæ*, *Erythræ*, *Phocæa*, *Chios*, and *Samos*. After a succession of 13 archons, for 313 years, the people then made the archons elective every ten years. This new dignity, which was introduced the third year of the sixth olympiad, had scarce passed through four hands, when the people again insisted upon a further limitation of it. *Hippomenes*, the last of the line of *Codrus*, was deposed for his tyrannical government, before he had enjoyed the dignity five years. Three others, however, still held the authority ten years each; but at the following election, the *Athenians* voted the dignity annual, and appointed the archons to be chosen from among the most considerable citizens for birth, wealth, and interest. From that time their government dwindled into a downright democracy, which *Solon* afterwards new modelled and confirmed*.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the ancient Kingdoms of BOEOTIA and THEBES.

Bæotia. ANCIENT authors speak of two kingdoms, of *Bæotia*, the most ancient, founded by *Cadmus* the *Phænician*, the whence so other founded in *Thessaly*, by *Bæotus* the son of *Neptune*, by called. *Arne* the daughter of *Æolus*, king of *Æolis*. After his descendants had possessed this settlement 200 years, they were expelled by the *Thessalians*; and marching southwards, seized *Cadmeis*, or the kingdom founded by *Cadmus*, and called it *Bæotia*. This invasion, according to *Diodorus*, must have happened about

* Pausan. Achiac. Justin. l. 2. c. 6. Polyæn. Stratag.

300 years after the building of *Thebes*. According to the poets, however, the name *Bæotia* was given to the country by *Cadmus*, in memory of an ox, which had served him as a guide to the place where he founded *Thebes*. The Country was also called *Ogygia*, from *Ogyges*, *Aonia* from *Aon*, the son of *Nep-tune*, and *Hyanthis* from *Hyas*, the son of *Atlas*.

It was parted from *Attica* on the east by the mountain *Cithæron*: on the north it had the *Euripus*, on the west the kingdom of *Phocis*, and on the south the isthmus of *Corinth*. It extended in length about 70 miles, and as much in breadth. The two chief rivers were the *Asopus* and the *Ismenus*, which flowed from a large lake, called *Capais*, about fourteen miles in length, and eight in breadth. Part of the country is hilly, especially *Aonia*, properly so called; but the greatest part is low and flat, and its air so thick and foggy, that *Horace* thought it the occasion of the inhabitants being such famous dunces. In this country was the famous *Trophonian* cave, in which *Jupiter* is said to have given oracular answers. None were permitted to enter the cave till after many superstitious purifications, and those who had once been in it were never seen to laugh afterwards. Here were also the famed straits of the mountain *Oeta*, called *Thermopylæ*, from the hot springs in that neighbourhood. But the most famed place was the city of *Thebes*, situate near the river *Ismenus*, and surnamed *Heptapylos* from its seven gates. It is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cadmus*, and made the capital of his kingdom, from which his successors were also called kings of *Thebes*. The government was monarchical, and perhaps more despotic here than in other *Grecian* states. Some date the original of the kingdom prior to *Cadmus*, and reckoned *Ogyges*, or some other, the founder of *Thebes*, which *Cadmus* only rebuilt. But this period before, and long after the time of *Cadmus*, is wholly obscured by absurd and vile fables of gods turned into satyrs and monsters, and other dreams of the poets. The time in which chronologers place the rape of *Europa*, being about the year of the flood 855, the rebuilding of *Thebes* may be supposed to have been within a very few years after. From thence to its being totally destroyed by the *Epi-goni*, it had stood above 230 years. There reigned in *Thebes* after this, two kings more of the race of *OEdipus*, and three of the race of *Peneleus*, the great grandson of *Bæotus*. The *Thebans*, then grown weary of kingly government, in imitation of their neighbours, resolved themselves into a commonwealth. *Cadmus*, according to the *Greeks*, was the son of *Agenor*, king of *Sidon*, or as some say of *Tyre*; but according to the *Sidonians*, his countrymen, he was no more than the king's cook, and his wife a mere minstrel at court*. Upon his arrival in *Bæotia* he was opposed by the *Hyantes* and *Aones*, who were then in possession of that territory. The former he overcame

Its extent and situation.

The government of the *Thebans*.

Their history.

* Athenæus l. 14.

Cadmus
the first
king.

Polydorus.

in fight, and forced to retire to *Locris*, but the latter submitting, he incorporated them with his own people. He is generally allowed to be of the family of the *Cadmonites*, (mentioned by *Moses* and *Joshua*) who were *Hivites*, and his time falling in with the conquest of *Canaan*, is a great confirmation of his leading a colony from thence into *Greece*. This is the opinion of *Bochart*, who supposes *Cadmus's* wife to have been called *Hermione*, from mount *Hermon* in the eastern part of *Canaan*. The poets, indeed, among their other fictions, make his wife *Hermione* the daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, and that he had by her one son, named *Polydorus*, and four daughters, *Semele*, the mother of *Bacchus*, by *Jupiter*, *Ino*, *Autonoe*, and *Agave*. He afterwards, by the appointment of the oracle, being chosen commander by the *Enchelæ* against the *Illyrians*, left *Thebes* to his son *Polydorus*, and headed them. In this place he begat another son, whom he called *Illyrius*, and here he and his wife were feigned to have been turned into serpents; that is, as some interpret it, degenerated from their pristine civility into barbarians. *Cadmus* is universally allowed to have introduced the use of letters into *Greece*. He taught the *Grecians*, moreover, trade and navigation, and brass had the name of *Cadmean* given it, in memory of his being the inventor of it, or rather introducing the use of it into those parts. How long *Polydorus* held the throne is uncertain. When he died, he committed the care of his son *Labdacus* and of the kingdom, to *Nycteus*. His daughter *Antiope*, a famed beauty, being soon after carried off by *Epopeus*, king of *Sicyon*, he resigned the guardianship to his brother *Lycus*, to make war against the ravisher, in which war he was mortally wounded. *Lycus* soon after recovered his niece, but as she was coming back from *Thebes*, she fell in labour, and was delivered of two sons, *Amphion* and *Zethus*, who, according to *Homer*, were begot not by *Epopeus*, but by *Jupiter*. Her return did not happen till after *Labdacus* was of age, when she was sent back by *Epopeus*, to shun a war with which he was threatened by *Labdacus*. After her return, she was imprisoned by *Zethus*, to whom she had been married before she was ravished.

Labdacus.

Labdacus dying soon after, left his son *Lajus* and the government to the care of *Lycus*. *Amphion* and *Zethus*, the sons of *Antiope*, taking the advantage of the minority of *Lajus*, invaded the country at the head of a powerful army. Having defeated and killed *Lycus*, the guardian of the kingdom, they took possession of *Thebes*; and *Amphion* seizing the *Theban* crown, called the metropolis of the kingdom, or at least the lower city, *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* his aunt by the mother's side, while the upper city, or citadel, retained the name of *Cadmea*. These two princes, according to *Homer*, fortified the city with a strong wall with seven gates, the stones, according to the fable, leaping into their places at the sound of *Amphion's* lyre; that is, the people were charmed into obedience by the music of *Amphion*, who had brought that art from *Lydia*. *Amphion* and all his family

family, with many others, being soon after cut off by a grievous plague, *Zethus* succeeded to the throne ; but his wife killing his only son, he died soon after of grief ; so that *Lajus*, who had escaped when *Thebes* was taken, again recovered the throne. *Lajus*. *Lajus* having married *Jocasta*, the daughter of *Creon*, was forewarned by the oracle, that if he had a son by her, he should be killed by him. *Jocasta* bearing a son, *Lajus* gave him to a shepherd to be slain, who only exposed him, hanging him to a tree by the feet, according to some. Being soon found by the herdsman of the king of *Corinth*, that king, to whom he was brought, healed his feet, called him *OEdipus*, and brought him up as his own *. *OEdipus*, when he came of age, understanding he was not the son of the *Corinthian* king, went to the oracle of *Delphos* to enquire after his parents, and by accident meeting *Lajus* at *Phocis*, who was likewise going to *Delphos* to enquire after his son, he unwittingly killed him in some scuffle that happened between them. Going afterwards to *Thebes*, there he married his mother *Jocasta*, and obtained the kingdom by expounding the riddle of a monster, called a sphinx. *Eteocles* and *Polynices* were the unhappy fruit of their incestuous embraces, besides two daughters, according to some ; but others say these four children were by another woman †.

OEdipus, by a fatal train of calamities, at length discovering his parricide and incest, was seized with such horror and distraction, that he tore his own eyes out ; and having cursed his unhappy posterity, was conducted to *Eumenides*'s grave in *Attica*, where he took sanctuary, and soon after ended his miserable life, *Jocasta* having hanged herself for grief before he left the kingdom.

After his departure, his two sons reigned alternately one year each ; but *Eteocles*, after he had reigned his year, refusing to resign, *Polynices* went to *Argos*, where he married the daughter of king *Adrastus*, and engaged him to march to his assistance with a powerful army. *Adrastus* was joined by *Tydeus*, the father of *Diomedes*, *Amphiaræus*, *Campaneus*, *Hippomedon*, and *Parthenopæus*, at the head of their auxiliary forces. After several bloody encounters, it was agreed that the two contending princes should decide the contest by single combat ; and such was their desperate fury, that they both fell by each other's sword. The *Argians* afterwards engaging the *Thebans*, were almost all cut to pieces, *Adrastus* being the only general who escaped ; but the victory cost the *Thebans* so dear, that they were almost ruined by it. *Creon*, who had taken the government of *Thebes*, refused to allow the *Argians* to bury their dead. He was soon after killed by *Theseus*, king of *Athens*, who came with an army against him, and obliged the *Thebans* to permit the *Argians* to bury their slain.

* Pausan. in Corinth. Plut. in Thes. Diod. l. iv. Boeotic.

† Pausan. in

The war of the *Epigoni*. About ten years after, the sons of the generals who had perished in this war, entered into a confederacy against the *Thebans*, from whence they were called *Epigoni*, and by the advice of the oracle, they conferred the chief command on *Alcmæon*, the son of *Amphiaraus*. The *Thebans* not being able to oppose the enemy, were obliged to abandon their city, which some say was plundered by the *Epigoni*. Others say that *Thersander*, the son of *Polynices*, dissuaded his allies from it, recalled the fugitive citizens, and reigned over them: soon after which he led them to the *Trojan* war, and was killed at *Mysia* by *Telephus*. After him reigned his son *Tesamenes*. He was succeeded by his son *Autismon*, who, we are told, was seized with such a dreadful phrenzy, that he was forced, by the advice of the oracle, to retire among the *Dorians*. After his departure, there reigned at *Thebes* the three following kings, *Damasichton*, *Ptolemæus*, and *Xanthus*, who was killed in single combat by *Melanthus*, who, on that account, was chosen king by the *Athenians*. After the death of *Xanthus*, the *Thebans* established themselves into a commonwealth*.



S E C T. V.

The History of the antient Kingdom of ARCADIA.

The *Arcadians* the most antient people of *Greece*. THE antient name of *Arcadia* was *Pelasgi*, so called from *Pelasgus*, its first planter: the *Pelasgians* were to be found in other parts of *Greece*, but their chief and primitive seat is generally supposed to have been *Arcadia*, the inhabitants of which country are universally allowed to be the most antient people in *Greece*. The country was also called *Azenis*, *Azenia*, *Gigantis*, *Lycaonia*, *Parrhasia*, and *Pania*, but the most common name was that of *Arcadia*, so called from *Arcas*, the supposed son of *Jupiter* and *Callista*.

The situation of their kingdom. This kingdom was seated in the very heart of the *Peloponnese*, being surrounded by *Elis*, *Argolis*, *Laconia*, *Messene*, *Sicyon*, and *Corinth*. Its ground, which afforded excellent pasturage, made it famous for the vast number of herds it bred, and for the tuneful strains of its shepherds. In this country was the famous river *Styx*, feigned to be the river of hell, on account of the coldness of its waters, which chilled those to death who drank of them, and were also so corrosive as to eat iron and brass.

The *Arcadians*, like other *Grecians*, were at first a rude wild people, till *Pelasgus*, or as others think, *Arcas*, the third in descent from him, taught them to build huts, and exchange their common food, which was herbs and roots, for nuts, acorns,

* Pausan. Bæot.

and beech mast. They afterwards applied themselves to feed cattle, being invited to it by the fertility of the soil; but as they were frequently invaded by their neighbours, they were obliged to inure themselves to some warlike discipline; hence they, especially the highlanders, became such excellent soldiers, that their alliance was very much courted in all the wars between the other estates; and they used to be hired as mercenaries, in the same manner as the *Swissers* are now, which made them some amends for their want of commerce, occasioned by their distance from the sea.

Lycaon, the son of their founder, introduced the worship of *Jupiter* among them, but having sacrificed a youth to him, the angry god is said to have changed him into a wolf. Each of his sons, of whom he had a considerable number, built a city and called it by his own name, peopling them with the straggling inhabitants of the country. In the next reign the people began to sow corn, to make bread, spin wool, and to make themselves garments of it. They seem to have maintained an inviolable friendship for the *Mycenians*; but *Hercules*, of all the ancient heroes, had the greatest confidence in them; insomuch, that we seldom find them engaged in any extraordinary exploit, without some *Arcadian* forces to assist him.

Their government was at first monarchical, yet by degrees the subjects began to claim, especially in matters of great moment, something like a negative power. They were not always united under one king, for it sometimes happened, that the kingdom was divided by the father between his sons, and continued so till want of issue, alliances, or some other circumstance, united it again. Besides this, the several cities built by the sons of *Lycaon*, seem to have formed separate cantons, who made alliances, not only among themselves, but with foreign states; but whether they acknowledged one sovereign or not, is uncertain.

The country was divided into the upper towards the north, and the lower towards the south, which last was the more mountainous of the two, and was famed for its breed of horses and asses, the last animal being sometimes stiled the *Arcadian* nightingale.

Both upper and lower *Arcadia* abounded with cities, some of which were *Megapolis*, *Mantineia*, *Palantium*, *Menalus*, *Tegea*, *Orchomenon*, *Clitorium*, *Nonacris*, *Psophis*, *Phialia*, &c.

The chief mountains are *Cillene*, said to be the highest in the whole country, *Pholoe*, famed for being the abode of the *Centaurs*; *Stymphalus*, *Parthenius*, *Lycæus*, &c. *.

It were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, considering the uncertainty of its beginning. From their founder *Pelasgus*, to their last king *Aristocrates* II. they reckoned a succession of 25 monarchs. Some, indeed, upon a very slight foundation, have supposed *Pelasgus* to be the same with

* Briet. parallel. de vet. Græc.

Phaleg or *Peleg*, the son of *Eber*, in whose days the earth was divided. Others place the foundation of their monarchy about the time of *Moses*, and some about the time of *Joshua*. Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion, that *Pelasgus* was cotemporary with *Inachus* and *Cecrops*, the founder of *Athens*, who is supposed to have flourished about the year of the flood, 792. According to *Pausanias*, *Lycaon*, the son of *Pelasgus*, was cotemporary with the *Athenian* founder. According to this supposition, the *Arcadian* monarchy continued in the line of *Pelasgus* about 880 years, till the death of *Aristocrates II*.

Their history.

Pelasgus, as we have observed, began to civilize the *Arcadians*. His son *Lycaon* built a city on the mountain *Lycæus*, where he caused *Jupiter* to be worshiped. The cities built by his sons were very numerous, namely, *Pallantium*, built by *Pallas*, *Oresthasium*, by *Orestheus*, *Phigalia*, by *Phigaleus*, *Trapezunte*, by *Trapezeus*, and so of the rest which were built by his other sons, *Daceates*, *Macareus*, *Helisson*, *Acacus*, *Thocaus*, *Hipsus*, *Menalus*, *Tegeates*, and *Mantineus*. The other cantons bearing their founders names, were the *Cromians*, *Charisians*, *Tricolones*, *Peretheans*, *Aseatians*, *Lyceatians*, *Sumatians*, *Hercans*, and *Alipholians*. *Orchomenos* alone did not call the city he built by his own name. The youngest of *Lycaon*'s sons, called *Oenotrius*, instead of following the example of the rest, went and settled a colony in *Italy*. Among so many sons *Lycaon* had but one daughter, named *Calisto*, with whom *Jupiter* having had an intrigue, *Juno* turned her into a she bear, and *Diana* shot her to death.

Nictymes, the son of *Lycaon*, succeeded his father, and he dying, as is supposed childless, the crown fell to

Arcas, the son of his sister *Calisto*, by *Jupiter*, who gave his name to the kingdom, introduced husbandry, and civilized his subjects. *Arcas*, according to the poets, had three sons by a dryad, or wood nymph, called *Erato*, besides a natural son before his marriage. He divided his kingdom among his three sons, and

Azan, the eldest, succeeded him on the throne, which he left to his son *Clitor*, who built a city, which he called by his name, and was the most powerful prince of his time; but dying childless, his share of the *Arcadian* kingdom fell to *Epytus*, the eldest son of his third brother. He being bit to death by a venomous serpent, left the kingdom to his cousin

Aleus, the son of the second brother. This prince made *Tegea* his metropolis. He had three sons, *Lycurgus*, *Aphidamas*, and *Cepheus*, and a daughter named *Auge*, who being debauched by *Hercules*, during his abode at *Tegea*, was ordered to be drowned by her father, but she and her son *Telephus* were both saved.

Lycurgus, his eldest son, succeeded him, but surviving his two sons, he left the kingdom to *Echemus*, the great grandson of his father *Aleus*.

Echemus

Echemus assisted *Atreus*, king of *Argos*, against the *Heracidae*, and killed their champion *Hyllus* in single combat. He left the kingdom to the grandson of *Lycurgus*, named

Agapenor, who commanded the *Arcadian* troops at the siege of *Troy*. On his return, being cast upon the coast of *Cyprus*, he settled at *Paphos*, where he built a temple to *Venus*.

Hippothous, the great grandson of *Stymphalus*, who was the grandson of *Arcas*, by his youngest son, succeeded him in the kingdom of *Arcadia*. He transferred the royal seat to *Trapeza*, and was succeeded by his son

Epytus II. in whose days *Orestes*, the son of *Agamemnon*, retiring into *Arcadia*, died, and was buried near *Tegea*. *Epytus* was afterwards struck blind for his presumption in venturing into the temple of *Neptune* at *Mantineia*.

Cypselus his son succeeded him, in whose days *Cresphontes*, having by indirect means acquired the kingdom of *Mycenæ*, was murdered with two of his sons. The third son, named *Epytus*, coming to *Cypselus*, who was his grandfather by the mother's side, obtained succours from him, and killing the usurper *Polyphontes*, recovered his father's kingdom. The five following princes were *Lajus*, *Bucolion*, *Phialius*, *Simus*, and *Pompus*, which last, by the help of the inhabitants of the island *Ægina*, opened a commerce by land carriage to the sea port of *Cyllene*, which trade proved so beneficial to his kingdom, that he in gratitude called his son and successor *Æginetes*.

Polymestor, the son of *Æginetes*, succeeded his father, in whose days the *Lacedæmonians* invaded the *Tegeans*, but were routed by the help of the *Arcadian* women, and both they and their king bound with the chains they had brought for the *Tegeans*. The king, however, was soon after released, upon his oath and promise that the *Lacedæmonians* should not fight against them any more.

Echmis succeeded his brother *Polymestor*, and assisted the *Mycenians*, the constant allies of the *Arcadians*, against the *Lacedæmonians*.

Aristocrates I. the son and successor of *Echmis*, was a wicked prince. Having ravished a young virgin, priestess of *Diana Hymnia*, at the very altar of the goddess, he was stoned to death by his subjects.

Hycetas his son succeeded him, and left the throne to his son

Aristocrates II. the last of the royal line of *Cypselus*, who was stoned to death by his subjects, for his treachery to the *Messenians* his allies, whom he betrayed to the *Spartans*, then at war with them*.

* Pausan. in *Arcad.* and *Messenic.* Herod. l. i. Diod. Sic.

S E C T. VI.

The History of the antient Kingdom of THESSALY.

Thessaly,
whence so
called,

THESSALY is supposed to have received its name from *Thessalius*, the father, or according to others, the son of *Græcus*, king of an obscure village, from whom the *Greeks* are said to be descended*. It was also antiently called *Æmonia*, *Pelasgia* from *Pelasgus*, and *Pyrrhæa* from *Pyrrha*, the wife of *Deucalion*.

its divisi-
on,

It was divided antiently into four districts, or perhaps kingdoms, namely, *Thessaliotis*, *Isteotis*, *Pelasgiotis*, and *Phthiotis*. *Deucalion* was king of this last when the deluge that goes by his name happened. That flood destroyed all the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, except those that happily escaped into the high mountains. *Deucalion* and his wife saved themselves in an ark, which, on the tenth day, rested on *Parnassus*, from which they are feigned to have re-peopled the country by the throwing of stones behind them. *Thessaly*, properly so called,

its situa-
tion and
extent.

was bounded on the east by the provinces of *Magnesia* and *Phthia*, which were sometimes included in it; and then its eastern boundary was the *Ægean Sea*. On the west it had *Illyricum* and *Epirus*; on the north *Macedonia* and *Migdonia*; and on the south *Græcia Propria*. From east to west it extended about 100 miles, and near 80 miles from north to south. It was famous for its 24 hills, the most remarkable of which were

Its moun-
tains

1. the *Olympus*, celebrated among the poets for its extraordinary height; 2. *Othrys*; 3. *Pelion*; 4. *Ossa* and *Nephele*; inhabited by Centaurs, who were afterwards killed or driven away by *Hercules*. Here were also the plains of *Pharsalia*, and the delightful valley of *Tempe*. On the south borders of *Thessaly* were seated the *Dolopes* and *Myrmydons*, whom *Achilles* led to the *Trojan* war. This whole kingdom was very pleasant and fruitful, being well watered by several great rivers that run quite

and ri-
vers.

across the country; the chief of which were the *Peneus*, running through *Tempe*, the *Aliacmon*, *Erigon*, and *Axius*, all which empty themselves into the *Ægean Sea*. The country was noted for producing poisonous weeds and drugs; hence *Plautus* makes use of the word *Thessalus* to express a poisonous thing. The chief cities were *Larissa*, famed for giving birth to *Achilles*, whom the poets, however, suppose to have been born at *Phthia*; *Demetrius*, *Pegasa*, famous for being the place where the ship *Argo* was built; *Pythion*, celebrated for the *Pythian* games, instituted here in honour of *Apollo*, with many others mentioned by father *Briet*†. According to *Heliodorus*, the metropolis of

* Euseb. Chron. Byzant. sub voce Graicos and Thessal. Cluver. geogr. Mela. l. ii. † Briet. parallel. de vet. Græc.

Thessaly was called *Hypatha*, and was situated near the *Sinus Maliacus*, at a small distance from mount *Oeta*.

Thessaly was famous among other things for such an extraordinary breed of oxen, that *Neleus*, king of *Pylos*, refused to give his daughter in marriage to *Melampus*, king of *Tyrias*, except he procured him some of them. This he accomplished by the help of his brother *Bias*, then in possession of another part of the *Argolic* kingdom; and *Neleus* left them to *Nestor*, who kept them in a stable under-ground, which remained in the time of our author*. What fine horses they bred, and what expert horsemen they were, appears from the fiction of the Centaurs, which is allowed to have taken its origin from them. These monsters were said to have had the body of a horse, with the upper parts of a man, and to have been the offspring of *Ixion* by a cloud; that is, they were famous horsemen that inhabited a country called *Nephele*, which, in the *Greek*, signifies a cloud.

The *Thessalians* were a warlike nation, and excelled in cavalry. The character of As their country was pleasant and fruitful, nothing but their extraordinary valour could have saved them from being swallowed up by some of their neighbours, considering that their territories were as often disjointed from each other, under different princes, as united together under one. It were in vain, therefore, to attempt to give a succession of their kings, considering the obscurity of this period. We shall content ourselves with only mentioning what is most remarkable under any of them. At the head of all must be placed the celebrated *Argonautic* expedition, which, according to archbishop *Usher*, happened about the year of the flood, 1068.

The occasion of this expedition was as follows: *Æson*, the third in descent from *Æolus*, being either worn out with age, or weary of government, appointed his brother *Pelias* guardian of the kingdom, during the minority of his son *Jason*. *Pelias*, resolving to secure the government to himself, consulted the oracle about his design, and was bid to beware of the man that had but one shoe. Some time after, *Pelias* calling his nephew to him, *Jason* in his hurry to cross a brook dropped one of his shoes, which gave his uncle a suspicion that he was the person pointed at by the oracle. His uncle then asking him what he would do with a person of whom the oracle had bid him beware, *Jason* answered, that he would send him in search of the golden fleece to *Colchis*, which is a country lying between the *Euxine Sea* and *Iberia*. It had some considerable mines of gold, which gave rise to the fable of the fleece, which, according to the poets, was hung upon a great oak, in the grove of *Mars*, and guarded by a dragon that never slept. The country also abounding with poisonous plants; *Medea*, the king's daughter, who

* Pausan. in Messenic.

knew how to prepare them, was therefore supposed an enchantress. *Pelias* immediately ordering *Jason* to undertake the enterprise; he made no difficulty to obey, and having engaged a considerable number of young noblemen, the flower of all *Greece*, he caused the ship *Argo* to be built; hence he and his gallant company were called *Argonautæ*. The first place they touched at was the island of *Lemnos*, then inhabited by female warriors, who entertained them very kindly. From thence they sailed to the country of the *Deliones*, where they were also received in an hospitable manner; but having afterwards, through mistake, a bloody encounter with the inhabitants, they sailed to *Mysia*, near the *Hellespont*, where *Hercules*, who had broken his oar, going ashore to cut another, stayed too long and was left behind. The *Argonauts* next touched at *Bythia*, where *Amycus*, the king, obliged them, as he did all strange comers, to fight him at hurlbats, and was killed by *Pollux*. They then sailed to *Salmydessus*, a city in *Thrace*, where the famous blind soothsayer *Phinæus*, being delivered by them from the monsters called harpies, which had long wings and claws, with the faces of women, directed them how to sail between the rocks, called *Simplegades*, in the straits of *Bosphorus*, which were said sometimes to be driven against each other. Their next station was the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Idmon*, a soothsayer of their company, was killed by a wild boar, and their pilot dying, was succeeded by *Ancæus*. At length, having crossed the river *Thermodon* and passed in view of mount *Caucasus*, they arrived safe at *Colchis*. *Jason* having demanded the golden fleece of *Æetes*, the king, he promised to deliver it to him, on condition that he yoked together, by his own single strength, two fierce and terrible bulls, which had brazen hoofs and breathed out fire and flame, and plow the ground with them, sowing it with dragons teeth. *Medea*, the king's daughter, having fallen in love with *Jason*, promised him if he would marry her to relieve him from his perplexities; and he agreeing to her proposal, she taught him how to tame the bulls, so as to be able to yoke and use them. She told him, moreover, that the teeth he was to sow would immediately spring up into armed men, and that to prevent them from destroying him, he must throw stones at them to raise a dissention among them, and by that means they would destroy each other. *Jason* having successfully performed the task, went and demanded the fleece; but *Æetes*, instead of fulfilling his promise, was contriving to burn his ship and destroy him and his companions. *Medea* to prevent this mischief, cast the watchful dragon into a deep sleep by her enchantments, stole the fleece, and carrying it to *Jason*, immediately embarked with him and his companions, taking her brother *Absyrtus* with her, whom she afterwards tore in pieces, and scattered his limbs here and there to retard the pursuit of her father. She and the *Argonauts*, after having felt the effects of *Jupiter's* anger for the murder of *Absyrtus*, and suffered many calamities for several months,

months, arrived at length safe in *Theffaly**. Such was the famed *Argonautic* expedition, celebrated by antient poets and historians, as a most perilous and wonderful undertaking; though our modern navigators would think nothing of performing the same voyage in a few weeks in an open bark.

Pelias, who never expected the return of *Jason*, had, by his intrigues, forced the old king to poison himself, and the queen likewise in despair having hanged herself, he thought himself secure on the throne, when *Jason* arrived successful and victorious, and brought the fleece to him. *Jason*, not daring openly to claim his right, *Medea* had recourse to her magic against the usurper; and, as some say, restored *Jason's* father to life. She then persuaded *Pelias's* daughter to boil her old father, on pretence she would restore him to youthful vigour, but upon her non-performance, his son *Acastus* mounted the throne, and *Jason* and his wife being by him banished from *Theffaly* went to *Corinth*. *Pelias.*

Acastus is famed for having been a great hunter. His wife *Acastus*. *Hippolita* or *Cretheis*, having in vain solicited *Peleus*, the son of *Cacus* to her bed, in resentment accused him to her husband of having made attempts upon her honour, and *Acastus* endeavouring to kill him, was himself and his unchaste wife slain by *Peleus*.

The next *Theffalian* prince was the celebrated *Achilles*, the son of *Peleus* and *Tethys*, the goddess of the sea. This hero was king of *Phthia*, one of the four provinces of *Theffaly*, and is feigned to have been dipped by his mother in the river *Styx*, when he was a child, and to have been made invulnerable by it in every part, except the heel by which she held him. He was instructed by the centaur *Chiron*, who taught him music, arms, and the riding of the great horse. His mother being warned by the oracle that if he went against *Troy* he should there meet his death, sent him privately in women's apparel to *Lycomedes*, king of *Scyrus*, one of whose daughters was got with child by him, and bore the celebrated *Pyrrhus*, afterwards king of *Epirus*. The *Grecian* chiefs being also assured that without *Achilles* they could not conquer *Troy*, *Ulysses* craftily discovered him. During the siege he had a quarrel with *Agamemnon*, on account of a beautiful female captive, which made him withdraw for some time from the army; but his dear friend *Patroclus* being soon after slain by *Hector*, he dropt his resentment, and returned to the camp to revenge his death against the *Trojans*. He slew *Hector*, and after his death treated his body in a barbarous manner, causing it to be tied to his chariot, and dragged thrice round the walls of *Troy*. This inhumanity did not go long unpunished; for *Paris*, the brother of *Hector*, whose body had been redeemed by his father *Priam*, soon after shot *Achilles* in the heel, the only place in which he was not invulnerable. *Achilles.*

* Hind. hist. Græc. Pausan. Apollon. Argonaut. l. ii. Apollod. l. i.

According to *Thucydides*, about sixty years after the taking of *Troy*, the *Thessalians* are said to have driven the *Bæotians* from a small territory in *Thessaly*, and the *Bæotians* possessing themselves of the country of *Cadmeis*, called it by their name *Bæotia*.

The next memorable thing of the *Thessalians* is their constant wars with the *Phocians*, a people who inhabited a tract of land between the south border of *Thessaly* and the bay of *Corinth*. It is not easy to guess at the true ground of those wars, only we find there was an irreconcilable hatred between the two nations; insomuch that they never ceased their hostilities against each other, till each ceased to be a nation. The *Thessalians*, though superior in strength, especially on account of their cavalry, were very often worsted by the policy of their enemies, whose country being very mountainous, the avenues into it were almost inaccessible to cavalry.

The situation and extent of the kingdom of *Phocis*.

The country of *Phocis*, as we observed, lay betwixt *Thessaly* and the bay of *Corinth*. On the west it was bounded by *Ætolia*, *Locris*, and *Ozolea*, and on the east by *Megaris* and *Bæotia*. According to *Dionysius Periegetes*, it antiently extended itself as far as *Thermopylæ*, but the *Phocians* were very early deprived of that part of their country. Its greatest length from north to south was about 35 miles, but from east to west it scarcely extended 30 miles.

Phocus, the son of *Ornytion*, a native of *Corinth*, is supposed to have given his name to the country; but another *Phocus*, son of *Æacus*, king of *Enopia* or *Egina*, soon after invading it, at the head of the *Eginetæ*, the memory of the first insensibly gave way to that of the second.

Phocis was famed for several celebrated mountains, the three principal of which were, *Parnassus*, sacred to *Apollo*; *Helicon*; and *Cithæron*; both consecrated to the muses: all three were highly celebrated by the poets.

The first discovery of the *Delphic* oracle.

It had several considerable cities, the chief of which was *Delphos* or *Delphi*, famous for the temple of *Apollo*, whose oracle was resorted to from all parts of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*. How *Apollo* came by the honour of this oracle is variously reported. Some say that it originally belonged to the earth; others to *Neptune* and the *Earth*, and that he resigned his share to the *Earth*, who was succeeded by her daughter *Themis*. That she resigned it to her sister *Phœbe*, and she to *Apollo*. Its first discovery is said to have been owing to some goats, who being observed by their shepherd, upon their approach to a certain cavern in the mountain *Parnassus*, to frisk about and utter some strange sounds, he had the curiosity to go and view it, and found himself seized with the like fit of madness, skipping about and foretelling things to come. This being known, multitudes flocked thither, many of whom were seized with such phrensy, that they threw themselves headlong into the cavern; insomuch, that they were forced to prohibit, by an edict, any from approaching it. After this they placed, at the mouth of the cave, a tripod, or three-footed stool, upon which a virgin being seated, received

received and returned the answers of the deity. *Pausanias*, upon the credit of the *Phocians*, has given us several different accounts of this wonderful place, which our readers may see in that author. The cave was at length covered with a chapel, made of laurel boughs; next, according to the *Phocian* tradition, by one of wax, reared by the bees; and afterwards a third was built of solid copper by *Vulcan*. This last being destroyed by an earthquake, or by fire, a sumptuous edifice all of stone was erected by *Agamedes* and *Trophimus*.

Delphos was so excellently situated, being in the heart of all *Greece*, that it became in time the seat of the general council of all the *Grecian* states. Here sat the court of the *Amphietyones*, who were chosen out of the prime cities of *Greece*. Causes of all kinds were brought before them, and their sentence was deemed definitive. *Deucalion* began to reign in that part of *Phocis*, in the neighbourhood of *Parnassus*, about the time that *Cecrops* settled at *Athens*. But afterwards the *Phoceans* formed themselves into a commonwealth, governed by their general assemblies, the members of which they chose from among themselves, and changed as often as occasion required.

The history of the *Phocians* is altogether obscure, till the time of the holy war begun against them on the following occasion. They having presumed to plough the territories of the city of *Cyrra*, which was consecrated to the *Delphic* god, were fined by the court of the *Amphietyons* for their sacrilege. But refusing to pay the fine, on pretence that it was too large, next sessions the court adjudged their dominions confiscated to the use of the temple. The *Phocians*, who were only more exasperated by this sentence, went and seized upon the temple, plundered it of its treasure, and held the sacred depositum for a considerable time. The *Amphietyons* for this second crime, formally declared war against the *Phocians*, in which the several states took part according to their inclinations and interests. *Athens*, and *Sparta* with some others of the *Peloponnesians* declared for the *Phocians*, and the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, *Locrians*, and other neighbouring states against them. This war, which was carried on with great fury on both sides lasted ten years, but the *Phocians*, who had made a gallant defence, were at length totally defeated by *Philip* of *Macedon*. A fine of 60 talents was then imposed upon the *Phocians*, to be paid annually to the temple till all the damage it had suffered by them was fully repaired, and till that was done, they were excluded from dwelling in any walled towns, and from having any vote in the grand assembly. They were, however, soon after released from this heavy sentence, their known bravery making them so necessary to the rest, that they were glad to remit it*. The other towns in this country were on the sea coasts, *Cyrra*, *Crissa*, and *Anticyrra*, and in the inland *Pythia*, *Daulis*, *Elatia*, *Ergosthemia*, and *Balia*, &c.

The *Pho-*
cian his-
tory.

* *Pausan.* in *Phocid.*

S E C T. VII.

The History of the antient Kingdom of CORINTH.

Corinth,
whence so
called.

THIS small kingdom was called *Corinth*, according to some from *Corinthos*, the son of *Jupiter*, or according to others, the grandson of the sun's grandson. But most authors ascribe the name of the kingdom, and the building, or rebuilding of *Corinth*, to *Corinthos*, the son of *Pelops*. Among its other antient names, the city was called *Heliopolis*, or the city of the *Sun*; but on what account is quite uncertain.

The ex-
tent of the
kingdom.

The bounds of this kingdom were, on the east, the gulf of *Saron*; on the south, the kingdom of *Argos*; on the west, *Sicyon*; and on the north, part of the bay of *Corinth* and the isthmus, which joins the *Peloponnese* to the continent. Its utmost extent from east to west was about 30 miles, and from north to south about half that space. It abounded with mountains, the chief of which was *Acrocorinthium*, at the foot of which the city of *Corinth* was built, and at the top the citadel, about 60 stades from the sea on each side. The city of *Corinth* is said to have been founded by *Sisyphus*, the son of *Æolus*, and grandfather of *Ulysses*, and its antient name to have been *Ephyra*, from a nymph of that name, the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*; and according to others of *Myrmex*, the wife of *Epimetheus*, the son of *Japetus*. *Sisyphus* is supposed to have founded it about the year of the flood 834. The only two cities of any note next to *Corinth* in this small state, were *Lecheum*, seated on the bay of *Corinth*, and *Cenchrea* on that of *Saron*, which were looked upon as the two havens of the metropolis. They were so well situated for naval commerce, which was the chief study of the *Corinthians*, that they made ample compensation for the barrenness of the soil.

Corinth,
one of the
first cities
of *Greece*
for beauty
and
wealth.

The *Corinthians* by addicting themselves more to trade than war, became in time exceeding opulent; so that what influence they had over the other states, was rather owing to their wealth than to their valour. Their flourishing commerce drawing strangers thither from *Europe* and *Asia*, their city at length became one of the finest in all *Greece*, being adorned with sumptuous buildings, such as temples, palaces, theatres, porticoes, and other edifices, all of them enriched with elegant columns, capitals, and bases, from which the *Corinthian* order took its name, with numberless statues done by the most famous artists; insomuch, that with respect to its riches, greatness, and excellent situation, the *Romans* esteemed it equally worthy of empire with *Carthage* and *Capua*. Among other artificial rarities may be reckoned the sumptuous embellishments of the fountain of *Pyrene*, supposed to be the same with the fountain *Hippocrene*, feigned by the poets to have sprung from *Pegasus* striking his foot against the rock. These embellishments consisted of several caves in form of grottos, all covered

vered with white marble. The theatre and the stadium, or course, were also both adorned with white marble. The temple of *Neptune* was ornamented with a multitude of brazen tritons, or sea gods, besides a great number of other embellishments, and its avenue on one side was lined with the statues of all those who had won the prize at the isthmian games, which are said to have been instituted in honour of *Neptune*; and on the other side with stately pines set in regular rows. We must refer our readers to *Pausanias* for a full description of all the other edifices and masterpieces of architecture, carving and painting, with which this small spot of ground was enriched.

The *Corinthians*, notwithstanding their assiduous application to trade, did not forget to cultivate a regular discipline both in peace and war. Though war was not their common occupation, yet they furnished many brave and experienced generals to the rest of the *Grecian* cities; insomuch, that it was common for these to prefer a *Corinthian* general to one either of their own or any other state.

The descendants of *Sisyphus*, after enjoying the throne of *Corinth* for seven or eight generations, were at length expelled by *Aletes*, one of the *Heraclidæ*. From him we meet with a long succession of kings of his line, concerning the greatest part of whom little else remains but their names and the years they are said to have reigned. The race of *Aletes* held the monarchy of *Corinth* between 3 and 400 years, under the name of *Heraclidæ*, and almost as long under the name of *Bachidæ*: but the *Corinthians* at last, grown weary of kingly government, entirely dissolved it, in the reign of *Telestes* their last king, who was murdered after he had reigned 12 years. Upon his death 200 of the principal *Bachidæ* seized upon the government, sharing the administration of affairs among themselves, and electing a supreme magistrate out of their own body, whom they called *Prytanis*, to preside over the rest. *Corinth* continued under this aristocracy for several years, when *Cypselus* descended from them by the mother's side, having received some obscure hint from the oracle that he should be king of *Corinth*, found means to wrest the power out of their hand. From *Sisyphus* the first founder, to this *Cypselus*, the *Corinthian* government had stood almost 860 years*. *Sisyphus*, who is generally allowed the first founder of the *Corinthian* kingdom, was the son of *Æolus*, and was killed by *Theseus*, for the many inroads he made into *Attica*. He left several sons, and amongst them *Glaucus*; *Laertes*, the father of *Ulysses*; and *Ornythus* or *Ornytion*, the father of *Phocus*, who gave his name to *Phocis*, whither he carried a colony.

Glaucus, called by *Euripides* *Creon*, received *Jason* and *Medea* into *Corinth*, after they had both been expelled *Thessaly* by *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*. *Creon* about ten years after, having

* Pausan. in *Elid.* and in *Corinth.* Herod. I. v. Diod. Sic.

married his daughter to *Jason*, the slighted forcerefs *Medea* was thereupon so enraged, that she set the palace on fire, murdered all the children she had by *Jason*, and fled to *Athens*. According to *Pausanias*, *Glaucus* having assisted at the funeral games, instituted by *Acastus* in memory of his father, was trampled to death by his own horses.

The son of *Glaucus* having killed a man, named *Beller*, was called *Bellerophon*, and for that manslaughter was obliged to fly to *Argos*, where *Stenobæa*, the queen, having falsely accused him of an attempt upon her chastity, he was sent to her father *Iobates*, king of *Lycia*, to be put to death. That king, not chusing to embrue his hands in the blood of a stranger, put him upon several hazardous expeditions in hopes of his perishing, but he always returning with victory, he at length gave him his daughter *Philonoe* in marriage, and declared him his successor. In his extraordinary atchievements, however, the poets tell us he had the assistance of *Minerva*, who pitying his innocence, lent him the famous horse *Pegasus*, which she herself had broke and tamed, and that by his assistance he had killed the monster *Chimera*. Upon his prosperous change of fortune, however, he is said to have grown so insolent and presumptuous, as to have attempted to fly up to heaven upon *Pegasus*, by whom he was flung down into the valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind*. *Thoas*, the son of *Ornytion*, in the mean time succeeded his uncle *Glaucus* upon the throne of *Corinth*. From him the crown descended to his son *Demiphan*, to his grandson *Propidas*, and lastly to his two great grandsons *Doridas* and *Hyanthidas*. In the reign of these two, the kingdom was invaded by the *Dorians*, under *Aletes*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, who forced the two brothers to yield the crown to him, and to lead a private life at *Corinth*. *Aletes* enlarged the metropolis of his new kingdom, and called it *Corinth of Jupiter*, in gratitude to the oracle of this deity at *Dodona*, which had favoured his pretensions. His posterity held the crown for many generations; but at length the form of government was changed from a monarchy into an aristocracy of zoo *Bacchidæ*, who, the better to secure the government to themselves, refused to intermarry with other families. *Eetion*, however, a man descended at a great distance from the *Lapithæ*, married *Labda*, one of the *Bacchidæ*, who was lame and so deformed that none of her tribe would take her to wife. By her he had *Cypselus*, who put an end to the aristocracy and made himself king.

* Pausan. ut supra. Hesiod. Theogn. Lucret. Horat. Ovid. Apollodor.

S E C T. VIII.

The History of the antient Kingdom of LACEDÆMON or SPARTA.

THE name of this country was at first *Laconia*, a name The dif-
 which this nation still prided themselves in, after they ferent
 were called *Spartans* and *Lacedæmonians*. The names *Sparta* names of
 and *Lacedæmon* are often confounded by antient and modern *Lacedæ-*
 writers, yet in propriety of speech, the first was only the name *mon.*
 of the metropolis, and the latter of the kingdom: the distinc-
 tion, indeed, was soon overlooked, and both appellatives were
 promiscuously used to signify the city and the country. Ac-
 cording to the *Laconic* tradition, *Eurotas*, one of their kings,
 having no male issue, married his daughter *Sparte* to *Lacedæmon*,
 the supposed son of *Jupiter* by *Taygeta*, the daughter of *Atlas*,
 and they agreed to call the kingdom by his name, and the city
 which he built soon after, and made the seat of the kingdom,
 by that of his wife *. Other authors give different etymons of
 the name of *Sparta* †. According to *Strabo*, the *Leleges* were
 the first inhabitants of the country, which from them was called
Lelegia. Afterwards, from one of the *Spartan* kings, it was
 called *Oebalia*, and had also the name of *Hecatompolis*, from the
 hundred cities which it is said once to have had ‡.

Laconia was situated in the south-east corner of the *Pelopon-* Its situa-
nese, being bounded on the east and south by the sea, on the tion.
 north by *Argos* and *Arcadia*, and on the west by *Mycenæ*. It
 extended from east to west about 90 miles, and from north to
 south about 50 miles; though at first in this extent were proba-
 bly included some other smaller kingdoms, afterwards swallowed
 up by the *Spartans*.

Its coast was remarkable for a great number of promontories,
 the chief which was those of *Malea* and *Tenara*. It had like-
 wise a considerable number of sea-port towns and commodious
 harbours. The most noted of all was *Epidaurus*, now *Mal-*
vesia, seated on the gulf of *Argos*, a town well built and well
 peopled, and famed among other things for its excellent wine,
 called malvesy or malmfy, which it produced, and with which
 it supplied other parts of *Greece*. On the coasts was caught a
 kind of shell-fish, the blood of which was of excellent use for
 dying of purple, and inferior to none, according to *Pausanias*,
 except that which was caught in the *Red* sea.

Of the inland towns, which were very numerous, the most
 considerable was *Sparta*, seated on the river *Eurotas*, about 30
 miles from the sea.

The country was pretty mountainous, and was divided from
Messenia and *Arcadia* by two ridges of hills. The chief rivers

* Pausan. in *Laconic*. Byzant.

† Ibidem ibid. Euseb. Chron.

‡ Strab. geogr.

were the *Smenus*, the *Thiasus*, the *Scyras*, and the *Eurotas*, which last is said at first to have been only a spacious canal dug by a king of that name, to drain the bogs and marshes that rendered the country about *Sparta* incommodious and unhealthy. The soil was very rich, especially in the low and flat grounds, which were well watered by springs from the mountains; and the kingdom being half encompassed by the sea, and having many excellent havens, was excellently situated for trade and navigation.

The character of the Spartans.

The inhabitants were a hardy and brave people, inured to the trade of war both by sea and land, averse to sloth and luxury, and extremely jealous of their honour and liberty, as well as of their neighbours power. By their uniform adherence to the most strict civil and military discipline, they raised their power and reputation to an extraordinary pitch, and were revered and respected, not only by all the *Greeks*, but by several powerful foreign nations.

Their ancient government.

Their government was originally monarchical, in which form it continued through a succession of 12 princes, from *Lacedæmon*, the son-in-law of *Eurotas*, to *Tissamenes*, who was driven out by the *Heraclidæ*. *Aristodemus*, one of their chiefs, to whom *Sparta* fell, dying before the conquest was finished, his twin sons, *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, who were his heirs, seized the *Spartan* government, which under them took a new form, being then held by two princes, who agreed to govern jointly with equal power and authority, both bearing the title of king of *Lacedæmon*, and both being acknowledged and obeyed as such. The *Delphic* oracle being consulted about this new form of government, the *Pythones* made no objection against it.

This diarchy did not end with the two twin brothers, but continued under a joint succession of thirty princes of the line of *Eurysthenes*, and 27 of that of *Procles*, and ended in both nearly about the same time. But though the succession continued thus long in these two lines, yet the power and authority of the princes was soon curtailed, through the discords that reigned between them. The descendants of the line of *Eurysthenes* were surnamed *Agidæ*, from *Agis*, his son and successor; and those of the other line took the name of *Eurytiodæ* from *Eurytion*, the grandson of *Procles*. The two branches not remaining long in harmony, each to strengthen their party paid their court to the people, who taking the opportunity of the hereditary animosity of their chiefs, grew turbulent and headstrong; so that at length the regal dignity being brought into contempt, the government was upon the brink of ruin and anarchy, when the great *Lycurgus* took the reins of it, during some part of the minority of his nephew *Charilaus*.

Reformed by the great Lycurgus.

This great patriot and law-giver was the son of *Eunamus*, an half brother of *Polydectes*, the sixth king of the *Eurytionian* line. His brother dying without children, the right of succession fell to him, and he accordingly entered upon the administration. The widow of his brother, who was left pregnant, privately informed

informed *Lycurgus* of her condition, and offered if he would marry her to destroy the fruit of her womb. *Lycurgus*, though greatly shocked at the proposal, amused her with different pretences, but used all proper means to prevent her miscarrying. She being delivered of a boy, he immediately proclaimed the infant king, and named him *Charilaus*. This generous action, however, was far from satisfying all the *Spartans*, many of them being persuaded by the incensed queen and her brother *Leonidas*, that *Lycurgus* was not sincere in his professions, but intended to secure the crown by the murder of his nephew. To prevent so vile an insinuation from gaining credit, *Lycurgus* voluntarily banished himself for several years, which stopped the mouths of his invidious enemies, and greatly raised his reputation. During his absence, the depravity of manners and corruption in the government became so predominant, that not only his friends, but even those who had been his most zealous enemies, were glad to repeat their embassies, to intreat him to come back and save his country from ruin. When he came back to *Sparta*, he undertook to change the whole form of their government, being persuaded that a few particular laws would produce no great effect. He limited the authority of the kings, by constituting a senate, endowed with the supreme authority in all civil matters, and left to the kings only the management of military and religious matters, as we shall hereafter more fully relate. Thus the *Spartan* state at length assumed the form of a commonwealth, after it had existed about 890 years.

According to *Strabo*, as we observed, the *Leleges* were said to have first peopled this country under *Lelex*, who was succeeded by his son *Myles*, and he by his son *Eurotas*. *Lacedæmon*, the son-in-law of *Eurotas*, however, is reckoned the founder of the *Spartan* nation.

Amyclas his successor, is known only for the city of his name, which he built. This city, whether by reason of its situation or any other cause, is said to have been subject to such frequent and strange noises, as of enemies coming upon them when there was really nothing like it, that the *Amycleans* made a law that none should dare to alarm the town upon any such occasion. The *Dorians* taking the advantage of this law, came and surprised the town; hence the old proverb, *I will speak, knowing how the Amycleans were ruined for holding their peace*. *Amyclas* had three sons, *Argalus*, *Cynortas*, and *Hyacinthus*. The two former succeeded him in their turn, and *Hyacinthus*, the poets say, was accidentally killed by *Apollo*, who turned him into a violet.

Oebalus, the son of *Cynortas*, succeeded his father, and had two sons, *Hippocoon* and *Tindareus*. He appointed *Tindareus* his successor, and assigned *Hippocoon* a territory in *Lacedæmonia*, which he called *Oebalia*. *Hippocoon*, after his father's death, dispossessed his brother, and seized the crown. *Hercules* in the mean time coming to *Sparta* to be expiated for a murder he had committed, *Hippocoon* and his sons refused to grant his request; *Hercules* comes to *Sparta*.

for which *Hercules* resolved to be revenged upon them. The sons of *Hippocoon* killing *Oeonous*, one of *Hercules*'s companions, the hero immediately attacked the king with the followers he had with him, but was wounded in the scuffle, and obliged to retire. Returning afterwards with more troops, he killed *Hippocoon* and ten of his sons, besides a great number of *Lacedæmonians*, and having taken the metropolis, restored the kingdom to *Tyndareus*, but in trust for his own posterity. *Tyndareus*, however, had no sooner regained possession of the throne, than he began to think of means to secure it to himself and his descendants against the *Heracidae*. By his wife *Leda* he had two brave sons, *Castor* and *Pollux*; and two daughters, the famous *Helena* and *Clytemnestra*, two of whom, namely, *Castor* and *Clytemnestra*, the poets feign to have been begot by *Jupiter*. *Helen*, on account of her great beauty, being stolen away by *Theseus*, *Tyndareus*, after he had recovered her again, obliged all her suitors to promise with an oath, to leave it to her to make choice of the man she liked, and in case she should again be stolen away, to join all their forces to bring her back to her husband. She not long after chose *Menelaus*, the son of *Atreus*, and being afterwards stolen away by *Paris*, all those princes who had been her admirers, at the solicitation of *Menelaus* and *Agamemnon* went against *Troy*; of the success of which enterprise we have formerly spoken. *Tyndareus*, after he had reigned 40 years left his kingdom to his two sons, *Castor* and *Pollux*, who had signalized themselves in the *Argonautic* expedition, and when they came back had built a temple to *Minerva Asia*, in acknowledgment of their success and safe return from *Colchis*, from which country they are said to have brought away a famous statue of *Mars*. They had likewise a bloody combat with the sons of *Amphiaraus*, *Ida* and *Lyncæus*, the latter of whom is said to have had such piercing eyes, that he could see even into the trunk of a tree. *Pollux* killed *Lyncæus*, and *Ida* was struck dead with lightning. The poets relate several other fabulous adventures of those two brothers, who say they were at last transformed into the sign *Gemini**.

Menelaus.

Menelaus, the son of *Atreus*, succeeded them in the kingdom in right of his wife, who by her flight with *Paris*, engaged him and all *Greece* in a ten years war. At their return from the *Trojan* war, having a dispute with his brother *Agamemnon*, he set out by himself, and after having weathered several storms arrived safely with his wife *Helen* in *Egypt*, where some affirm he wandered six or seven years before he returned to *Sparta*. *Hecædotus*, however, gives another account of his coming into *Egypt*, and says, that he sailed thither in quest of *Helen*, who had never been at *Troy*, but had been detained in *Egypt*; her ravisher who had been driven in there by contrary winds, being forced by the *Egyptian* king to depart without her. This account

* Pausan. Lacon. Int. in Thes. Diod. Apollod.

thinks most probable, as *Priam*, if she had been in *Troy*, would have undoubtedly delivered her up, rather than suffer the ruin of his kingdom and family. *Menelaus* left by a slave two sons, namely,

Nicostrates and *Megapenthes*, who succeeded to the throne; but the *Lacedæmonians* not chusing to submit to a spurious offspring, conferred the crown on

Orestes, the son of *Agamemnon*, who claimed it as grandson *Orestes.* of *Tindareus* by his mother *Clytemnestra*. He is said to have lost his senses upon being deprived of the fair *Hermione*, the only child of *Menelaus* and *Helen*, who had been given to *Pyrrhus*. Having recovered *Hermione*, his reason also returned, but he was then accused of parricide, before the great *Athenian* court of *Areopagus*, he having slain his mother *Clytemnestra*, in revenge for her murdering his father. *Pausanias* does not mention what sentence that court passed upon him, but tells us elsewhere that he had seen an old building which was called *Orestes's Mansion*, in which he was forced to live separate from the rest of mankind, till he had quite expiated his crime. He died after a long reign, and was buried in *Arcadia*. *Tissamenes*, the son of *Orestes* by *Tissamenes.* *Hermione*, succeeded him both in this kingdom and those of *Argos* and *Messenia*, and was soon after driven out of all by the *Heraclidæ*. What became of *Tissamenes* is uncertain. Some say, he was killed in defending the kingdom of *Argos*; others relate that he escaped into *Achaia* and reigned there, and some time after was killed in a combat against the *Ionians*, and was buried in the city of *Helice*. However that be, *Philonomus* betrayed the city of *Sparta* to *Euristhenes* and *Procles*, sons of *Aristodemus*, one of the chiefs of the *Heraclidæ*.

These two brothers, who were twins, and extremely like to *Eurysthe-* each other, were declared joint kings, the government, during *nes* and their minority, being committed to their uncle *Theras*. They *Procles.* divided the kingdom of *Sparta* into six parts, every one of which they endowed with all the privileges of the city of *Sparta*; which regulation, though for the present it ingratiated them with the *Lacedæmonians*, yet in the following reigns proved the cause of many grievous disturbances.

Agis, the son and successor of *Eurysthenes*, finding that the *Agis.* privileges granted to the people by his father, rendered them headstrong, endeavoured to curb them, by laying a tax upon all the *Lacedæmonians*, and depriving some of the cantons of their privileges. The inhabitants of *Helos* alone refused to submit, and were made a severe example to the rest. Upon being conquered, they were all made slaves, and their masters were forbid by a law either to give them their liberty, or to sell them into other countries. For a greater mark of infamy, all the other slaves belonging to the state were called from them *Helots* *.

* Strab. geogr.

Sous. By these severities *Agis* alienated the affections of the people from him, but his colleague, *Sous*, the son of *Procles*, gained their esteem by his bravery and new conquests. The following instance of his conduct is recorded very much to his honour. Being besieged by the *Chlorians* in a dry stony place, he was at length reduced to promise to deliver up all his conquests, on condition that he and all his men should be allowed to drink of a spring not far from his camp. This treaty being ratified, he called his soldiers together, and offered the kingdom to him that would forbear drinking; but so excessive was their thirst, that not one could be tempted to accept his offer. After he had seen all his men drink of the water, he himself only sprinkled his face with it, without drinking one drop; and thus by his abstinence having made the contract void, he could honourably refuse to resign his conquests to the enemy.

A noble stratagem.

Echestratus and *Eurytion*, *Labotas* and *Prytanis*.

Lycurgus.

In the following reign of *Echestratus*, the son of *Agis*, and *Eurytion*, the son of *Sous*, some differences happened between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives*, which in the succeeding reign of *Labotas* and *Prytanis*, broke out into an open war, about the town and territories of *Cynosura*, which was originally an *Argian* colony, but had been conquered by the *Lacedæmonians*. This war seems not to have been of long duration; but though the *Lacedæmonians* remained unmolested by their neighbours, yet their intestine divisions threatened them with greater calamities than any foreign war. These dissensions continued during the three following reigns of *Donyssus*, *Agésilas*, and *Archelaus*, of the line of *Eurysthenes*; and *Eunomus*, *Polydectes*, and *Charilaus*, of the line of *Procles*, when the state was at last reformed by the wise *Lycurgus* *.

* * * * *

S E C T. IX.

The History of the ancient Kingdoms of ELIS, ÆTOLIA, LOCRI, DORIS, and ACHAIA.

Elis, so named from *Elisha*.

THOUGH these small kingdoms were either conquered by, or blended with the other larger states, yet as they are often mentioned in the *Grecian* history, we shall give a short account of their situation, origin, antiquities, and history. The kingdom of *Elis* is reasonably supposed to have been first peopled by the descendants of *Elisha*, the son of *Javan*, if not by *Elisha* himself, who gave his name to the whole peninsula, which, by the prophet *Ezekiel*, is called *Elisha*. The *Greek* and *Latin* poets and historians, indeed, give us other etymons of this name, but not so satisfactory as this mentioned †.

* Hind. hist. Græc. Meurs. antiq. Laced. ap Gedoyn. in Pausan. † Ezek. chap. xxvii. 7. Bochart Phaleg. l. iii. et auctor. ab eo citat. Pausan. in Laconic.

Elis was washed by the *Ionian* sea on the west, had *Arcadia* Its boun-
on the east, *Achaia* on the north, and the bay of *Cyparissos* with daries.
Mycenæ on the south. Its greatest extent from east to west
was about 48 miles, and from south to north about 60 miles.
It contained several considerable cities, the chief of which was Its cities,
Elis, the capital, seated on the banks of the *Peneus*, and almost
in the heart of the kingdom. It was famous among many other
things for a large spacious place called *Xystos*, where the candi-
dates for the *Olympic* games were obliged to initiate themselves
for some time by diet, exercise, and other preparatives, before
they were admitted to appear on the *Olympic* plains. Their se-
nate, likewise, used to assemble in this place, and the candi-
dates for all kinds of dignities and employments came here to
give proofs of their abilities and merit. In the city of *Elis* was
a temple dedicated to fortune, with a colossal statue of that god-
dess; and in the citadel was a temple and statue of *Minerva*,
and on the helmet of that goddess was carved a cock, because
he is supposed the most courageous of all winged creatures.
Here was also the palace of *Augeas*, one of their kings, and his
famous stables, which, though they contained 3000 oxen, and
had not been cleansed for 30 years, yet were cleared of all the
filth and dung in one day by *Hercules*, by turning the river *Al-*
pheus into them. Of all the gods, the *Eleans* held *Bacchus* in
the greatest veneration; who, they pretended, appeared to
them on the day on which they celebrated his festival, called
Thya. The city of *Olympia* was the next in dignity to *Elis*.
It was situated on the famous plains where the *Olympian* games
were celebrated. These games, which were first instituted by TheOlym-
Pelops, in honour of *Jupiter*, were celebrated every eighth year, pic games.
and during five days, but with much greater solemnity, and a
vafter concourse of people than any of the other *Grecian* games.
They were at first often interrupted, but at length fixed by
Iphitus, and were greatly serviceable afterwards for the compu-
tation of time, being observed regularly for a considerable num-
ber of centuries. The time for celebrating them was at the
full of that moon which immediately preceded the summer sol-
stice. The priests of *Jupiter* were entrusted with the registering
of the names of the victors at those games, and recording of
every material occurrence which happened between each olym-
piad. After the computation by olympiads commenced, which
did not happen till the first year of the 28th, the *Grecian* ac-
counts began to be reckoned historical, and those that preceded
that period are called fabulous. The city *Olympia* was famed
likewise for its magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, in which
was a famous statue of that god 30 cubits high. The chief
rivers were the *Peneus*, *Enipheus*, and the *Alpheus*, which last,
after running quite through *Arcadia* and *Elis*, is swallowed up
in the earth before it reaches the sea. It is supposed to run from
thence, by a subterranean passage, quite into *Sicily*, where it
mixes with the fountain *Arethusa*, near the city of *Syracuse*;
things

things that are thrown into it on the side of *Elis*, coming out, as it is said, at that fountain.

The history of the *Eleans*. According to *Pausanias*, *Æthlius* was reputed the founder of this little monarchy, which was at first distinct from that of *Pisa*. His son and successor *Endymion*, who the poets say was beloved by the moon, married *Asterodia*, the grand-daughter of *Amphietyon*, by whom he had three sons, *Pæon*, *Epeus*, and *Ætolus*. *Epeus* winning the prize at the *Olympic* games, he declared him his successor. *Ætolus*, however, staid with him at *Elis*; but *Pæon*, unable to brook the loss of such a noble prize, went and settled on the river *Axus*, giving the name of *Pæonia* to that country. *Epeus* went to the siege of *Troy*, and is supposed to have been the architect of the *Trojan* horse. In his reign *Olympia* was taken from the *Eleans*, by *Pelops* the *Lydian*, who had seized on the kingdom of *Pisa*.

Epeus dying without male issue, was succeeded by his brother *Ætolus*, who at certain funeral games happening to kill *Apis*, the son of *Jason*, was forced to leave the *Peloponnese*, and went to settle in *Ætolia*.

He was succeeded by *Eleus*, who the *Greeks* pretend gave his name to this kingdom, and is said to have been the son of *Nep-tune*, by the only daughter of *Endymion*.

His son and successor *Augeas*, is said to have promised *Hercules* his daughter and some part of his kingdom, if he would clean his stables, or according to *Pausanias*, his fields, which were quite covered with the dung of his numerous herds. When *Hercules* had performed the task, by turning the river thro' them, *Augeas* refused to give him his hire, pretending that he had done the work more by cunning than by labour. The dispute being referred to *Phyleus*, the eldest son of *Augeas*, he gave it against his father, who in return banished him as well as *Hercules*. *Augeas*, afraid of the hero's resentment, strengthened himself by the alliance of *Actor*, the grandson of *Epeus*, and of *Amarynceus*, a warlike *Thessalian*, so that *Hercules*, who came soon after against him with a powerful army, was obliged, after a fierce encounter, to retire. Having not long after killed *Actor* and *Amarynceus* by surprize, as they were going to the isthmian games, the *Eleans* in vain pressed the *Argians*, among whom he had retired to punish him. *Hercules* lived for some time undisturbed at *Tyrinthus*, and having at length raised a powerful army of *Argives*, *Thebans*, and *Arcadians*, he again invaded *Elis*, took and sacked the capital, and having conquered the whole kingdom, made a present of it to the banished *Phyleus*.

Phyleus, though in quiet possession of the kingdom, staid in it no longer than was necessary to settle the affairs of the state, and then retired to the island of *Dulichium*. *Augeas*, who, according to *Pausanias*, had been spared on account of his son, dying soon after, the crown fell to *Agasthenes*, the brother of *Phyleus*. His son and successor *Polyxenus*, went to the *Trojan*

war, and after his return was succeeded by *Eleus II.* in whose reign the *Derians* and *Heraclidæ* conquered the *Peloponnese*, under *Oxylus* the *Ætolian*, the three-eyed general, so called because his horse and he had but three eyes between them. *Oxylus* accepted the office of general, on condition that they should allot him *Elis*, not only as a reward for his services, but because he had a title to that kingdom, as being the sixth in a lineal descent from *Endymion*. He found more opposition than he expected from the *Elians*, who were commanded by their king *Dius*. Both parties at length agreeing to decide the contest by single combat, the champion of *Oxylus* prevailed. *Oxylus* was accordingly proclaimed king of *Elis*, and was succeeded by his son *Lajus*, after which we hear no more of his race, nor indeed of any material transactions in this kingdom, till the reign of *Iphitus*, the reviver of the *Olympic* games, and cotemporary of the great *Lycurgus*. *Greece*, and particularly *Elis*, had suffered for a long time by wars and pestilence, on which account the *Olympic* games had been interrupted. *Iphitus* consulting the oracle, concerning the means of appeasing the angry gods, was answered, that the restoration of those games would prove the safety of *Greece*. He accordingly applied himself earnestly to the revival of the games, and having offered a sacrifice to *Hercules*, who the *Eleans* believed was on some account or other exasperated against them, he caused the *Olympic* games to be proclaimed all over *Greece*, with a promise of free admittance to all comers. He took upon himself, likewise, to be sole judge and president of those games; a privilege which continued in his descendants as long as his line and the regal dignity continued. The people after this took upon them to elect two presidents, the number of whom in time increased to ten, and at length to twelve.

Ætolia is said to have been so called from *Ætolus*, the son of *Ætolia*, *Endymion*, who having accidentally killed *Agis*, the son of so named *Jason*, was obliged to quit the throne of *Elis*. Antiently it was from called *Curatis* and *Hyanthis*, from those people who were either *Ætolus* subdued or expelled by *Ætolus*. The inhabitants of this country, with some others in their neighbourhood, were the greatest robbers in all *Greece*, and continued so many centuries after *Hercules* and *Theseus* had expelled the banditti every where else. They were never wholly mastered till the *Romans*, whom they had affronted, totally subdued them under *Fulvius Nibilior*.

Their small territory was bounded on the east by the river [its bound- *Evenus*, or *Lycormus*, which separated them from the *Locrians* daries. and *Phocians*, on the west by the *Achelous*, which parted them from the *Acarnanians*, on the north by the *Dorians* and part of *Epirus*, and on the south by the bay of *Corinth*. Its utmost extent from north to south was about 40 miles, and from east to west about 20. The *Ætolians* in process of time enlarged their territories considerably on the side of *Thessaly* and *Acarnania*, but had but one sea port of any note, namely, *Oenias*, seated at the

The character of the *Ætoli-ans*. Their history.

the mouth of the *Achelous**. The country is very craggy and mountainous, which rendered several of their cities almost impregnable; so that the other *Grecian* states, and even the *Macedonians*, tried in vain to tame the turbulent inhabitants. The most noted of its cities were *Thermus* and *Calydon*. The former was the metropolis, and situated in the very heart of the kingdom. Though it was the place where the states of the country assembled, and the repository of their treasures in times of danger, yet it was not so much as fortified with a wall, the difficult ascents and narrow passages of the neighbouring mountains being deemed a sufficient defence. *Calydon* was situated near the forest of that name, where *Meleager* slew the famed *Calydonian* boar. This city, which was built by *Calydon*, the son of *Ætolus*, was pleasantly situated in a large plain on the *Evenus*, and was for some time the seat of the *Ætolian* kings. The *Ætoli-ans* were in general a stout warlike people, seldom at peace with any of their neighbours. There is, however, very little to be found of any of the transactions of their kings. In the reign of *Oeneus*, one of their kings, *Hercules* came to *Calydon*, and though he had a numerous spurious brood scattered over all *Greece*, yet being desirous of legitimate issue, he married *Dejanira*, the king's daughter, and to oblige the *Ætoli-ans*, made some improvements upon the course of the river *Achelous*, which served the poets for a foundation of an absurd fable. During the reign of *Meleager*, the son and successor of *Oeneus*, *Ætolia* was greatly infested by a fierce and monstrous wild boar, so that the king was forced to call to his assistance *Theseus*, *Telemon*, *Peleus*, *Pollux*, besides a number of other *Grecian* heroes, to destroy it. *Meleager* having at last killed the boar (G), presented its head to the famous *Arcadian* princess *Atalanta*, who was the first that gave it a wound, and he was so charmed with her courage and intrepidity, that he married her. The account of his death is altogether absurd and fabulous. His brother *Tydeus*, as we have formerly mentioned, having married one of the daughters of *Adrastus*, king of *Argos*, marched with him against the *Thebans*, to restore *Polinices*, but was killed before that city †. *Diomedes* the son of *Tydeus*, signalized himself at the *Trojan* war; but after his return, was forced by his faithless wife *Ægiale*, and her paramour *Cometes*, to retire into *Apulia*. From this time there is nothing considerable recorded of this nation, till the famous *Achean* league. Their time was chiefly spent in mutual excursions between them and their neighbours.

* Strabo. Melar. Cluver.

† Apollod. l. iii.

(G) The bulk of this formidable boar may be guessed at from the largeness of his tusks, one of which *Pausanias* says, was still

preserved in the temple of *Pan*, and was above a yard long. *Pausan. Arcad. c. 46.*

Next the *Ætolians*, towards the east, lay the *Locrians*, who *Locris.* were divided into three tribes, namely, the *Ozoleans*, the *Epicnemidians*, and the *Opuntians*. The territory of the *Ozoleans* was separated from *Ætolia*, by the river *Evenus*, had the kingdom of *Phocis* on the east, and extended from the bay of *Corinth* northwards about twelve miles. Their chief cities were *Naupaetus*, now *Lepanto*, at the mouth of the *Evenus*, and *Amphissa*, situated on the same river. The first was taken from them by the *Ætolians*, and the latter by the *Phocians*. The *Epicnemidians* were seated to the north of the *Ozoleans*, and were so called from the mount *Cnemis*. They alone of the three tribes had a right to send deputies to the grand *Amphyctonian* court at *Delphos*. To the north and east of the *Epicnemidians* lay the northern *Locri*, called *Opuntii*, from their chief city *Opoes*, near the coast of the *Eubæan Sea*. We must refer those who desire a fuller account of these small territories, to the authors quoted in the margin*. The *Locrians* were an ancient and warlike nation, and signalized themselves as much as any of the *Grecian* states, in maintaining the liberty of *Greece*. *Homer* tells us, that they went to the *Trojan* war armed with bows and slings. Its division.

Doris lay betwixt *Thessaly* on the north, and *Phocis* and part of *Ætolia* on the south. On the east it was parted from the *Epicnemidians* by the river *Pindus*, and on the west from *Epirus* and *Acarmania* by the river *Achelous*. The greatest extent of the country from north to south, was about 40 miles, and from east to west about 20. It had several considerable mountains, and particularly was surrounded on the north by *Oeta* and *Pindus*, and on the west by the *Callidromian* mountains. The inhabitants were called *Dores* and the country *Doris*, from *Dorus* the son of *Helen*, and grandson of *Deucalion*. The country was also named *Tetrapolis*, from its four cities, *Pindus*, *Erineus*, *Cytinium*, and *Boeum*. The *Dores* were very polite, and good orators, poets, and musicians, and nevertheless stout and warlike. They spread their colonies in several parts of *Asia*, and it is on account of these frequent settlements that we find several countries called *Doris*. Those that remained at home were at length expelled by the *Cadmeans*, and forced to inhabit about the mountain *Oeta*, where they continued till they made that famous descent into the *Peloponnese* with the *Heraclidæ*, whither they carried their dialect, called from them *Doric*. We have nothing remarkable concerning these people before their naval descent into the *Peloponnese*, an account of which we have already given. *Doris.*

Achaia Propria, so called to distinguish it from the general name of *Achaia*, which was sometimes given to all *Greece*, and by the *Romans* to one of their provinces in that country; had *Achaia.*

* Pausan. Achaic. and Phocid. Strab. Mela. Cluver. Byzant. Palmer. Antiq. Græc.

the kingdom of *Sicyon* on the east, the *Ionian* sea on the west, the kingdoms of *Elis* and *Arcadia* on the south, and the bay of *Corinth* on the north. Its limits were not always of the same extent, but taking them in the largest sense, its greatest length from east to west seems to have been about 50 miles, and from north to south about half that distance.

This country was antiently called *Ægialea*, according to some from *Ægialeus*, the first king of *Sicyon*, of whose territories it was reckoned a part. It afterwards took the name of *Ionia*, from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, who invaded it, and the people were called *Ægialean Ionians*. The name of *Achaia* was given it from *Achæus*, another son of *Xuthus*, whose sons came and drove out the *Ionians*. Its chief rivers were the *Aiercus*, the *Larissa*, and the *Achelous*.

The an-
tient his-
tory of the
Achæans.

The history of the *Achaïans*, during many of their first kings, is entirely buried in obscurity. *Xuthus*, one of the grandsons of *Deucalion*, being driven by his brothers from *Thessaly*, came and settled in *Athens*, where the king, *Erietheus*, gave him his daughter *Creusa*, by whom he had two sons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Being afterwards driven from *Athens*, he came and settled in *Achaia*, where he died. His son *Achæus* soon after raising some *Athenian* and *Ægialian* forces, went and recovered his grandfather's kingdom in *Thessaly*. He was afterwards obliged to fly for manslaughter into *Laconia*, where he died. Mean while his brother *Ion*, who was grown very great at the *Athenian* court, obtained some forces and invaded *Ægialea*; and instead of being opposed by *Selinus*, the king, he obtained his daughter, who was his only child, in marriage, and was declared his successor. *Ion* succeeding his father-in-law, built a city and called it by his wife's name, *Helice*. Having distinguished himself against the *Thracians*, he was for his singular merit and valour soon after chosen general of the *Athenian* forces against the *Eleusians*, and being either killed in that war, or dying soon after, was buried in *Attica*. *Strabo* says, he was the first who divided the people into four ranks, or classes namely, husbandmen, artificers, priests, and militia. He made likewise several other wise regulations, and left the crown to his descendants, who enjoyed it undisturbed for a considerable time. The *Achæans* or descendants of *Achæus*, in the mean time had spread themselves in several parts of *Greece*, particularly in *Argos* and *Lacedæmon*, and upon being driven out of these two kingdoms by the *Dæres* and *Heracliæ*, they began to think of claiming *Ægialea*, then possessed by the *Ionians*, a considerable number of *Dæres* having agreed to assist them in this expedition. They demanded of the *Ionians*, by a herald, to be received amicably into their territories; but being refused admittance, they defeated them in the field, and obliged them to capitulate. Having granted them the liberty of retiring whither they thought fit, they went to *Attica* where they met with a kind reception from *Melanthus*, king of *Athens*. They staid in that kingdom during the reign of the following king, *Codrus*, but when his son *Medon* was declared

archon

archon, they went with the brothers of *Medon*, to *Asia Minor*. The *Achæans*, who now gave their name to *Ægialea*, divided the kingdom, which consisted of 12 cities, among the four sons of the deceased prince, who had been killed in the action against the *Ionians*. These princes gave their cousin *Damafias*, the grandson of *Orestes*, a share in the government; and afterwards also took into partnership *Preagenes* and his son *Pratus*, the sovereigns of those *Achæans* who had been banished out of *Lacedæmon*. By this division the *Achaian* government seems to have become a kind of aristocracy, rather than a seven-fold monarchy: and from *Pausanias* it would appear, that 11 of their cities were free, and that the *Achaian* states assembled themselves, even when the rest of *Greece* was terribly harrassed with wars and pestilence. After having driven out the *Ionians*, they so fortified themselves in their new settlement, that they were able to make head against the *Heraclidæ*; and preserved their laws and liberty, even after all the rest of the *Peloponnese* had been subdued by them. After a succession of kings, they at length formed themselves into a republic*.

CHAP. II.

The History of the ATHENIANS.

Of the State of ATHENS from the establishment of annual Archons to the ACHÆAN League.

THE *Athenians* were always friends to liberty, and though Monarchy in antient times they were governed, like most other nations, by kings, yet those kings were far from being absolute. Even in the days of *Theseus* the *Athenians* reserved such an authority in their hands, that, as *Plutarch* observes, *Homer*, when enumerating the forces of the *Grecian* confederates, gives the name of people to the *Athenians*, but to no other state.

Upon the death of *Codrus*, who sacrificed himself for the public good, his sons quarrelled about the succession, which gave the *Athenians* a pretence to abolish the kingly power. They declared that *Jupiter* alone was king of *Athens*, much about the time that the *Jews* were weary of having the true God for their king, and wanted a man to reign over them. The *Athenians*, that they might not seem ungrateful to the family of *Codrus*, made his son *Medon* their chief magistrate for life, with the title of archon. Afterwards they rendered that office decennial, but continued it in the same family. The family of *Medon* at length becoming extinct, they then not only made this office annual, but elected nine archons, that the authority, by being

* *Pausan.* in *Achaic.* *Plutarch.* *Diod. Sic.*

divided,

Annual
archons
created.

Draco ap-
pointed
law giver.
An. Chr.
623.

The ri-
gour of
his insti-
tutions.

divided, might be less formidable*. The chief of these magistrates was stiled, by way of eminence, the *Archon*, and the year was distinguished by his name. The second, who had his peculiar function, was stiled *Basileus*, that is, king. The third, who had, among several other things, the direction of military affairs, had the name of *Polemarchus*. The title of *Thesmothetæ* was common to the other six, who were looked upon as the guardians of their laws; and conservators of the constitution. *Creon* was the first of the new *Archons*; and it is generally supposed, that the year of his government was the first of the 24th olympiad, and the 684th before the christian æra. Although, as we observed, the years were distinguished by the reigns of the archons, the names of many of the archons are nevertheless lost, and of many of those that remain, nothing more is known but that they were archons in such a year. The archons in the beginning of the democracy or commonwealth, were chosen by the people out of the nobility, and they still retained one privilege of the antient magistrates, which very probably bore hard upon the people; namely, that of deciding all causes that came before them, according to their own notions of right and wrong; for as yet the *Athenians* had no written laws. The people were far from being always satisfied with their decisions; and being grown excessively jealous of their liberty and independancy, were apt to be offended at every thing that seemed to break in upon their equality. Hence arose continual factions and quarrels, which disturbed the state for about 60 years. The people being at length made sensible of the expediency of written laws, probably from their intercourse with merchants from *Syria* and *Egypt*, insisted that a body of laws should be compiled, which the nobility being obliged to comply with, they pitched upon *Draco* to undertake that arduous employment. From the scattered fragments, relating to this great man, it appears that he was noble by birth, and endowed with high qualifications. He was learned, virtuous, and a great lover of his country, but at the same time of a severe and rigid disposition. He esteemed the taking away of life so high a crime, that to imprint a deep abhorrence thereof in the minds of men, he ordained that process should be carried on even against inanimate things, if they had accidentally caused the death of any person. A statue, for instance, that had fallen upon or killed a man, was banished, it being reckoned criminal for any one to keep it in *Attica*†. His laws, which it is supposed he published when he was archon, in the 28th year of the 39th olympiad, were so rigorous, that *Domades* rendered himself famous by observing, *That they were written not with ink, but blood*. He punished all crimes with death; even indolence and the taking an apple, were as

* Schol. in Nub. Aristoph. Dion. Halicarnas antiq. Rom. Euseb. Chron. Pausan. † Pausan. Attic. Suid. in *Δρακων*. Aul. Gell. l. ii. Tatian orat. contr. Græc.

severely punished as sacrilege; for which he himself assigned this reason, *small faults seem to me worthy of death, and for the most flagrant offences I can find no higher punishment* *. Some have been of opinion, that *Draco*, who was far in years when he published his laws, borrowed most of his principles from the books of the *Phœnicians*; but this can hardly be proved †. The *Athenians* in a few years testifying a great dislike to his institutions, *Draco*, afraid of falling a sacrifice to their resentment, obliged to retire to the island of *Ægina*, where the inhabitants received him with great respect, which however soon after proved fatal from to him. As he was coming one day into their theatre, the audience to shew their regard for him, threw, according to the custom of that age, their bonnets and cloaks upon him, which stifled the old man, who was too weak to disengage himself from the load ‡. The rigorousness of his laws was perhaps owing, not so much to his disposition, as to the violence of the age in which he lived, and the natural turbulence of the *Athenians*. His institutions had the fate that generally attends all violent things. Though for a short time their sanctions were inviolable, yet remissness once beginning to take place, they soon became abrogated through disuse; and thus excessive rigour paved the way for impunity.

He is
obliged to
retire
from
Athens.
His death.

About 17 years after the archonship of *Draco*, the *Athenians* were engaged in a war against the *Mitylenians*, about the city *Sigeum*, near the mouth of the *Scamander*. The *Athenian* commander was *Phrynon*, a person equally remarkable for the comeliness of his form, and the generosity of his mind; and the *Mitylenians* were commanded by *Pittacus*, one of the famous sages of *Greece*. These commanders exerted themselves strenuously each for the honour of his country, and at last met in single combat, wherein *Phrynon* depended solely on his valour, but *Pittacus* made use of craft; for concealing behind his shield a net, he therewith suddenly entangled *Phrynon*, and easily slew him. This not putting an end to the war, *Periander*, the tyrant of *Corinth*, interposed; and both parties submitting to his arbitration, he agreed that *Sigeum* should belong to the *Athenians* ||.

A war be-
tween the
Athenians
and *Mity-*
lenians.

Athens about seven years after was torn by civil dissensions. *Cylon*, a man of a most antient family, having by his affability and wealth gained many friends and dependants, by their assistance surprised and made himself master of the citadel, when many of the citizens were absent at the *Olympic* games. *Me-gacles*, the archon, with his eight associates, and the whole power of *Athens*, immediately besieged the conspirators, and soon obliged them to surrender. *Cylon* and his two brothers found means to make their escape, but the others tying a cord to the image of *Minerva*, and bringing the clew with them to

Cylon at-
tempts to
seize the
govern-
ment of
Athens.

* Plut. in vit. Solon. † Joseph. cont. Appion. ‡ Hesych.
illust. de Philos. || Plut. de malign. Herod. Polyæn. Stratag.

The insurrection suppressed. demonstrate that they were still under sanctuary, came down to treat with the archon. Unfortunately for them, as they passed the temple of the furies, the line, it is said, snapt of itself, upon which accident the followers of the archon immediately fell upon them and dispatched them. None escaped but such as bribed the wives of the officers of justice.

The remains of *Cylon's* faction still created great disturbances, by insinuating that the violation of *Minerva's* sanctuary, where many of the seditious had been murdered, had drawn down the anger of heaven, of which all the misfortunes that happened to the republic were cited as undoubted proofs. These discourses had such an effect, that *Megacles* and his officers were deemed execrable, and held to be persons under the peculiar displeasure of the gods*.

Salamis taken from the *Athenians*. While *Athens* was in this confusion, the *Megarensians* attacked and took *Nisea*, and afterwards drove the *Athenians* out of *Salamis*. The *Athenians* in vain attempted to recover that island; but the *Megarensians* proving always successful, and cutting off great numbers of them, they at last despaired of recovering it, and afflicted with the mighty loss they had received, made a law that it should be capital for any one to propose the renewing of hostilities on account of *Salamis*.

The city of *Athens* expiated. The *Athenians* about this time being disturbed with superstitious fears, by the advice of the oracle, resolved to expiate their city, and for this purpose sent for *Epimenides*, the *Phestian*, from *Crete*, who was reputed a holy man, beloved of the gods, and one who had deep skill in the mysteries of religion. When he came to *Athens*, he took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white, which he led into the *Areopagus*, and then turning them loose, directed certain persons to follow them, and where-ever they lay down to sacrifice them to the local deity. This being done, altars were then erected in all those places, to perpetuate the memory of the solemn expiation; and by the direction of *Epimenides*, many temples and chapels were also erected without the city, two of which have been particularly noted, namely, the chapel of *Contumely* and the chapel of *Impudence*. The *Athenians* highly satisfied with what he did for them, offered him presents of great value, and considerable honours; but he requested only a branch of the sacred olive, which being given him, he returned well satisfied to *Crete*. During his stay at *Athens*, he became intimately acquainted with *Solon*, who began to be taken notice of for his shining parts and admirable moderation.

Solon distinguishes himself. This great *Athenian*, whose rare qualities rendered him so beloved while living, and have still preserved his fame uninjured, was noble by birth, for he was descended lineally from *Codrus*. His mother was nearly related to the mother of *Pisistratus*, and he had a brother who was archon the year after himself. In his youth he was greatly addicted to poetry, and having no weighty affairs then upon his hands, wrote and published a great

* Plut. in vit. Solon. Herod. Thucyd.

many poems. According to *Plato*, if he had finished all his poems, neither *Homer*, *Hesiod*, nor any antient poet, would have been more famous. He was also a great orator, and wrote in prose with peculiar elegance and perspicuity. And it is evident, both from his life and writings, that he was a person not only of exalted virtue, but of a most pleasant agreeable temper. His fortune was far from being equal to his birth; but rather than subsist by the generosity of his friends, he chose to travel and merchandize, that he might live independant at home upon his return. His patriotism early displayed itself; for looking upon the decree prohibiting the proposal of the recovery of *Salamis*, under pain of death, as shameful and very detrimental to the state, he composed an elegy of an hundred verses, to inspirit the people to renew the war against the *Megarensians*, and feigning himself mad, he ran into the market-place with his night-cap on his head, and ascending the stool of the common cryer, repeated with great vehemence the verses he had composed to the people who gathered round him. *Pisistratus*, his relation, mixing himself with the crowd, by his persuasive eloquence heightened that martial rage that the pretended madman had kindled by his verses; so that the sentiments of the *Athenians* being suddenly changed, they determined to renew their claim to *Salamis*, and accordingly decreed a war. The manner in which they recovered the island is related differently. According to *Polyænus*, *Solon* sent a trusty friend of his to *Salamis*, who pretending to be an enemy to the *Athenians*, told the inhabitants of the island, that if they would pass over to *Colias*, they might seize the fairest of the *Athenian* ladies, who were celebrating the feast of *Ceres*. The *Megarensians* presently fitting out a ship, came and landed without suspicion; but *Solon* having dismissed the women, and cloathed a number of beardless youths in female habits, with daggers concealed under their dress, the enemy when they ran to seize their booty, were surprised and cut off, and the *Athenians* embarking on board their vessel, sailed immediately to *Salamis* and took it. *Plutarch* gives a different account, and tells us that *Solon* being appointed director of the expedition, first in compliance with the oracle of *Delphi*, sailed privately to *Salamis*, and sacrificed in the night at the tombs of some of his countrymen who were buried in the island. He then raised a body of 500 *Athenian* volunteers, who embarked in a galley of 30 oars, and a considerable number of fishing boats, and sailed for *Salamis*. The *Megarensians* upon discovering the *Athenian* galley, immediately sent out a stout ship against it, which was surprised and taken by the armed boats, and all the crew cut to pieces. The *Athenians* dressed in *Megarensian* habits, then manning the enemy's vessel, sailed to the island and were admitted into the port, while their friends in the galley landed in another part and attacked the city by land, which they quickly made themselves masters of. The *Megarensians* made several attempts to recover the island, and after both parties had fought for some time with various success, they agreed to submit to the arbitration of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Solon*

Salamis
recovered
by his
means.

pleaded on this occasion the cause of his country, with such eloquence and strength of reasoning, that the commissioners decided in favour of the *Athenians*, who made it appear that the island had been given up to them by *Philæus* and *Euryfaces*, the sons of *Ajax*, who had come from thence and settled in *Athens*.

A general war declared against the *Cirrhaeans*.

Soon after *Solon's* return to *Athens*, where he was highly extolled by the people, the inhabitants of *Cirrha*, on the bay of *Corinth*, besieged *Delphi*, with the design of plundering the temple of *Apollo*. By the advice of *Solon*, the council of the *Amphietyons* decreed a general war against the sacrilegious *Cirrhaeans*, who were at last reduced, chiefly by *Solon's* councils and stratagems. He went to the army as counsellor and assistant to *Clysthenes*, tyrant of *Sicyon*, who commanded in chief, and advised him to turn the channel of the river *Plistus*, which ran through the city of *Cirrha*. Finding, however, that the besieged were supplied with water by wells, he caused a great number of hellebore roots to be sliced and thrown into the *Plistus*, and when the water was thoroughly impregnated with the juice of these roots, he caused the river to be turned back into its own channel. The *Cirrhaeans*, overjoyed at the sight of the running water, eagerly drank of it, which caused an epidemic flux among them, so that being no longer able to defend the walls, the place was presently taken. The inhabitants were severely punished, and *Cirrha* became thenceforward the arsenal of *Delphi* *.

New disturbances in *Athens*.

Solon upon his return from this expedition, found *Athens* in the utmost confusion, owing to the remains of *Cylon's* faction, who continually insisted that *Athens* was still under the anger of the gods, on account of the impious cruelty of *Megacles* and his faction. *Salamis* being again lost, their clamours raised great disturbances in the city. To quiet the murmurs of the seditious, *Solon* persuaded those who were stiled execrable to abide a trial. Three hundred persons were chosen to judge them, but such was the power of the accusers, or the superstition of the judges, that all those of *Megacles's* faction who were living, were condemned to perpetual banishment; and the bones of those that were dead were dug up and cast without the limits of their country.

The unsettled state of the government.

The confusions among the *Athenians* were chiefly owing to the unsettled state of the government, and the weak authority of the laws, which nourished party and faction. Their warmest dissensions were about the form of their government. The inhabitants of the hilly country, who were called *Diacrii*, declared positively for a perfect democracy. The *Pediæi*, or those who dwelt in the low country, were for an oligarchy. The *Paraii*, or those who lived on the sea coast, desired a mixt government. The poor in the mean time finding little protection

* Plut. in vit. Solon. Suidas in voce Σολων. Polyæn. l. iii. Pausan. i. Phocid.

from the laws, were grievously oppressed by the rich. Many of them were obliged to sell themselves and their children to discharge their debts. Some abandoned their native country; but others resolving to throw off their oppressive yoke, openly declared that they intended to make a thorough change in the government.

The desperation of this fourth party threatening to overturn *Solon* un- the state, all the wise *Athenians* cast their eyes upon *Solon*, who nimously was chosen archon without having recourse to lots, and was declared constituted supreme arbiter and legislator with the unanimous archon. consent of all parties; the rich liking him because he was himself a man of fortune, and the poor dreading nothing from one so mild and so remarkably honest. He now had it in his power to make himself king, and the wisest *Athenians* seemed to be of opinion, that the vesting the supreme power in one man, was the only means of reforming the state. His friends earnestly pressed him to assume the royal dignity; but such was his noble He gene- disinterestedness, that notwithstanding all their solicitations and rously re- reproaches, he would hearken to no other scheme than that of fuses the settling a form of government upon the basis of a just and rea- sovereign- sonable liberty. Where-ever he found things tolerably well ty. under the old constitution, he refused to alter them at all, and whatever changes he made, he was at great pains to explain the reason and necessity of them, wisely mixing, as he himself said, authority and power with reason and justice. Wherefore, when one afterwards asked him, if the laws he had made for the *Athe- nians* were the best, he replied, *Yes, the best they were capable of receiving.*

He quieted the discontents and tumults of the meaner people, He com- by publishing a law, declaring all debtors discharged and ac- poses the quitted of all their debts. As he foresaw that such an edict, dissenti- which had something in it contrary to justice, would at first ons of the meet with opposition from the richer sort, he composed an ora- *Athenians.* tion, to prevail with them to consent and submit to the new law; and on this subject consulted three of his intimate friends, who by their treachery brought such a stain upon his reputation, as had almost ruined his credit. Before the publication of the edict, they privately borrowed great sums of money, which they laid out in the purchasing of lands. The general indigna- tion that was raised by such a base and flagrant knavery, at first fell upon *Solon*, but it was soon cleared when it appeared that he himself was a sufferer.

His new law at first was far from giving satisfaction. The rich were disgusted, and thought he had done too much, and the poor thought he had done too little, because he had not di- vided the lands of *Attica* equally amongst them. In a little time afterwards, however, the new edict was generally approv- He repeals ed of, and the same powers as before were continued to *Solon*. the laws He repealed all the laws that had been made by *Draco*, except of *Draco*, those against murder. He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands

hands of the rich ; but the supreme power, or last resort, he placed with the people ; which was thought at first of little consequence, though it was found afterwards to give the people a mighty power in the state. Of the rich he formed three classes, ranging them according to the differences of their incomes and revenues, those being reckoned in the lowest class who were worth only 200 measures of corn and of liquids per annum. A fourth class was composed of the people.

Solon, to prevent, as much as possible, the abuse which the nobles might make of their authority, raised the reputation of the court of *Areopagus*, by ordering that such only should have a seat therein as had served the office of archon, whereas formerly it consisted of such persons in the state as were most conspicuous for their wealth, power, and probity. The new regulation raised the power of the *Areopagites* very high, and rendered their decrees so extremely venerable, that none contested them for many ages. The *Romans* even sometimes referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal*. As a restraint upon the turbulent spirit of the people, he instituted a senate of 400 members, an hundred out of each tribe. These had the prior cognisance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be proposed to the general assembly till digested by them.

His laws His next care was to digest a body of laws, which were so much esteemed, that the *Romans* transcribed them for the use of their state. As these transcribed laws became the basis of the *Roman* jurisprudence, which has since been received almost throughout *Europe*, under the name of the civil law, we may with reason affirm, that many of *Solon's* constitutions are yet in force.

We shall mention some of the laws which *Solon* made, by which the reader may be able to form a judgment of the rest. First, every particular person was authorized to espouse the cause of any one that was injured and insulted. By another law, those persons that in public differences did not declare themselves of one party or other, but waited to see how things would go, before they determined, were condemned to perpetual banishment, and to have all their estates confiscated. Tho' at first sight this law may seem dangerous to the public peace, yet in truth it was calculated to support it ; for the wise and moderate, as well as the wicked and turbulent, being obliged to declare themselves, the state was provided with a quick and sure resource against the sudden enterprizes of profligate and factious citizens†.

concern- He abolished the giving of portions in marriage with young ing marriages, unless they were only daughters, and ordered that the

* Val. Max. l. viii. c. 1. Quint. l. vi. c. 1. Lucian. in Hermot. p. 595. † Plut. in vit. Solon. Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. l. ii.

bride should carry no other fortune to her husband than three suits of cloaths, and some few household goods of little value. He desired that marriage might be no longer a mercenary business, but a contract of minds founded upon mutual affection. He ordained that none should revile the dead, nor any living person at sacred solemnities, in the courts of justice, or at public spectacles, on pain of paying three drachmæ to the person dead, reviled, and two more to the public treasury. He likewise made a law against slander.

The *Athenians* before his time were not allowed to make their concern-wills, but the wealth of the deceased always devolved upon his ing last children or nearest relations. *Solon* having abrogated this custom, wills. enacted that such as had no children, might leave their estates to whom they pleased, preferring friendship to family, and the ties of affection to those of consanguinity. He however added this proviso to his law, that the maker of such a will should be in the full possession of his senses, not influenced by sickness, potions, bondage, or the blandishments of a wife.

He made the following laws with respect to women and their relating to expences: When a woman travelled, he permitted her not to women, carry with her above three gowns, or any provisions above the value of an obolus. Nor was she allowed to travel in the night, unless in a chariot and with the torch light.

To prevent the mischievous effects of idleness and sloth, he against established by law that a son should be released from all obliga- idleness. tions to maintain an aged father, in case that father had not bred him up to some trade. He vested the court of *Areopagus* with a power of examining how people lived, and of punishing idleness. He allowed every man a right to prosecute another for that crime, and in case a person was convicted of it thrice, he suffered infamy. The husband who surprised his wife in adultery, was allowed by *Solon* to kill the adulterer. Whoever ravished a free woman, was to be fined 100 drachmæ. No adulteress was allowed to adorn herself, and if she put on any ornaments, he gave liberty to any that thought fit to tear her cloaths off her back, and beat her into the bargain.

He enacted, that whoever refused to maintain his parents, or Miscella- had wasted his paternal estate, should be *infamous*, judging that neous a man could not be privately bad and publicly good, and that laws. one who neglected his duty to his parents, could not preserve it to the state; or that he who had spent his own revenue, could not be frugal of that of his country*. He forbade a guardian to marry the mother of his ward, and permitted not the next heir to be admitted guardian of the infant. He enjoined engravers to keep no impressions of the seal rings they sold. If a man put out the eye of another, who had but one eye, he directed that he should lose both his: by his laws an archon, taken in drink, was to be punished with death. He decreed that if a man sur-

* Dion. Halicarn. l. ii. Liban. Declam. xviii.

prised his wife in adultery, and lived with her afterwards, he should be deemed infamous. He commanded children to be dutiful to their parents, permitting the latter, in case of disobedience, to disinherit and turn them out of doors. Such as avoided going to the war, fled from the army, or shewed any other flagrant sign of cowardice, he ordered to be expelled the sanctified precincts of the forum, to be for ever debarred from wearing a crown or wreath, or from entering any places of public worship. He ordained that a citizen of *Athens* should be tried no where but at *Athens*; that the citizens should deliver their sentiments on public affairs, according to their seniority; but he prohibited young men, however wise they might be esteemed, either to become magistrates, or to make orations to the people. He instituted feasts in the common halls, under the title of *public meals*, but he forbade that the same persons should be entertained often, and ordered such as did not come in their turns to be fined, ascribing the former offence to greediness, and the latter to a contempt of the public*. He forbade any strangers to be naturalized at *Athens*, who were not either perpetual exiles from their own country, or who out of love to *Athens* had not brought their whole families to settle there, so as to have no interest in another place. He directed that the children of those who were slain in the service of the state, should be brought up and instructed at the public expence, till they were twenty years old. He made no law against parricide, and being afterwards asked the reason why he had not, he answered, *That to make laws against a crime that had never been known or heard of, was the way to introduce it, rather than to prevent it* †.

His laws
being rati-
fied, he
absents
himself
from
Athens.

Solon having promulgated his laws, procured them to be ratified for 100 years; but many of the citizens coming to him daily to have them explained, to know the reasons on which they were founded, and to advise him to alter this or that, according as their humour or interest led them; to avoid these importunities he resolved to travel. With this view he bought a ship, and pretending an inclination to trade, prevailed on the *Athenians* to permit him to be absent for ten years; during which space he hoped his laws would become familiar to them.

We shall here give a concise account of the *Athenian* republic; and, for the sake of illustrating the future history, we shall not confine ourselves to the form settled by *Solon*, but shall take a view of the *Athenian* commonwealth, as it subsisted in succeeding times, referring our readers for a fuller account to the *Cecropia* of the learned *Meursius*, or the abridgment of that work in Dr. *Potter's* excellent antiquities of *Greece* ‡.

A descrip-
tion of the
city of
Athens.

We shall in the first place take a short view of the city of *Athens*, which, in the most early times, was confined to that spot, afterwards called the citadel, and was named *Cecropia*, from its

* Demost. in Timocr. Plut.
Gronov. Thesaur. Græc. v. iv.

† Cic. pro Ros.

‡ Vide

founder

founder *Cecrops*. This old city was seated on the top of a rock, in the midst of a large and pleasant plain. This eminence was The cita-
60 stadia in circuit, and was surrounded by olive trees, and for- del.
tified, as some say, with a strong palisade; but in succeeding
times, it was encompassed with a strong wall, in which there
were nine gates. As the number of inhabitants increased, the
plain below became full of buildings, which gave occasion to
the distinction of *Acro* and *Catapolis*, that is, of the upper and
lower city.

Within the citadel were a great many sumptuous edifices,
the most remarkable of which were, the magnificent temple of
Minerva, stiled *Parthenion*, because that goddess was a virgin. The tem-
The *Persians* destroyed it, but it was rebuilt with greater mag- ple of Mi-
nificence by the famous *Pericles*, all of the finest marble, with *ner-va*,
such skill and strength, that in spite of the rage of time and
barbarous nations, it remains, perhaps, the most noted anti-
quity of the world. It was divided into two parts, one sacred
to *Neptune*, in which was the salt fountain, said to have sprung
up upon the stroke of his trident; the other to *Minerva*, the pro-
tectress of *Athens*; wherein was the sacred olive which she pro-
duced, and her image, which was said to have fallen down
from heaven. At the back of *Minerva's* temple was the pub-
lic treasury, which was burnt to the ground through the kna-
very of the treasurers, who having misapplied the revenues of
the state, took this short method of making up their accounts.
The lower city comprehended all the buildings surrounding the
citadel, the fort *Munychia*, and the havens *Phalerum* and *Pi-
raeus*. This city had 13 great gates, and the principal edifices
with which it was adorned, may be reckoned the temple of
Theseus, erected by *Conon*, which remains entire to this day,
and is used as a church; the *Olympian* temple, erected in ho- and of
nour of *Jupiter*, begun by *Pisistratus*, and not finished till 700 *Jupiter*.
years afterwards, under the emperor *Adrian*; the *Pantheon*, a
most noble structure still remaining, supported by 120 marble
pillars.

The *Gymnasia* of *Athens* were many, but the most remark- The Gym-
able were the *Lyceum*, *Academia*, and *Cynosarges*. In the *Ly- nasia, Ly-*
ceum, which stood on the banks of the *Ilissus*, *Aristotle* taught *ceum*.
philosophy. The academy, which was a few stades without
the walls, was adorned with shady walks, where *Plato* read his
lectures, and from thence his scholars were stiled academics.
The *Cynosarges* was a place in the suburbs, not far from the
Lyceum, and was famous on many accounts, but particularly
for a noble *Gymnasium*, erected for the special use of such as
were *Athenians* only by one side. *Antisthenes* here instituted a
sect of philosophers, who, as some think, were from thence
called *Cynics*.

The principal and most capacious harbour of *Athens*, was the The ha-
Piræus, which had three docks, two markets, and five porticos, vens of
which joining together, formed one great portico. The second *Athens*.
port was *Munichia*, not far from *Pyræus*, a place very strong
by

by nature, and afterwards rendered far stronger by art. The third port was *Phalerum*, distant from the city about 20 stades, according to *Pausanias*; but *Thucydides* makes its distance 35 stades.

Extent of Athens. *Athens* in her glory, according to *Aristides*, who wrote expressly on the subject, was a day's journey, in compass; that is, according to the account of others, something more than 22 Roman miles. After it fell from its ancient splendor, it endured great variety of fortune. *Sylla* destroyed it without mercy. *Julius Cæsar* reduced it, after an obstinate resistance, but *pardoned the living*, as he said, *for the sake of the dead*. They sided with *Brutus* against the triumvirate, and with *Anthony* against *Augustus*. *Tiberius*, or at least his son *Germanicus*, favoured them; but it was to *Adrian*, who had been archon of their city, that they owed the revival of their ancient lustre. The *Goths*, in the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* sacked and destroyed it; but *Theodosius II.* out of respect to his empress, caused it to be re-edified*.

Its different inhabitants. The people of *Athens* were freemen, or sojourners, or slaves, and what may seem strange, the citizens, or *Politai*, were as many in the time of *Cecrops*, as in the most flourishing state of the commonwealth, hardly ever exceeding 20,000 †. *Solon* decreed that none should be accounted free, but such as were *Athenians* both by father and mother. His law fell into disuse till revived by *Pericles*, at whose instance it was again repealed; but after the expulsion of the 30 tyrants, *Solon's* law was restored. There was a particular court of judicature, for the trial of causes of illegitimacy, and the utmost care was taken to prevent any from being enrolled *Athenian* citizens, who had not a clear title thereto. *Cecrops* divided the freemen, or citizens, into four tribes. A new division was made by *Erechtheus*, though the number of tribes remained the same; and by choosing 100 persons out of each tribe, *Solon* composed his senate. *Clysthenes* increased the number of the tribes to ten, and made the senate consist of 500. In succeeding times two other tribes were added.

The sojourners, or *Metoicai*, were persons who lived always at *Athens*, yet were not admitted free denizens. These were obliged to chuse out of the citizens protectors, who were stiled patrons. They paid services to the state, and an annual tribute of 12 drachms for each man, and 6 for every woman; but those who had sons and paid for them, were exempted. If they were not able, through poverty, to pay this tribute, they were seized by the tax-masters, and actually sold for slaves; which, as *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, was the fate of *Xenocrates*, the philosopher. The servants were freemen, who, through indigence, were obliged to work for wages, and while in this

* Gronov. Thesaur. antiq. Græc. v. iv.
Athen. l. vi.

† Plut. in vit. Peric.

state they had no vote in the assembly. As to slaves, they were absolutely the property of their masters, and were forbidden to wear cloaths, or to cut their hair like freemen. They were likewise debarred from anointing or perfuming themselves, and from worshipping certain deities. Their masters branded them with letters on the forehead and elsewhere at pleasure. The temple of *Theseus*, however, was allowed them as a sanctuary, whither, if they were exceedingly ill used, they might fly, and by that means oblige their owners to let them be transferred to other masters. They were permitted to get estates for themselves, giving a small premium to their masters, who were obliged to make them free if they could pay their ransom. When they were made free, they were obliged to chuse patrons, and had likewise the privilege of chusing a curator, who, in case their patrons injured them, was bound to defend them*.

In the time of *Demetrius*, the *Phalerian*, the inhabitants of *Athens* were numbered, and were found to be 21,000 citizens, 10,000 sojourners, and 40,000 slaves†. Though in the early times the *Athenians* were glad of citizens, yet when their city rose in power and glory, they set a high value upon this dignity. They refused the freedom of their city to several persons of high quality; but freely granted it to persons of distinguished merit. It was only the general assembly of the people which could confer this privilege, and the grant was not valid, unless ratified in a second assembly, wherein 6000 citizens were present.

This general assembly, which was the last resort, was called The general *Ecclesia*, and it consisted of all the freemen of *Athens*, excepting such as were infamous. The ordinary meetings of this assembly were four in 35 days. The extraordinary meetings were appointed by the magistrates when necessity required; whereas to the ordinary assemblies the people came of their own accord. If any sudden tempest arose, or an earthquake happened, or any very inauspicious sign appeared, the assembly was immediately adjourned; but if the weather was fair and serene, and nothing extraordinary happened, the place was purified by being sprinkled round with the blood of young pigs, and then the cryer made a solemn prayer for the prosperity of the republic, and pronounced a bitter execration against any who might propose what might be disadvantageous to the state. Magistrates re-

There were several magistrates who had the overseeing and regulating of these assemblies; first the epistate, or president; next the prytanes, who were members of the senate, and ordered the scheme of business to be proposed at the assembly, to be previously set up in some public place: next were the proedri, nine in number, who were chosen at each assembly, and proposed to the people what they were to deliberate upon. When the debates upon any affair were over, they people then

* Plut. in vit. Sol. Aristoph. Plautus, &c.
Deipnos. l. vi.

† Athenæus.

declared their opinion for or against it, by casting first beans, but in after times pebbles, into certain vessels.

The senate.

The senate consisted at first of only 400 members, afterwards it was encreased to 500, when the tribes were augmented to 10, and when they came to 12 it was then swelled to 600. They were elected by lots, 50 out of each tribe, and after they were all chosen, they next elected the officers who were to preside in the senate, who were the prytanes beforementioned, and the time in which they presided was 35 days, and was called prytania. The senate assembled, by direction of the prytanes, once every day, excepting festivals, and sometimes oftner in the senate house, which was thence called *Prytaneum*. The office of president of the senate lasted but one day, and by law no man could hold it more than once, because he then had in his custody the public seal, the keys of the citadel, and the charge of the exchequer. Whatever was decreed in this assembly, if approved by the people, became a law, otherwise it was of no force longer than the senate subsisted.

Power of

the senate.

The power of the senate was very great, for they took the account of magistrates at the expiration of their offices; they directed the provisions made for poor citizens out of the public treasure; they had the superintendancy of public prisoners, and a power of punishing such as committed acts morally evil, tho' not prohibited by any law; they had also the care of the fleet, and many other branches of authority. Before the members took their seats, they were constrained to undergo a strict examination, and the whole course of their lives being then enquired into, if the least slur on their reputation appeared, they were set aside. Each senator was allowed a drachm every day, and such of the poor *Athenians* as thought fit to demand it had three oboli for going to the assembly.

The court of *Areopagus*.

The court of *Areopagus* was so called from the place where it assembled, namely, *Arion Pagos*, that is, the hill of *Mars*. It is very difficult to ascertain the number of judges of which this court consisted. A senator in this court was an officer for life, unless he was guilty of any immorality, and then he was immediately expelled. To laugh while the court was sitting was an unpardonable offence; and the members thereof were forbidden by law to write a comedy: nay, if an archon was seen to be sitting in a tavern or public house, it was sufficient to bar his admission. They had cognisance of all capital causes, and with them the bare intent to murder was punished as severely as if it took effect. They could, if they thought fit, cancel the sentence of an assembly where a criminal had been acquitted contrary to evidence; and they likewise rescued innocent persons in danger from the rash sentences of the people. They had the superintendancy of youth, the custody of the laws, and the direction of the public treasure. They also had the power of punishing idleness, and in consequence of this they sent for any body they pleased, and examined him what he spent and how he was supported: so that it was impossible for a man to live

dissol-

dissolutely in *Athens* on ill-got wealth, since on the first appearance of profusion, he would have been convened before the *Areopagi*. Matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of mysteries, all sorts of impiety, the consecration of new gods, and introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship, belonged wholly to this court. *Plato* therefore having learned in *Egypt* that there was but one god, was forced to conceal his knowledge, for fear of being questioned by the *Areopagites**; and *St. Paul*, when preaching *Jesus* and *Anastasis*, that is, the resurrection, was arraigned before them as a setter forth of strange gods. This court assembled on the 27th, 28th, and 29th days, or rather nights, of every month, for they always sat in the open air, and decided all causes in the dark, that seeing neither plaintiff nor defendant, their passions might not be influenced. The highest regard was paid to this venerable tribunal, till *Pericles* rose, who endeavoured to sink their credit and diminish their authority, by causing affairs that belonged to their cognisance to be transferred to other courts, because he never having been archon, could not be admitted into the *Areopagus*. The sudden degeneracy of the *Athenians*, and in consequence thereof the ruin of this state, has not, without reason, been ascribed to this innovation†.

The chief of the *Athenian* magistrates were the archons, or The archontes, who were nine in number, and were chosen by lot. chons. After they were chosen, they were obliged to undergo two examinations, in which they were asked who were their ancestors; whether they were by three descents *Athenian* citizens; whether related to *Apollo Patrius* or *Jupiter Hercæus*; whether they had been dutiful to their parents; had served the appointed time in the wars; had the estate required by law; and whether they were perfect in all their limbs. Having then taken an oath to observe the laws, they entered upon their office, some parts of which they executed separately, and in others they all had an equal authority. They all had the power of punishing with death, such malefactors as deserved it, and they were all crowned with myrtle wreaths. As the reward of their labour in the service of the public, they were free from all taxes, and if any was so bold as to strike or affront them, he was punished with infamy. The first had a particular court of judicature, wherein he heard causes; if even by accident he was overtaken with liquor, he suffered death. The second archon had also his particular court of judicature; and the third had all sojourners or strangers under his jurisdiction. Each of these archons chose two grave and judicious persons, who underwent the like examinations with themselves, to sit with them as assessors; and they, as well as the archons, were accountable for their behaviour. The other six archons, who were called *Thesmothetæ*,

* *Justin Martyr*.

† *Plut. in vit. Pericl. Meursius. Areop.*

had

had one common tribunal, where they heard causes of several kinds.

Other
public
magis-
trates.

Inferior to the archons were many public magistrates, some of whom we shall mention: the nomophylaces, who were also stiled the eleven, were chosen one out of each of the ten tribes, and a clerk or secretary being added, made up the eleventh. It was their duty to look to the execution of the laws, and they had authority to seize robbers and other capital offenders, and upon their confession to put them to death. The phylarchi were the presidents of the *Athenian* tribes, but in time this became a military title. The demarchi were the principal magistrates inwards. The lexarchi were six in number, and were bound to take care that the people came duly to the assemblies; under them they had toxolæ, who were lictors and bailiffs, and like most of their sort, were in a manner infamous. They were generally *Scythians*, raw-boned, brawny fellows, ready to

The ora-
tors:

execute any thing they were commanded. The orators, in the service of the state, were of two sorts; some were appointed to defend an old law, when a motion was made to repeal it; but the same man was incapable of being elected twice. Besides these there were ten settled orators, called rhetores, elected by lots, whose business was to plead public causes in the senate house, for which they, as well as the former, had their stated fees*.

The
courts of
justice:

The courts of justice at *Athens*, exclusive of the *Areopagus*, were ten in number; four had cognizance of criminal, and six of civil causes. These ten courts were numbered with the ten first letters of the alphabet, and were thence stiled alpha, beta, gamma, &c. When an *Athenian* desired to hear and determine causes, he wrote his own name, that of his father, and of the ward to which he belonged, upon a tablet, which he presented to the thesmothetæ, who returned it to him again with another tablet, with the letter which fell to his lot. He then went to the crier of the court, who presented him with a sceptre, and gave him admission. When the causes were over, the judges went and delivered their sceptres to the prytanes, and received a stated fee for every cause that was tried. The judges in the *Helæastic* court, which was the chief of those for civil causes, consisted at least of 50, but their usual number was 500. When causes of very great consequence were to be tried, 1000 persons sat therein, and now and then the judges were increased to 1500, and even to 2000†.

Solon tra-
vels into
Egypt.

Having thus given a succinct view of the *Athenian* republic, we return to the great law-giver, *Solon*, who having left *Athens*, went first to *Egypt*, where he conversed with *Psenophis* the *Hiopolitan*, and *Sonchis* the *Saite*, the most learned priest of that age and country. From these he drew the knowledge of a mul-

* Ctesch. in Timarch. Aristoph. ejusque Schol.
l. viii. Pollux. l. viii. Sigon. &c.

† Ctesian.

itude of things unheard of by the *Greeks*. From *Egypt* he went to *Cyprus*, where he was extremely well entertained by one of the petty kings, who reigned at *Apeia*. *Solon* observing that there was a very pleasant plain near the city, which was built on a craggy and barren eminence, persuaded the king to remove his people thither, and to build a new and larger city for their reception. This scheme succeeded so well, that numbers of people, invited by the beauty of the new city, came to settle themselves therein, whence the king out of gratitude called it *Solos*. About this time *Solon* is thought to have visited *Thales*, the *Milesian*, *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, *Epimenides* the soothsayer in *Crete*, *Periander* the tyrant of *Corinth*, and others in other countries *.

At his return to *Athens*, he found the whole city in commotion and trouble. The three old factions were revived under three different leaders. *Lycurgus* was at the head of the country people; *Megacles*, the son of *Alcmeon*, was the chief of those who lived on the coast; and *Pisistratus* placed himself at the head of the poorest sort of people in the city, to protect them, as he pretended, from tyranny. *Solon* was treated with the highest reverence and respect by all the parties, and they each beseeched him to resume his authority, and compose the disorders of the state. This he declined on account of his age, which, as he said, rendered him unable to speak and act for the public benefit as he was wont. However, he sent for the chiefs of each party, and in the mildest and most pathetic terms entreated them not to ruin their common parent, but to prefer the public good to their private interest †.

Solon's discourses seemed chiefly to affect his relation and friend *Pisistratus*, who was of an exceeding courteous and affable disposition, and very generous and benevolent. He had always two or three slaves near him with bags of silver coin, and if he perceived people melancholy, he enquired the cause, and if it was poverty, he furnished them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly. When he saw any man look sickly, he comforted him with a proper sum; and when he heard that any were dead insolvent, he buried them at his own expence. In a word, he had, or seemed to have, all the virtues which could adorn a nobleman. He would not so much as suffer his servants to shut his garden or orchard gates, but allowed every body to go in and take what they pleased. His looks were easy and sedate, his language smooth and modest, and he seemed a great lover of equality, and a zealous friend to the constitution. *Solon*, though he penetrated all these appearances, yet did not immediately break with him; but finding his friendly remonstrances had no effect upon him, he exhorted the citizens to beware of his designs.

Great disturbances in *Athens*.

Solon endeavours to moderate the violence of the parties.

The character of *Pisistratus*.

* Plut. and Diog. Laert. in vit. Solon.
Herod. l. i.

† Idem ibid.

About this time *Thespis*, who is generally esteemed the inventor of tragedy, greatly delighted the *Athenians* with his new exhibitions. *Solon*, who piqued himself upon learning, even in his old age, went to hear *Thespis*, and after the play was over, addressed himself to him in these words, *I wonder you are not ashamed of telling lies before so great an audience.* *Thespis* replied, *That there could be no harm in poetical fictions, which were only made for diversion.* Ah, cried *Solon*, striking the ground violently with his staff, *If once we are pleased with lies for our diversion, we shall soon have them creep into our more serious affairs.*

He craftily obtains a guard. Bef. Ch. 561. *Pisistratus* in the mean time, perceiving how much the people were at his devotion, resolved to seize the present opportunity to cheat them out of that liberty they knew not how to value. With this view, having wounded himself and the mules that drew his chariot, he drove into the market place as if pursued by his enemies, and begged the public protection, declaring that many enemies sought his life for his kindness to the people. While the mob were loudly testifying their concern, *Solon* drew near *Pisistratus*, and said, *Son of Hippocrates you do not act Homer's Ulysses well, since you deceive your fellow-citizens; whereas he, when he had wounded himself, practised only on the enemies of his country.* This speech being unregarded, an assembly of the people was immediately convened, which decreed, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of *Solon*, that *Pisistratus* should be allowed a guard, according to *Plutarch*, of 50 men armed with clubs; but of 400 men, by the account of *Solon*, in his letter to *Epimenides*. *Pisistratus*, with his new guard, seized the citadel, and being master of that fortress, assumed the sovereignty *. All historians agree, that amidst the confusion which followed this transaction, there was an assembly held, wherein *Solon* made a speech, inveighing against the meanness of his countrymen's spirit, and inviting them to take arms in defence of their liberty. Finding them unmoved, he laid down his arms and said, *To the utmost of my power I have striven for my country and my laws.* *Plutarch* says, he refused to leave his country, and that when *Pisistratus* sent to know what inspired him with boldness enough to oppose his proceedings, he answered, *My old age.* Other authors, however, say, and with greater probability, that he quitted the dominions of *Athens* and died abroad, according to some, two years after, about the 80th year of his age. *Lucian*, indeed, says that he lived upwards of 100 years. According to some he died in the island of *Cyprus*, but others say elsewhere. *Diogenes Laertius* relates, that he directed his bones to be burnt, and their ashes to be carried to *Salamis*, and scattered over the island †. The *Athenians*, after the death of *Solon*, paid him the highest honours, and erected

* Plut. in vit. Sol. Herod. l. i. † Diog. Laert. and Plut. ut supra. Val. Max. l. v. c. 3. Ælian. l. viii. Lucian in Longævis.

for him in the forum and at *Salamis*, a statue in brass, with his hand in his gown, the posture in which he was wont to speak.

The laws of *Solon*, by the revolution in *Athens*, were not overturned. *Pisistratus*, on the contrary, did all that in him lay to provide for their better execution, and lost nothing of that moderation for which he had been before so remarkable. While *Solon* lived he preserved for him the highest veneration, and was so much disturbed at his leaving his country, that he wrote to him in the most affectionate manner to engage him to return.

In the beginning of his usurpation, *Megacles* and his family, *Megacles* fearing to be cut off by *Pisistratus*, also retired out of the territories of *Athens*. They, however, still kept up a correspondence with their countrymen, and entered into a treaty with *Athens*. *Lycurgus* and his party. Having concerted a scheme for expelling *Pisistratus*, they executed it with success, and obliged him in his turn to seek for safety abroad. The *Athenians*, notwithstanding their former attachment to him, were so far wrought on by his enemies, as to order his goods to be publicly sold. None, however, but *Callias* would venture to buy any of them, from an apprehension, no doubt, that *Pisistratus* one time or other would be restored.

Megacles finding *Lycurgus* and his party likely to domineer, soon after began to treat with *Pisistratus*, and it was agreed betwixt them, that *Pisistratus* should marry the daughter of *Megacles*, who should assist him in recovering the sovereignty. Their scheme succeeded by a very ridiculous stratagem. They found a woman, named *Phya*, of a mean family, but very handsome and of prodigious stature. Her they dressed in the habit of *Minerva*, and having placed her in a chariot to the best advantage, conducted her towards the city, heralds going before her and addressing the people in these terms: Give a kind reception, O *Athenians*, to *Pisistratus*, whom *Minerva* herself condescends to bring back to the citadel. The *Athenians*, astonished at the figure of the woman, and the pomp of her appearance, believed her to be their tutelary goddess, addressed her with prayers, and readily received *Pisistratus*; who having thus recovered the sovereignty, married the daughter of *Megacles*, and out of gratitude to *Phya*, gave her in marriage to his son *Hipparchus*.

Pisistratus not long after was again obliged to abandon *Athens*. Neglecting to consummate his marriage with his new wife, whose family were held by the *Athenians* to be execrable, she, after some time, mentioned it to her mother, which so enraged the family, that *Megacles* instantly began to negotiate with the malecontents. *Pisistratus* perceiving what great influence he had with the people, voluntarily retired to *Eretria*, where he consulted with his sons what course to take for the recovery of the sovereignty. His son *Hippias* proposing the reducing of *Athens* by force, *Pisistratus* agreed to it, and immediately applied to several of the *Grecian* states, to furnish him with men

and money for carrying his design into execution. Having received large supplies of both from several states, but particularly from the *Thebans*, he entered *Attica* in the eleventh year of his banishment, and took possession of *Marathon*, where he was joined by great numbers of *Athenians*. Soon after, advancing to *Athens*, he surprised and routed the *Athenian* army, and a third time seized the sovereignty. To secure to himself the possession of his power, he obliged the *Athenians* to addict themselves to agriculture, that they might not meet together in the market-places and cabal against him. By this means he greatly mended the state of the *Athenian* territories, and procured great plantations of olives to be made all over *Attica*, which before was not only almost void of corn, but also bare of trees. He endeavoured by all gentle methods to eradicate the fierceness of the *Athenians*, but to little purpose. Some young men that had been drinking at a feast, in their return met his wife, and insulted her grossly. Next day when their spirits were cooler, they went in the most humble manner to ask him pardon. *Pisistratus* heard their apology very graciously, and when they had done, said, *I would advise you, gentlemen, to behave for the future more modestly; but as for my wife, she was not abroad yesterday.* He adorned the city with fine edifices, particularly with the temple of *Pythian Apollo*; and when the *Athenians*, to shew their aversion to him, went and eased themselves there, he first endeavoured by gentle means to reclaim them from so scandalous a practice; but these having no effect, he ordered proclamation to be made, that such as for the future were guilty of that offence, should suffer death. He was the first who built a library in *Greece* for public use, and directed that *Homer's* poems should be digested into regular order, as we have them at present. As they were in danger of being lost, he caused public notice to be given throughout *Greece*, that he would give so much a line to such as would bring him any genuine works of *Homer*. He caused the whole verses he had collected by this means, to be revised by the most experienced critics, amongst whom *Zenodotus* and *Aristarchus* were the chief*. In all other respects he was a great encourager of learning, and conversed familiarly with *Crotoniates*, the *Epic* poet, who wrote the adventures of the *Argonauts*. He not only maintained the laws, as became him in his station, but when he heard he was accused in the court of *Areopagus* of a murder, he came like a private man, and submitted himself to judgment. At another time having some way or other offended certain *Athenians* of principal dignity, who retired to the castle of *Philæ*, he went thither the next day with a cloak bag on his back. They asking what he meant, he said, *either to engage you to go back with me to Athens, or to stay with you myself, and therefore you see I am come provided †.*

* Vide Gronov. Thesaur. Græc. apophtheg. A. Gell. l. vi. Suidas. Vitruvius.

† Arist. Polit. l. 5. Plut.

From the time of his first possessing himself of the sovereignty, to his death, there intervened 33 years; of which *Aristotle* relates he reigned but 17, so that his first exile had lasted 5 years, as *Herodotus* tells us, the second continued eleven years. He is said to have had three wives, and by the two first he had four sons and a daughter. His sons were *Hipparchus*, *Hippias*, by his first wife, and *Jophon* and *Theffalus* by his second. He had besides a bastard son, named *Hegistratus*, to whom he left the principality of *Sigeum*. Besides his great affability and generosity, which procured him many friends, he acquired great influence with the people by his eloquence, which is much celebrated by the wisest, both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. That it was wonderfully great appears from another testimony, namely, from the mighty apprehensions of the *Athenians*, that *Pericles* would attempt to make himself a prince, because in his countenance and manner of speaking, he was said to resemble *Pisistratus**. *Pisistratus* died in tranquillity, and on the whole, seems to have wanted nothing but a legal title to have rendered him an excellent prince.

Upon his death, his two sons, *Hipparchus* and *Hippias*, as most think, shared the supreme authority between them. Some say that only the former had the title, and others that *Pisistratus* bequeathed his authority, not only to these two, but also to his third son *Theffalus* †. *Hipparchus* and *Hippias* it is evident lived and reigned together. The first was a person of great sweetness of temper, very learned, and a great favourer of learned men. He treated *Simonides* the poet with great kindness, and kept him always near his person; and sent a galley of 50 oars on purpose to bring the celebrated *Anacreon* to *Athens*. He was also assiduous in cultivating the minds of his subjects, causing statues of *Mercury* to be set up in the city and country, but especially in the latter, and certain wise counsels in elegiac verse, to be inscribed on both sides of them. On account therefore of his shining virtues he was greatly admired by his citizens, and enjoyed the principality several years in great tranquillity.

A conspiracy, however, was formed when it was least expected, for taking off both the brothers. Authors are pretty well agreed as to the material circumstances of this fact, though they differ in a few points of no consequence. They relate that *Harmodius*, a young *Athenian*, who was exquisitely beautiful in his person, was on that account, according to the infamous custom of the *Greeks*, beloved by *Aristogiton*. This *Harmodius* was also beloved by *Hipparchus*, who, if we may believe *Thucydides*, forced him, which was grievously resented both by him and *Aristogiton*. Their resentment being soon after heightened,

Hipparchus and *Hippias* succeed to the sovereignty. Bef. Chr. 528.

A conspiracy against them by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*.

* Plut. in vit. Pericl. Dion. Chryf. orat. 22. Cic. de orat. l. iii. Isocr. in Panath. † Athen. diepnos l. xiii. Thucydid.

Hipparchus murdered.

Harmodius and *Aristogiton* greatly honoured by the *Athenians*.

Aristogiton impeaches the friends of *Hippias*.

by a public affront which *Hipparchus* put upon the sister of *Harmodius*, by obliging her to retire from a solemn procession; they entered into a conspiracy with a few friends, to cut off the tyrants at the approaching festival of the *Panathenæa*, when the citizens were allowed to appear in arms. Upon the appointed day, observing one of the conspirators talking very familiarly with *Hippias*, they suspected that they were betrayed, and instantly fell upon *Hipparchus*, whom they dispatched with a multitude of wounds: the people, however, instead of seconding them as they expected, suffered *Harmodius* to be killed upon the spot, and seized and delivered up *Aristogiton*. *Hippias*, dissembling his grief for his brother's death, advanced with his guards to the crowd, and having picked out such as he suspected to be conspirators, from their looks or their wearing daggers, he dismissed the rest. Though the *Athenians* had not, by any general insurrection, favoured the attempt of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, yet they carried their respect for them after their deaths, to a height scarce to be accounted for. They caused their praises to be sung at the *Panathenæa*; prohibited any slave to be called by their names, and erected for them in the forum brazen statues, made by *Praxitiles*. They also granted several immunities and honorary privileges to the descendants of these patriots, and did all in their power to make their memory venerable; though it appears their conspiracy proceeded rather from passion and private resentment, than from any desire to do service to their country.

Hippias from this time began to alter his conduct towards the people, and to treat them with a severity, unknown to his family before. He ordered *Aristogiton* to be put to the torture, in order to extort from him the names of his fellow conspirators; *Aristogiton* named several of *Hippias*'s best friends, who were immediately put to death; and when *Hippias* asked him if there were not still some others, he replied smiling, *I know of none now but yourself that deserves to suffer death*. *Leæna*, a courtesan, who was kept by *Aristogiton*, being also tortured, in the midst of her torments bit off her tongue and spit it out, that it might not be in her power to declare any thing to the prejudice of the man she loved*.

Hippias, to guard himself for the future against a like enterprise, contracted leagues with foreign princes, and increased his revenues by various oppressive methods, which, however, only hastened his expulsion. *Megacles* and his family, who from their great ancestor *Alcmæon*, were called *Alcmæonidæ*, residing at *Lipsidrum*, in *Pæonia*, after they had abandoned *Athens* upon the third usurpation of *Pisistratus*, gave a refuge to all who fled from *Athens*, which were not a few. During their exile they busied themselves in contriving means for expelling the *Pisistrata-*

* Demost. orat. in Leptin. Thucyd. l. vi. Polyæn. Stratag. Arist. Rhetor. l. 2.

tidæ, and at last devised a method which proved successful. They agreed with the *Amphictyons*, or states-general of *Greece*, to rebuild the temple of *Delphi*; and as they were possessed of great riches, they built the frontispiece not of common stone, as they had agreed, but of *Parian* marble. While they were thus employed, they by their great liberalities corrupted the priestesses, and engaged her to exhort all the *Lacedæmonians* who came to consult the oracle, to deliver *Athens*. The *Lacedæmonians* finding this admonition incessantly inculcated, resolved at last to make war against the *Pisistratidæ*, though they were then in friendship and alliance with them. Their first invasion of *Attica* was unsuccessful, *Hippias*, who was assisted with 1000 *Thessalian* horse, having routed them with great slaughter and slain their general. They sent a second army into *Attica*, under their king *Cleomenes*, who having defeated the *Thessalians*, besieged *Hippias* in *Athens*. During the siege, which seemed to promise no better an issue to the *Lacedæmonians* than their first The *Pi-* expedition, the children of *Hippias* happening to fall into their *sistratidæ* hands, when they had left the city to go to a place of security, expelled *Hippias* to redeem them, agreed by treaty to retire in five days *Athens*, out of *Attica*. Accordingly he actually retired within the time and the limited, and went to *Sigeum*, a town in *Phrygia*, governed by democra- his natural brother *Hegistratus*. From the time of this expul- cy restor- sion, which happened in the fourth year after the death of ed. *Hipparchus*, the *Athenians* pursued this family with implacable hatred. They retained such a sense of their usurpation, that, lest other eminent persons should imitate them, they readily banished, on the slightest pretences, the most worthy of their citizens, that at all events they themselves might be safe.

The *Athenians*, after the expulsion of the *Pisistratidæ*, were The *Athe-* far from immediately enjoying tranquillity. The people were *nians* divi- quickly divided into two factions. *Clysthenes*, the most eminent ded into of the *Alcmeonidæ*, was the head of one faction, and the chief two facti- of the other was *Isagoras*, the son of *Tirsander*. *Clysthenes* ap- ons. plied himself chiefly to the people, and to engage them in his interest, altered many things in *Solon's* scheme of government, with a view to increase their power. He augmented the number of tribes to ten, and encreased the senate to 500. *Isagoras*, One of the parties supported by *Cleomenes*, king of *Sparta*. who had contracted a great intimacy with *Cleomenes*, king of *Sparta*, seeing himself inferior in credit to his rival, had recourse to the *Lacedæmonians*. He also revived the old accusation against the *Alcmeonidæ*, who were related to *Megacles*, who had violated the sanctuary of *Minerva*, by putting *Cylon* and his associates to death. *Cleomenes* favouring *Isagoras*, threatened the *Athenians* with a war if they did not expel the *Alcmeonidæ*. Though they banished their benefactors without hesitation, *Cleomenes* nevertheless, soon after entered *Attica* at the head of a *Spartan* army, and upon his arrival at *Athens*, drove 700 families into banishment. He afterwards proposed to dissolve the senate, and to vest the government in 300 of the principal persons of *Isagoras's* faction. The *Athenians* perceiving his design, imme-

Who is immediately took arms, and constrained him with his troops, besieged and *Isagoras* and his friends, to retire to the citadel. *Cleomenes* in the ci finding it in vain to use force, surrendered on the third day, on tadel and condition that all who were in the citadel should have leave to forced to retire out of *Attica* unmolested. The *Athenians* were so enraged retire. against the *Spartans*, whom they regarded as their treacherous enemies, that notwithstanding the capitulation, they fell upon such of them as were separated from the army, and put many of them to death. Upon the departure of *Cleomenes*, they recalled *Clisthenes*, and all those who had been sent into exile on his account, that they might be the better able to support a war which they foresaw they should be engaged in. Their precau-

Cleomenes in vain at-tempts to make *Isagoras* tyr-rant of *Athens*. tions soon appeared necessary. *Cleomenes* raised forces through-out all the *Peloponnese*, without declaring his intention, which was to invade *Attica*; and when all things were ready, he engaged the *Beotians* and *Chalcidians* to attack the *Athenians* separately, while he entered the country of *Eleusis*. The *Athenians*, not being able to oppose all their enemies at once, left their territories to the mercy of the *Beotians* and *Chalcidians*, and marched with all their forces against *Cleomenes*, who being first abandoned by the *Corinthians*, and then by his other allies, and opposed by his colleague *Demaratus*, found himself obliged to withdraw. The *Athenians* being thus freed from the *Spartans*, resolved to march immediately into *Eubæa*, against the *Chalcidians*. On their march they routed a body of *Bæotians*, and took 700 of them prisoners, and passing the same day into *Eubæa*, they gained a glorious victory over the *Chalcidians*. Leaving 4000 men in *Eubæa*, they returned with a great many *Bæotian* and *Chalcidian* prisoners, whom they had put in irons, to *Athens*. On receiving two minæ for each prisoner, they afterwards set them at liberty, and their fetters they hung up in the citadel. The *Bæotians*, bent upon revenging the indignity offered to their countrymen, resolved to continue the war, and prevailed on the inhabitants of the island *Ægina* to make a de-

The *Athe-nians* defeat the *Chalcidians* and the *Bæotians*. The *Æginates* declare a-gainst the *Athenians*. scent upon the coasts of *Attica*, while they invaded the inland parts. The *Æginates*, who were wealthy, and had an hereditary hatred to the *Athenians*, accordingly fitted out a fleet and ravaged their coasts, which greatly incensed the *Athenians*; but while they were sending to and fro to *Delphi*, they were threatened with a storm from another quarter.

The *Spartans* propose to restore *Hippias*. The *Lacedæmonians* discovering the confederacy of the *Alc-meonidæ* with the *Pythonefs*, which had engaged them in the war against their good friends the *Pisistratidæ*, repented sorely of the folly they had committed, and sent for *Hippias* from *Sigeum*, in order to restore him to his principality. *Hippias* arriving at *Sparta*, they communicated their design to the deputies of their allies; but the *Corinthian* deputy remonstrating with great eloquence and warmth against the proposition for restoring *Hippias*, the other deputies refused to engage in the design, so that *Hippias* was obliged to return to *Asia*. He went to *Saræis*, and so insinuated himself with *Artaphernes* the governor,

nor, that the haughty *Persian* declared to the *Athenians*, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall *Hippias*. The *Athenians*, highly irritated at the imperious behaviour of *Artaphernes*, to be revenged of the *Persians*, sent 20 ships to the assistance of the cities of *Ionia*, which then revolted from against the *Darius*. The *Ionians*, by the assistance of the *Athenians*, did many great exploits, and amongst the rest sacked and burned *Sardis*, which made so deep an impression on the *Persian* king, that he resolved to march in person against *Athens*.

Darius having a few years after reduced the *Ionians*, sent heralds to all the states of *Greece*, to demand earth and water of them, as tokens of submission. Many of the states, out of fear of the mighty power of *Darius*, submitted; but the *Athenians* threw the *Persian* heralds into a deep ditch, and desired them to take earth and water from thence. The *Æginates* being of the number of those that submitted, the *Athenians* imagined that they had only acted so with a view to harass their coasts; and accusing them to the *Spartans*, of treachery to the *Greeks*, *Cleomenes* came to *Ægina*, and attempted to seize the persons principally concerned in making their submission to the *Persians*. He was opposed, however, and obliged to return without effecting his design. Upon his arrival at *Sparta*, having deposed his colleague *Demaratus*, and caused his own kinsman *Leutychides*, to be crowned in his stead, he returned to *Ægina* with the new king, and having seized ten of the principal persons of that island, delivered them as hostages to the *Athenians*, for the peaceable behaviour of their countrymen. *Cleomenes* not long after killing himself in a phrenzy, the *Spartans* annulled all his tyrannical acts, and delivered up *Leutychides* to the *Æginates*, who only desired of him to accompany their ambassadors to *Athens*, to demand the liberty of their countrymen. The *Athenians* paying no regard to the solicitations of these ambassadors, the *Æginates*, by way of reprisals, intercepted an *Athenian* galley that was going to *Delphi*, and had on board a great many persons of distinction. This loss irritating the *Athenians*, they entered into a treaty with *Nicodromus*, a person of great interest in *Ægina*, who having been formerly banished, now agreed to betray his country to the enemy. The *Athenians* fitted out a considerable fleet, and solicited a reinforcement of ships from the *Corinthians*: but their forces not arriving before *Ægina* till after the day prefixed, *Nicodromus*, who had too hastily declared himself, was obliged to fly. He and his associates obtained a settlement on the coast of *Attica*, opposite to *Ægina*, and from thence committed continual piracies and depredations upon their countrymen. *Herodotus* does not mention the issue of the war. It is generally supposed that its continuance was fortunate for the *Athenians*, and for *Greece* in general, as it exercised that people in maritime affairs, and taught them the use and consequence of a naval force.

When the *Greeks* were informed of the designs of the *Persians* against them, they compromised all their differences, that they might unite against them.

they might be the better able to resist the power of the great king. They had already been fortunately saved from an invasion, with which they were threatened by *Mardonius*, who having passed the *Hellespont* with a powerful army, had advanced so far as *Macedonia*, but his fleet being shipwrecked, and his army surprised by the *Thracians*, he was obliged to retire. *Darius*, however, resolving to pursue his design, gave the command of a new army to *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, who, sailing with their troops from *Samos*, passed through the *Cyclades* to *Eretria*. The *Eretrians* hearing of the approach of the enemy, asked assistance of the *Athenians*, who immediately ordered the 4000 men they had left in *Eubæa* to march to succour them. The citizens of *Eretria*, however, being divided by factions, the *Athenians* were warned not to trust themselves in the city, which being soon after betrayed to the *Persians*, was pillaged and burnt, because they had sent five ships to the assistance of the revolted *Ionians*. The inhabitants were all sent captives to *Persia*.

The *Athenians*, now united with great zeal and earnestness, raised, with the utmost expedition, all the forces they were able, and yet they could not draw together above 9000 men; which being afterwards joined by 1000 *Platæans*, were commanded by ten general officers, who had equal power. Among these generals were *Miltiades*, *Aristides*, and *Themistocles*, all men of distinguished valour and great abilities. They likewise solicited the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, who ordered their troops to be ready to march, but according to their superstitious custom, would not allow them to set out till five days after, which was the full of the moon. The *Persians*, in the mean time, were conducted by *Hippias* to the plains of *Marathon*, as the most convenient place for their numerous forces to act in, their army being upwards of 100,000 men, according to the most moderate account. The *Athenians* with amazing confidence marched against them with only 9000 men, and at *Marathon* were joined by 1000 *Platæans*; that small city now exerting itself, in return for the protection it had received some time before from the *Athenians* against the *Bæotians*. The chief command being unanimously conferred on *Miltiades*, he prevailed on *Calimachus*, the *Polemarch*, whose voice, by the *Athenian* laws, was decisive, to agree to attack the enemy without delay. Though the other generals had followed the example of *Aristides*, and resigned their right of commanding by turns to *Miltiades*, he, however, deferred the engagement for a few days, till it was his own turn to command, to give no room for disputing his authority during the action. That day being arrived, he resolved not to wait for the *Lacedæmonian* succours, but drawing up his forces in order of battle, and placing his chief strength in the wings, advanced towards the enemy, who were drawn up at the distance of a mile. The usual sacrifices being offered, the *Athenians* ran with speed towards the enemy, and when they came up with them, charged them with such intrepidity and ardour

ardour, especially on the right and left, that the barbarians were forced to fly on both sides. The center of the *Athenian* line was indeed broke by the enemy, but they being soon after enclosed by the victorious wings, were also routed. The invaders now fled with precipitation to their fleet, whither they were defeated pursued by the *Athenians*, who took seven of their ships, and by the burnt a great many others. *Miltiades*, perceiving that the *Persian* fleet failed southwards, with the intention of doubling the cape of *Sunum* and surprizing *Athens*, left *Aristides*, with 1000 men, to guard the prisoners and the spoil, and marched with such dispatch with the rest, that he arrived time enough to prevent the barbarians from attempting a descent. They, seeing all their endeavours frustrated, returned with disgrace to *Asia*. In this most celebrated action, *Herodotus* tells us, there fell of the *Athenians* only 192 men, and of the *Persians* 6000, besides those who perished in the sea, and were burnt in the ships. Both *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are silent as to the fate of *Hippias*; who, according to *Suidas*, retired to *Lemnos*, where, by a grievous malady, he lost his sight, and at last died a miserable and painful death. *Justin*, and other authors, however, say that he was killed in the action* (H). *Aristides*, to whom the care of the prisoners and booty was committed, discharged the trust reposed in him with the greatest integrity. However, notwithstanding his vigilance and strict orders, some there were who enriched themselves by private plunder, particularly *Callias* the torch-bearer, a cousin-german of *Aristides*. The torch-bearers were persons dedicated to the service of the gods, and their office being looked upon as sacred, they wore a fillet about their head. A *Persian* prisoner, seeing *Callias* with flowing hair and a fillet about his head, mistook him for a king, and falling down at his feet, discovered to him a vast quantity of gold, hid in a well. *Callias* not only seized the gold, and applied it to his own private use, but most inhumanly put to death the poor man who shewed it him; by which action he not only blemished his own reputation, but transmitted infamy to his posterity, who notwithstanding their eminency in the state, were stiled by the comic poets, *Laccopluti*, that is, *enriched by the well*†. The *Athenians*, in token of respect for their countrymen and friends who had fallen in the engagement, erected for them public monuments in the field of battle, with suitable inscriptions, which contained their names and the names of their tribes and families. *Hippias* slain. The integrity of *Aristides*. Honours paid to these who were slain in the battle.

* Herod. l. vi. Justin. l. ii. Val. Max. l. v. Thucyd. l. vii. Plut. in vit. Arist. Corn. Nepos. † Plut. in vit. Milt.

(H) *Hippias* had two wives, the first *Myrrhine*, the daughter of *Callias*, by whom he had five children; the second an extraordinary beauty, and daughter of one *Cbarinus*. One of his sons was named *Pisistratus*, and he had a daughter named *Archidice*, who was married to the son of the prince of *Lampsacus*.

All the
Platæans
made free
of *Athens*.

lies. They likewise caused this battle to be painted in the *Pæcilian* portico; *Miltiades*, who held the first place, and the other nine generals, being represented at the head of the *Athenians* and *Platæans*. In the first transports of their joy, they granted all the *Platæans* the freedom of their city; and as for *Miltiades*, *Aristides*, and *Themistocles*, they were for the present treated with all the marks of gratitude they could wish, though in their turns we shall see each of them slighted, prosecuted and condemned.

Miltiades
unsuccess-
ful in a
naval ex-
pedition.

He is fined
and dies
in jail.

Miltiades, while the popular favour continued, desired and obtained the command of a fleet of 70 ships, in order to punish and subdue the islands that had favoured the barbarians. He accordingly reduced some islands, but having had ill success on the island of *Paros*, and having upon a false report of the arrival of the enemies fleet, raised the siege of the capital of the island, where he had been dangerously hurt; he was, upon his return to *Athens*, accused by *Xanthippus*, for deceiving the *Athenians*, as *Herodotus* says. According to *Cornelius Nepos*, he was impeached of treason; but according to *Justin*, of embezzling the public money. *Miltiades*, being then confined to his bed by his wound, his brother *Tisagoras* spoke for him, and represented to the people the great services he had done to the public. The accusation of *Xanthippus*, however, prevailed with the people, who fined *Miltiades* 30 talents, which was the whole expence of the *Parian* expedition. As he was unable to pay this great sum, they put him into prison, where he died of the wound he had received at *Paros*. *Cimon*, the son of *Miltiades*, purchased the permission of burying his father's body, by paying the fine in which he had been condemned; which sum he raised by the assistance of his friends and relations, continuing in prison himself till the money was paid. *Cornelius Nepos*, who in his account of this great man, confounds him with his grandfather of the same name, observes, that what chiefly induced the *Athenians* to act in this manner, with regard to him, was only his merit and great reputation, which made the people, who had but lately been delivered from the yoke of *Pisistratus*, apprehend that *Miltiades*, who had been tyrant before in the *Chersonese*, might attempt the same at *Athens*.

The cha-
racters of
Aristides
and *The-*
mistocles.

The *Athenians* now released from all apprehensions of foreign war, fell, as usual, into domestic dissensions, their factions reviving on the old subject, whether the supreme authority should be vested in the people, or whether the state should be governed only by the most worthy. *Aristides* was at the head of one party, and *Themistocles* was chief of the other. *Plutarch* tells us, that these two chiefs, when they were boys together, were always at variance, not only in serious matters, but even in their sports and plays. It could not indeed be well otherwise, for *Aristides*, he says, was firm and steady in his behaviour, immovable in every thing that appeared just, and incapable of using the least falshood, flattery, or deceit, even in jest; whereas *Themistocles* was of an impetuous nature, full of spirit, com-
plaisant,

plaisant, subtle, and in fine, one who could put on any appearance to carry his point. His schoolmaster pronounced thus of him, Boy, thou wilt never prove an ordinary person, but some time or other will become either a mighty blessing, or an outrageous curse to thy country. *Aristides*, by studying the laws of *Lycurgus*, became a favourer of aristocracy; and *Themistocles*, rather out of spleen to him than from any other motive, favoured exceedingly the cause of the people.

It must be owned that both of them sincerely loved their country, and were ashamed and sorry for the injuries they did to the public, in consequence of their mutual animosities. *Aristides*, apprehensive lest *Themistocles* should get too great an ascendant with the people, sometimes opposed his designs, even when they were just and beneficial to the public. Having one day prevailed with the people to reject some useful proposal made by his antagonist, he was so much affected with what he had done, that he cried out aloud as he went out of the assembly, *That the Athenians would never prosper till they threw them both into the Barathrum*. The *Barathrum* was a pit into which malefactors condemned to die were thrown. The general conduct of *Aristides* was by far the most laudable; and he piqued himself so much upon acting strictly according to the rules of equity, that he acquired the surname of *Just*, and was looked upon as the most worthy and virtuous of the *Athenians*. *Themistocles*, however, observing the high reputation of his rival, artfully contrived to raise the popular resentment against him, on account of his very virtues. He caused it to be whispered about that *Aristides*, having assumed the name of *Just*, and acting frequently as an umpire between contending parties, had insensibly erected a monarchy, though without pomp or guards; *for what Themistocles constitutes a tyrant* (said the agents of *Themistocles*) *but giving laws*. Having thus inflamed the people, he prevailed upon them to banish *Aristides* by the ostracism. This kind of punishment was so called from a *Greek* word, signifying a shell, because the citizens who gave their votes, wrote the name of the person they would have banished, upon shells or pieces of tiles, which were thrown together in the forum. By this law, men, eminent to such a degree as to threaten the state with danger, were banished for ten years. This exile, however, *Plutarch* says, was looked upon, not as a punishment for a crime, but as a kind of honourable retirement; the banished person having free leave, during his absence, to make what use he pleased of his estate. The author of this extraordinary law is not known; but however uncertain is the time of its taking place, whether under *Hippias*, *Cleisthenes*, *Pisistratus*, or *Theseus*, there is no dispute that it ended in the banishment of *Hyperbolus*. *Aristotle* seems to ascribe this practice to all the democracies of his time; and we are assured by various authors, that the *Argives*, *Milesians*, *Megarensians*, and *Syracusans*, had the same law among them, though under different titles. The banished person was obliged to quit the *Athenian* territories within eleven days; but if the

the number of shells were less than 6000, the vote did not take place*. When the *Athenians* were crowding with their shells to the forum, a clown who could neither write nor read, addressed himself to *Aristides*, and desired him to write the name of *Aristides* upon his shell; "Has he done you any wrong," said *Aristides*, that you are for condemning him in this manner?" "No," replied the other, "I don't so much as know him, but I am quite tired and angry with hearing every body call him *the Just*." *Aristides* calmly took the shell, and wrote his own name upon it; and when the magistrates signified unto him that the vote against him had taken place, he retired modestly out of the forum, and as he went out, lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, *I beseech ye, gods, that the Athenians may never see that day which shall force them to remember Aristides.*

The war
with the
Æginæans
renewed.

Themistocles being now without a rival, had great influence with the people. As the war was renewed with the *Æginæans*, who greatly distressed the *Athenians* by their superiority of shipping, and as it was suspected the *Persians* intended another invasion of *Greece*, *Themistocles* proposed that the money produced by the silver mines, which the *Athenians* had hitherto divided among themselves, should be applied to the building of a fleet. His proposal being complied with, 100 galleys were immediately put upon the stocks. This sudden increase of the fleet of the *Athenians*, and their attention afterwards to maritime affairs, proved the means of preserving, not only *Athens*, but all *Greece*, in the enjoyment of its liberties.

The *Per-*
sians again
resolve to
invade
Greece.

Soon after, the *Athenians*, being alarmed with the news of the great preparations of *Xerxes*, caused another hundred galleys to be built. Their apprehensions of a *Persian* invasion soon appeared to be just, for messengers arrived at *Athens* from *Xerxes*, demanding earth and water, in token of subjection. *Themistocles* prevailed with the *Athenians*, to put the interpreter of these messengers to death, for presuming to publish the decrees of the king of *Persia* in the language of the *Greeks*. He caused another person, who had received large sums from the king of *Persia*, and endeavoured to corrupt some principal citizens, to be banished *Attica* by sound of trumpet: and with the assistance of *Chileus*, the *Arcadian*, he engaged the several states of *Greece* to lay aside their quarrels, and provide for their common defence.

Themisto-
chosen ge-
neral of
the *Athe-*
nians.

When it came to be debated, who should be appointed general of the *Athenians*, one *Epicydes*, a vain orator of no great merit, notorious for his avarice and want of courage, solicited that employment. *Themistocles*, seeing the danger of his country, strained his own circumstances and bought him off, and was then unanimously chosen general himself.

* Plut. in vit. Arist. and Themist. Corn. Nepos. Suidas. Ælian. l. xiii. Arist. Polit. l. iii. Scholiast. Aristoph. ad Equit.

News in the mean time arriving, that the *Persians* were entering *Europe* by the *Hellepont*, *Themistocles* in vain endeavoured to persuade the *Athenians* to go on board their fleet, and oppose the enemy as soon as possible. Soon after, however, they agreed to march by land, to defend the pass of mount *Oeta*, in *Thes-* The *Per-*
saly; but advice arriving that the *Persians* were masters of *Thes-* *sians* ar-
saly and *Bœotia*, and had forced the streights of *Thermopylae*, rive at
they returned to *Athens*. Having in this distress consulted the *Thessaly-*
oracle of *Delphi*, the *Pythones* answered, *That there would be*
no way of saving the city but by walls of wood. The *Athenians*
were mightily divided about the true sense and meaning of this
answer. Many were of opinion, that by walls of wood the
citadel was to be understood, because it had formerly been pali-
sadoed. Others affirmed that it could intend nothing but ships,
and therefore advised their countrymen to place all their hopes
in their fleet. *Themistocles*, who was of this opinion, demon- The *Athe-*
strated by many arguments, that this was the true sense of the *nians* re-
oracle, and at length all discreet people declared for following solve to
his advice. To prevail with the superstitious, he bribed the abandon
priestess of *Minerva*, who gave out, that the offerings set be- their city.
fore the sacred dragon were found untouched, and at last that
he had disappeared, so that without doubt, the goddess had quit-
ted the city, and taken her flight before them to the sea. All
degrees of people were now ardent for embarking; *Themistocles*
having not only persuaded them to do what he conceived was ex-
pedient for their safety, but even infused into them the same
spirit with which he himself acted. When they began to pre-
pare for this extraordinary embarkation, they had recourse to
the council of the *Areopagus*, who from funds to us unknown,
distributed eight drachms to every man who went on board.
More money, however, being needed, *Themistocles* gave out,
that somebody had stolen from the statue of *Minerva* the shield,
whereon the head of *Medusa* was engraven; and under pretence
of searching for it, as he was authorized by the people, he took
away all the money he could lay his hands on, and applied it to
the use of the public. The loss of *Aristides* being now felt by
the *Athenians*, they, by the advice of *Themistocles*, passed a de-
cree to recall home all their people that were in banishment.
Aristides upon his return, was so far from secretly thwarting his
ancient rival, that he zealously contributed to the success of his
enterprises, and to the advancement of his glory.

Before the general embarkation of the *Athenians*, *Themistocles* The con-
had sailed with 107 *Athenian* vessels, and joined the confederate federate
fleet at *Artemisium*, under the command of *Eurybiades* the Spar- fleet at-
tan; who, observing the whole opposite coast at *Aphete* covered tacks that
with the enemies ships, proposed to sail back to the *Peloponnese*. of the
The *Eubæans* not being able to prevail with him to stay till they *Persians*.
could carry off their wives and children, addressed themselves
to *Themistocles*, and made him a present of 30 talents. *Themis-*
tocles taking the money, bribed *Eurybiades* with five talents, and
satisfied the *Corinthian* commander, who had also proposed to
weigh

weigh anchor, with three talents, keeping the other 22 to himself. *Eurybiades* accordingly consenting to remain, they soon after had several successful encounters with the enemy's fleet, and at length came to a general engagement, in which, though neither party could claim the victory, the confederates, however, found themselves a full match for their powerful invaders.

The *Athenians* leave and sailed round to *Athens*; and having assisted in carrying off their city, the inhabitants of that city to the neighbouring islands of *Salamis* which is and *Ægina*, they took their station at *Salamis*. The *Persian* plundered army in the mean time entering *Attica*, put all to fire and sword; and burnt they pillaged and burnt the city of *Athens*, and having taken by the the citadel by storm, put to death the few *Athenians* who had fortified themselves in it, according to their interpretation of the oracle. Being great enemies to idolatry, they vented their rage wherever they came against the idols, altars, and temples of the *Greeks*. The *Grecian* fleet hearing of the fate of *Athens*, and perhaps seeing the flames of the city from their station, were struck with the greatest consternation. A council was immediately held, to consult whether or not they should retire to the *Peloponnese*. *Themistocles* exerting himself with vehemence against the proposal for retiring, *Eurybiades* said to him, *Such as rise up before the rest at the Olympic games are lashed*. To this he wisely answered, *That they who are left behind are never crowned*. *Eurybiades* at this, lifting up his baton, as if he would have struck him, *Themistocles* steadily said, *Strike if you will, but hear me*; upon which *Eurybiades* laid down his staff, and patiently attended to his discourse. He at length so clearly demonstrated to the assembly, and to the general in particular, that it would be madness to think of fighting any where but where they were, that the wisest of the *Grecian* captains concurred with him. A few days after, however, the *Peloponnesians* being anxious to sail to the defence of their own country, absolutely resolved to depart. *Themistocles* perceiving they were fixed in their resolution, which, if pursued, would be the ruin of the common cause, took such measures, that they were forced to stay. He privately informed the enemy, by a trusty messenger, that the *Grecians* had determined to disperse, and advised the *Persians*, as a friend to their cause, to seize the present opportunity of attacking the confederates. This message had its desired effect, and the *Persians* accordingly advanced to hem in the *Greeks*, and prevent them from escaping, which was first known to *Aristides*, who had come in the night time from *Ægina* through part of their fleet. This great *Athenian* calling *Themistocles* out from the council, which was still full of dissension, told him what he had seen, and generously proposed that they themselves should lay aside the vain and childish contention, that had hitherto subsisted between them. *Themistocles* most readily agreed to his proposal, and introduced him to the council; but the greatest part of the officers gave no credit to his report, till a *Tenian* ship, which deserted from the enemy, came and disco-

vered the whole truth. By this ship and another that had formerly deserted from the enemy at *Aphete*, the *Grecian* fleet was increased to 380 sail, but that of the enemy consisted of 2000 vessels and upwards. The *Greeks*, however, notwithstanding their great inferiority of number, gained a most complete victory, and with the loss of only 40 of their own ships, destroyed 200 of the enemy's vessels, and took a great many others. The victory was attributed chiefly to the bravery and conduct of the *Eginates* and *Athenians*. During the action, some of the *Ionian* vessels in the enemy's fleet, declared for the *Greeks*, and after the defeat, a great many of the *Persian* auxiliaries, dreading the resentment of *Xerxes*, sailed directly home. The *Persians*, by the loss of this battle, were greatly alarmed, as their army could no longer receive any assistance from their fleet, which was not now in a condition to face that of the *Greeks*. *Xerxes* having taken a resolution to abandon *Europe*, the remains of his fleet next morning sailed from the port of *Athens* for the *Hellepont*, to defend the bridge that he had thrown over it, and he himself set out on his return to *Asia*. The *Greeks*, upon being informed of the flight of the enemy, sailed after them, but not being able to come up with them, they stopped at *Andros*, and besieged the capital of the island. *Themistocles*, indeed, proposed that they should sail to the *Hellepont*, and break down the bridge, but was opposed by *Aristides*, according to *Plutarch*, or according to *Herodotus*, by *Eurybiades*, who affirmed, that it would be very imprudent to shut the *Persians* into *Europe*, which would render them desperate, and force them to exert themselves with vigour. Whether *Themistocles* made this proposal in earnest, we think may reasonably be doubted; for as a stratagem to make *Xerxes* of his own accord abandon *Greece*, he sent to him as a friend, and advised him to hasten his departure, as the *Greeks* were proposing to break down the bridge at the *Hellepont*. At the same time he advised the *Athenians* to give over the pursuit of the enemy, and to return and rebuild their city. While the forces were besieging *Andros*, *Herodotus* says, *Themistocles* extorted large sums of money from some of the neighbouring islands, by threatening to bring the confederate fleet against them; and he insinuates, that he applied those sums to his own private use.

The *Per-*
sian fleet
 totally
 routed at
Salamis.
 Bef. Ch.
 480.

Xerxes
 marches
 back to
 the *Helle-*
sport.

The *Athe-*
nians re-
 turn to
 their city.

The confederate fleet, not being able to reduce the *Andrians*, departed to *Carystus*, and having ravaged that island, returned to *Salamis*. There in the first place they set apart the spoil they intended to consecrate to the gods, and among other things three *Phœnician* ships. Having then parted the booty among themselves, they sent offerings to *Delphi*, of which a statue was made 12 cubits high, holding the prow of a ship in one hand. They next sailed to the *Isthmus*, to confer the accustomed honours upon the persons who should be found to have behaved best in the war. The commanders accordingly, at their arrival, laid upon the altar of *Neptune* the names of those who they judged deserved the first and second places. Each chief put down his

Honours
paid to
Themisto-
cles.

his own name in the first place, and the name of *Themistocles* in the second, which was indeed giving him the preference to them all. *Themistocles* from the *Isthmus* went to *Lacedæmon*, where he was received with the greatest honour and respect; and the *Spartans*, partial as they were to their own countrymen, after decreeing the prize of valour to *Eurybiades*, assigned that of prudence to *Themistocles*, and crowned him with a wreath of olive. They presented him also with the most magnificent chariot in *Sparta*, and at his return, he was attended to the borders of *Tegea* by 300 eminent *Spartans*, of the *Equestrian* order, an honour never paid to any stranger before. But what gave him the most sensible pleasure, were the public acclamations he received a few years after at the *Olympic* games. As soon as he appeared, the whole assembly rose up to do him honour. Nobody regarded either the games or the combats, but all eyes were fixed upon him, and every one was eager to shew him, and point him out with the hand to the strangers that did not know him.

The *Per-*
sians at-
tempt to
treat with
the *Athe-*
nians.

Xerxes, soon after the battle of *Salamis*, having returned with precipitation to *Asia*, left 300,000 chosen men in *Greece*, under *Mardonius*, who took up his winter quarters in *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*. The *Athenians*, by hazarding their all in the cause of liberty, and by their bravery at the battle of *Salamis*, had acquired a mighty reputation, not only among the *Grecian* states, but also among the *Persians*. *Mardonius*, accordingly, the following spring, sent *Alexander*, king of *Macedon*, with most advantageous offers to the *Athenians*, if they would desert the general alliance, and agree to a peace with the *Persians*. He offered to rebuild, at the king's charges, their city, and whatever other edifices had been demolished the year before in *Attica*; to suffer them to live according to their own laws; to reinstate them in all their former possessions; and to add to them whatever other lands they should desire. The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing that the king of *Macedon* was come to *Athens* from *Mardonius*, immediately sent ambassadors thither, who were admitted to an audience of the people at the same time with *Alexander*. The king, after mentioning the terms offered by *Xerxes*, exhorted the *Athenians*, as being their antient friend, to lay hold on so favourable an opportunity of resettling their affairs.

The *Lacedæmonian* ambassadors next addressed themselves to the people, and entreated them earnestly not to desert the cause of liberty, as the *Greeks* had been drawn into the war merely from their respect to them. They promised to give them all the assistance in their power, and offered, in conjunction with their allies, to take care of their wives and children. The *Athenians* replied to *Alexander*, that as long as the sun and moon endured, they would never desert the cause of *Greece*, nor forget the injuries done them by the *Persians*. At the same time they told the *Lacedæmonian* ambassadors, that they were sorry they should conceive so meanly of them, as to think they would ever com-
pare

pare interest with glory. They would continue firm to their confederates, they said, without being a burthen to them.

Mardonius finding his offers rejected by the *Athenians*, march- *Athenians* a
ed with his army into *Attica*, wasted and plundered the coun- second
try, and levelled even the ruins of ancient buildings. The time de-
Athenians being disappointed in their expectations of succours stroyed.
from their allies, were in no condition to oppose the *Persians*;
they therefore again abandoned their city, which the enemy a
second time burnt and pillaged. The confederate army in the
mean time was assembling with the utmost diligence at the
Isthmus, under the command of *Pausanias*, king of *Sparta*, and
Aristides the *Athenian*. *Mardonius* on this news, marched back
into *Bæotia*, which he chose for the field of action, and being
followed thither by the *Greeks*, both parties came to a general The *Per-*
engagement near *Platæa*, in which *Mardonius* was killed, and *sians* rout-
the *Persians* totally defeated, with the loss of upwards of 200,000 ed at *Pla-*
men. The same day that the battle of *Platæa* was fought in *tæa*.
Greece, the *Persians* were also defeated at *Mycale*, in *Ionia*, by *Bef. Ch.*
the *Grecian* fleet, under the command of *Leutychides* the *Lace-* 479.
dæmonian, and *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*. In this battle it is
universally allowed, that the *Athenians* behaved better than any
of the rest of the *Greeks*. Having boldly attacked and routed
the troops that were entrenched on the coast, they burnt the
Persian fleet, which had been drawn on shore, and having plun-
dered the country, embarked with an immense booty, and sailed
to *Samos*.

The *Ionians* having now openly revolted from the *Persians*, The *Athe-*
the *Greeks* at *Samos* deliberated, whether they should not leave *nians* op-
Ionia to the barbarians, and transport the *Ionians* into *Greece*, pose the
and settle them in the territories of such *Greek* states as had transport-
sided with the *Persians*. Though the proposal at first seemed ing the
agreeable to the *Athenians*, yet after some reflection they refused *Ionians* in-
to consent to it; being apprehensive that the *Ionians* would then to *Greece*.
rival them in trade, or at least throw off that obedience and re-
spect which hitherto they had paid *Athens*, as their mother
city and constant protectress.

The confederates, therefore, dropping the proposal, promised
the *Ionians* such assistance as they should have occasion for from
time to time. The fleet then leaving their coasts, the *Lacedæ-*
monians returned home; but the *Athenians* and the *Ionians* staid
for some time at the *Hellepont*, and landing in the *Thracian*
Chersonese, besieged *Sestos*, then inhabited by the *Pelians*. The
garrison, however, were *Persians*, who under the command of
Oibazus and *Artayctes*, made a most obstinate defence. The
Persians at length made their escape over the walls in two diffe-
rent parties; but the *Æolians* in the morning opening their gates *Sestos* ta-
to the *Athenians*, they took possession of the city, and imme- ken by the
diately pursued the enemy. *Oibazus* and his party were over- *Athenians*.
taken by the *Thracians*, who having killed a great many of them,
took the rest prisoners, and afterwards sacrificed them. The
Athenians overtook *Artayctes*, and having routed his party,
Vol. II. Y took

took him and his son prisoners. They afterwards impaled him, and stoned his son, because he had sacrilegiously robbed the tomb of *Protesilaus*, at *Eleus*, in the *Chersonese* *. Winter now approaching, the *Athenians* and the other *Greeks* returned home, loaded with immense booty, carrying with them also the materials of the bridges of *Xerxes*, to be consecrated in their temple.

The *Athenians* rebuild their city.

The *Athenians* being now under no more apprehensions from the *Persians*, brought back all their families into *Attica*, and began to think of rebuilding their city, not only with the utmost expedition, but also with some degree of magnificence. The people were more elate than ever, and upon resettling their affairs, were resolved to preserve that freedom uninvaded by citizens, for which they had so warmly contended against strangers. *Themistocles*, who was always for a popular government, supported the pretensions of the people, and *Aristides*, thoroughly convinced that it would be better to grant them what they so much desired, than by an opposition to hazard new disturbances, proposed that every citizen should have an equal right to the government, and that the archons should be chosen out of the body of the people, without distinction of tribes. All ranks of people acquiesced in this proposal *.

Themistocles proposes the fortifying of *Athens*.

Themistocles proposed also at this time, that *Athens* should be instantly fortified in the best manner possible, to prevent such misfortunes, as they had lately sustained from the sudden invasion of the *Persians*. The *Lacedæmonians*, as soon as they received this news, were exceedingly alarmed. Having hitherto been considered as the principal people of *Greece*, they were jealous of a rival; and fearing that the *Athenians*, who were now very powerful at sea, should increase their strength by land, they might in time take upon them to deprive *Sparta* of that authority and pre-eminence, which it had hitherto exercised over the rest of *Greece*, they sent an embassy to the *Athenians*, to dissuade them from their undertaking. The ambassadors represented, that the common interest required that there should be no fortified city out of the *Peloponnese*, lest in a future invasion it should be possessed by the enemy. The *Athenians*, not having any regard to these remonstrances, the ambassadors then threatened to force them to comply with the desire of the *Spartans*. *Themistocles* advised his countrymen to make use of cunning against these pretended friends, and to answer that they would, by an embassy, satisfy the *Spartans* concerning their proceedings. By his own desire, *Themistocles* was nominated one of the ambassadors. Having advised the senate to send his colleagues after him one by one, in order to gain time for carrying on the work; he set out for *Sparta*, but put off from time to time receiving an audience, on pretence that he waited for the arrival of his colleagues. Meanwhile, the work was car-

The *Spartans* remonstrate against it.

They are deceived by *Themistocles*.

* Herod. l. ix. Plut. Corn. Nepos. Justin.

† Plut. in vit Arist. ried

ried on at *Athens* with the utmost industry and vigour; women, children, strangers, servants, and citizens, all working night and day, and sparing neither houses nor sepulchres for materials, so that in a short space the walls were almost finished. The *Spartans*, who were informed what was doing at *Athens*, made loud complaints to *Themistocles*; but he positively assured them that the information was false, and desired them to send deputies again to *Athens* to enquire into the fact. At the same time he secretly advised the *Athenians* to detain these deputies, till he and his colleagues were returned from their embassy. After his colleagues were all arrived, he then in a public audience avowed the whole transaction. The *Spartans*, seeing no remedy, dissembled their resentment, and the ambassadors on both sides returned to their respective cities.

The following year, which was the last of the 75th olympiad, *Adimantus* being archon, *Themistocles* advised the people to make the *Pyæum* the port of *Athens*, which was much larger and more commodious than that of *Phalerum*, and would be a great means of encreasing their wealth and raising their power. He considered that if the *Athenians* were once masters of the sea, not only the *Ionians*, but all the islanders, would then attach themselves to them rather than to the *Spartans*. These reflections, however, he kept secret, lest the jealousy of the *Spartans* should be again alarmed, and to lull their suspicions, he sent ambassadors to *Sparta*, to insinuate how fit it would be for the *Greeks* to have some great port, where a fleet might always continue in safety, in order to watch the designs of the *Persians*. He then applied himself to the undertaking with such care and diligence, that the place was in a posture of defence, and the work almost finished, before it was well known at *Sparta* what the *Athenians* were about. He did not chuse to make the haven a part of the city, lest the sailors, who are generally dissolute, should, by mixing with the citizens, introduce a corruption of manners; but he united it to the city by two long walls, which secured the communication.

Plutarch tells us, that soon after he formed another scheme for aggrandizing the *Athenians*, though at the expence of his own reputation; for had he an hundred times the merit ascribed to him, this single action would be sufficient to sully all his glory. When the *Grecian* fleet, he says, was arrived at *Pegasa*, a town of *Magnesia*, where it wintered, *Themistocles* made an oration to his countrymen, and told them, that he had it in his mind to do something which would prove of infinite consequence to *Athens*; but that his scheme was of such a nature, that he could not communicate it to the assembly. Upon this the *Athenians* directed him to communicate it to *Aristides* only, and in case he approved it, to put it in practice. Accordingly, he told *Aristides*, that his scheme was to burn the rest of the *Grecian* fleet, which would leave *Athens* mistress of the seas. *Aristides* reporting to the people, that what *Themistocles* proposed was indeed the most advantageous thing that could happen to them

them, but at the same time it was the most unjust, they directly ordered *Themistocles* to think no more of it.

The sovereignty of the sea. The *Greeks* continuing the war all this time against the *Per-
sians*, the *Athenians* fitted out a fleet, under the command of
transferr- *Aristides* and *Cimon*, the son of *Miltiades*; but the chief com-
ed to the *dæmonian*. mand of the united fleet was conferred on *Pausanias* the *Lace-
dæmonian*. They first directed their course to the isle of *Cyprus*,
Athenians. where they restored all the cities to their liberty, and sailing
from thence to the *Hellepont*, reduced *Byzantium*, in which
city they took several prisoners of eminent note, and some near-
ly related to *Xerxes* himself. *Pausanias*, however, engaging in
a treasonable correspondence with *Xerxes*, set all his prisoners at
liberty, and pretended they had made their escape. At the same
time he treated the allies with an insufferable rudeness and info-
lence; never spoke to the officers but in a harsh and arrogant
manner, and required extraordinary honours to be paid him.
As for the private men, under colour of preserving discipline,
he treated them as if they had been all slaves; making them, for
the smallest offences, stand with an anchor bound down on their
shoulders, so that it almost sunk them into the earth. On the
other hand, the courteous, affable, and obliging deportment of
Aristides and *Cimon*, attracted the hearts of both captains and
soldiers, and exceedingly encreased their aversion to *Pausanias*.
At last this general dissatisfaction publicly broke out, and all
the allies deserted him, and put themselves under the command
and protection of the *Athenians*.

Aristides taxes all The cities and states of *Greece* had hitherto raised occasionally
Greece by several sums of money, for defraying the expence of the war
common against the barbarians. Being now convinced that it was ne-
consent. cessary for them to be always on their guard, they proposed to
establish a standing fund, to be supplied by a general tax. *Aris-
tides* was appointed by all the *Greeks* to have the superintendence
of this fund, and to fix the rates of the different states; and he
executed his commission in such a manner, that this taxation was
unanimously stiled, *The happy lot of Greece*. The gross amount
of this tax was 460 talents.

When he had finished this business, he settled the several ar-
ticles of their grand alliance, and made all the confederates
swear to the observation of them, he himself taking the oath
in the name of the *Athenians*; throwing at the same time pieces
of red hot iron into the sea, and pronouncing curses against all
such as should violate any article of the alliance they swore to.
Afterwards, when necessity compelled the *Athenians* to act a
little against the letter of that treaty, *Aristides* advised them to
transfer the curses on him. *Themistocles*, who was not pleased
with the encomiums bestowed on his rival, in order to lessen his
reputation, said in a public assembly, that the praises bestowed
on *Aristides*, were not praises worthy of a man, but of a money-
chest, which safely keeps what is deposited therein. This low
sneer was partly in resentment of an observation of *Aristides*.
Themistocles saying, that he thought it the greatest excellency of
a gene-

a general to be able to penetrate the designs of his enemy, *Aristides* replied, that it was indeed a most necessary qualification, but that there was another equally illustrious, which was, *to have clean hands, and not to be a slave to money.*

Though the *Lacedæmonians*, when they lost the supreme command of the fleet, affected great moderation, and seemed without regret to renounce the superiority, yet they began in a short time to look on this change as a mighty diminution of their authority. Their anger, however, being moderated by the wisdom of some of their citizens, they laid aside all thoughts of war; but soon after turned their resentment against *Themistocles*, who was very guilty in their eyes, for having so greatly contributed to the aggrandizing of their rival state. By their intrigues at *Athens*, they had so far prevailed, as to persuade the *Athenians* to banish him by the ostracism. But being bent upon ruining him entirely, they accused him of having conspired with their king, *Pausanias*, to betray the cause of *Greece*. Upon examination, it did indeed appear, that *Pausanias* had discovered his intrigues to *Themistocles*, but it appeared likewise, that *Themistocles* did all in his power to divert him from them. Though he was acquitted of this accusation with honour, yet the general clamour being raised against him by those citizens who envied him, and by the secret artifices of the *Lacedæmonians*, he was obliged to fly from one place to another, and at last to take shelter in the court of *Admetus*, king of the *Molossians*. This king, however, being threatned by the *Spartans* with a general war of the confederate *Greeks*, furnished *Themistocles* with money to make his escape into *Asia*. As *Artaxerxes* had promised 200 talents for apprehending him, it was dangerous for him to be seen in that country. He proceeded, however, to the *Persian* court in safety, by the contrivance of his friend *Nicogines*, the *Æolian*, who provided for him a close litter, in which he travelled under the character of a *Grecian* lady. Having obtained an audience of the king, as a stranger, he declared who he was, and begged his protection. All authors agree that *Artaxerxes* received him with great kindness; and, according to *Plutarch*, he was so well pleased with him, that the night of his audience he cried out thrice in his sleep, *I have Themistocles the Athenian*. The next morning the king again sent for him, and as soon as the first compliments were over, said, *I am in your debt 200 talents, for so much I promised to him who brought Themistocles*. Having obtained a year to learn the *Persian* language, at the end of that time he appeared at court, and soon became a greater favourite with *Artaxerxes* than any of the native *Persians*. He was also in high favour with the queen mother, and became a convert to the *Persian* religion, in which he was instructed by the magi. The cities of *Magnesia*, *Myon*, and *Lampsacus*, were bestowed upon him, and having fixed his residence at *Magnesia*, he there lived with all the splendor of a *Persian* grandee; insomuch, that he said one day at table to his children, *We had been undone, my little ones, if we*

had not been undone. He died at the age of 66 years, and some reported that he had poisoned himself, upon finding it impossible to accomplish what he had promised the king. He was honoured with a stately tomb at *Magnesia*; but his bones, by his own command, were privately carried back into *Attica*, and buried there. His large estate, and the great privileges he enjoyed, descended to his posterity; insomuch, that *Plutarch* says, he knew one of them, whose name was also *Themistocles*, who lived at *Magnesia* in full possession of them, above 500 years after the death of this great man*.

After the banishment of *Themistocles*, the popular party in *Athens* carried all things before them. *Aristides* alone, when things came to extremity, shewed himself more a friend to virtue, than an enemy to *Themistocles*. He refused to join in prosecuting him capitally, and was so far from insulting him in his misfortunes, that he spoke of him with greater respect than ever.

The *Athenians* continue their hostilities against the *Persians*. No peace was yet concluded with the *Persians*, the *Greeks*, and particularly the *Athenians*, finding great advantage in carrying on the war, as they were continually enriching themselves at the expence of some or other of the *Persian* emperor's subjects. They devised various reasons for sending fleets to sea, though their real intention was to aggrandize and enrich themselves. In the latter end of the 77th olympiad, they equipped a fleet for the relief of such of the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, as were under subjection to the great king, and gave the chief command to *Cimon*, the son of *Miltiades*. *Cimon's* abilities were fair and solid, yet less so than his virtues. His father had distinguished himself by the firmness of his courage, *Themistocles* by the strength of his judgment, and *Aristides* by his probity. *Cimon* was equal to them all; his distinguishing perfections were, an openness of temper, which made him above deceiving, and an inflexible honesty. He had spent his youth in such excesses, as did him no honour, and presaged no good, with regard to his future conduct. Having dropt his juvenile extravagancies, he attended to the excellent instructions of *Aristides*, who observing his integrity, took great pains to train him up to business, that his candour might ballance the craft of *Themistocles*. *Aristides* succeeded very happily; for *Cimon* alone, of all the *Athenian* generals, was always beloved and never suspected†.

The great success of *Cimon* against the *Persians*. Bef. Ch. 463. In this expedition *Cimon* took the city of *Eion*, on the river *Strymon*, but with little advantage to the *Athenians*; because *Butis*, who commanded in that city for the *Persian* king, set fire to the place, and burnt himself, his garrison, and all the riches that were therein. *Cimon*, however, after revenging himself on the *Thracians*, who had assisted the *Persians*, settled colonies in that neighbourhood. He afterwards reduced the island of *Scyros*, from whence he brought the bones of *Theseus*, which

* Corn. Nep. in vit. Themist. Diod. Sic. l. ii. Plut. in vit. Themist. Thucyd. l. i. † Plut. in vit. Cimon. Nepos in vit. ejusd.

were honourably interred at *Athens*. Having encreased his fleet to 300 sail, he next steered for the coast of *Caria*, and having performed great things there, he sailed for *Cyprus*. He attacked and defeated the *Persian* fleet at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, and landing immediately after, totally routed their land army, gaining in one day two important victories, equal to those of *Salamis* and *Plataea*. He gained in this expedition such an immense booty, that the *Athenians* were enabled to build several great works, for the strength and ornament of the city. *Cimon*, out of his own proportion of the spoils, adorned the forum with palm trees, and beautified the academy with delightful walks and pleasant fountains. In his private capacity he lived with the greatest magnificence. He demolished the inclosures about his grounds and gardens, and permitted every one to enter and take what fruits they pleased. He likewise kept an open table, to which both the rich and poor had free admission. When he went abroad, he was constantly attended by a train of young gentlemen extremely well dressed, with their pockets well furnished with money, which he distributed to the indigent and distressed that he met with. By his generosity and bounty, however, he was far from courting popularity. On the contrary, he sided always with the nobility, and opposed openly such as sought to make their court to the people, by putting all things into their power.

The affairs of the *Athenians* were now in such a prosperous condition, that they would not suffer any thing to be transacted to their prejudice without revenging it. The *Persians*, by the help of the *Thracians*, having made themselves masters of the *Chersonese*, *Cimon* was dispatched thither with only four ships, but falling upon the enemy suddenly, he took 13 of their gallees, and afterwards reduced all the *Chersonese* under the *Athenian* power.

By his prudence and forecast he firmly established the superiority of the *Athenians*, making the other *Greek* states purchase themselves masters at their own expence, and became in a manner tributaries to *Athens*. Many of the *Greek* states being now become out of fear of the *Persians*, interested themselves little in the prosecution of the war, and neglected to furnish their quota of men and ships. Most of the *Athenian* generals were for compelling them literally to fulfil the terms of the treaty; but *Cimon* contented himself with a sum of money from them, in lieu of a galley compleatly manned. By this expedient he allowed them to enervate themselves by idleness, while he inured the *Athenians* to hardship and discipline.

Cimon having reduced the *Chersonese*, sailed against the *Thracians*, who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and by a law, made it capital for any one to propose an accommodation. Having defended themselves for three years with great obstinacy, they were at length reduced to great distress, when one *Hegetorides* presented himself to the assembly, with a halter about his neck, and at the hazard of his life entreated them to surrender. They

accordingly submitted, and pardoned him. *Cimon* then landed his troops on the opposite shore of *Thrace*, seized on all the gold mines of those coasts, and subdued every part of that country as far as *Macedonia*, and settled a flourishing colony at *Amphipolis*. Mean while the *Athenians*, being solicited by the *Lacedæmonians* to assist them against their slaves, who had revolted, and were assisted by the *Mycenians*, *Cimon* was soon after sent, at the head of a great army, to the assistance of *Lacedæmon*; which service he very willingly and successfully performed. Some time after, the *Lacedæmonians* being engaged in the siege of *Ithome*, again obtained succours of the *Athenians*, which marched thither under the command of *Cimon*; but the *Spartans* finding themselves sufficiently reinforced by their other allies, dismissed the *Athenian* succours, as being either afraid of them, or caring least to be obliged by them. This grievously offended the people of *Athens*, who thenceforward not only hated the *Lacedæmonians*, but all their own citizens, who were reputed to be friends to that state.

The *Athenians* about the same time engaged in a war against the *Æginates*, and the year after sent a fleet of 200 sail, to the assistance of the *Egyptians*, who had revolted from the *Persians*. This revolt continued three years, and as we have related elsewhere, ended very unfortunately for the *Athenians*, their fleet and forces in *Egypt* being almost wholly destroyed.

State of
the fac-
tions in
Athens.

Pericles,
his birth,
education,
&c.

The *Athenians* were not so occupied by their foreign expeditions, as to lay aside their ancient civil dissensions and parties. The popular faction were continually making efforts against those small remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility, and had at their head two very great and famous men, *Pericles* and *Ephialtes*. The former of these was the son of *Xanthippus*, who won the battle of *Mycale*. His mother was the niece of the celebrated *Clysthenes*, who had so great a hand in expelling the *Pisistratidæ*. He studied under *Damon* and *Anaxagoras*, the former teaching him politics, and the latter natural philosophy and the art of speaking. He had great talents, and above all, an eloquence superior to that of any of his contemporaries. It was so nervous and elevated, that it procured him afterwards the surname of *Olympus*. However, notwithstanding he was of a great family, was rich, and had many relations who filled the first posts of the commonwealth, he behaved for several years with great reserve; but after the banishment of *Themistocles*, *Aristides* dying (κ), and *Cimon* being chiefly

(κ) This great man lived but four years after *Themistocles* was banished, and at his death was so poor, that he did not leave money enough to defray the expences of his funeral, so that the govern-

ment was obliged to bear the charges of it, and to maintain his family. *Plutarch*, upon the authority of another historian, says, that the contention between *Aristides* and *Themistocles* was owing

chiefly employed abroad, he begun to apply himself strictly to public business; but instead of courting the rich and the great, he applied himself wholly to the lower sort of people, notwithstanding it was contrary to his natural disposition. As *Cimon* was looked upon as the chief of the nobility, and was revered for his magnanimity, and beloved for his generosity and condescension, the multitude was therefore the sole resource of *Pericles*. As his fortune, tho' considerable, would not allow him to be so liberal as *Cimon*, he, like all artful politicians, obliged the people at their own expence, by increasing the salaries of those that sat in the courts of justice, and augmenting also the money given to the poorer citizens for attending at assemblies, and for enabling them to pay for seats in the theatres. At the same time he quite changed his way of life. He was never seen in the streets, except when he was going either to the assembly of the people, or to the council; and never appeared but at intervals, in order to make himself desired. He left off going to banquets, assemblies, and other diversions of that kind, which he was used to frequent; and but once in all his long administration was present at a feast, and then he went away early.

Having never pretended to any of the great offices of the commonwealth, he could not of consequence be chosen a member of the court of *Areopagus*. Their authority therefore appeared to him in an odious light, and he encouraged *Ephialtes*, his intimate friend, to insinuate to the people, that the *Areopagites* were the greatest curb upon them, and the only bar to that extensive liberty which their friends wished to put into their hands. Thus with great policy he laid the foundation of his own greatness in that of the people, but at the expence of the ancient constitution, and of the safety of the state; for his new regulations gave the *Athenians* a luxurious and dissolute turn of

Pericles an enemy to the court of Areopagus.

to their rivalship in an infamous amour; which, if true, shews that the morality of the *Greeks* was far from being pure, since *Aristides*, who valued himself so much on his probity, could persist in so base and unnatural a vice. When he was treasurer, he executed that office with great integrity; *Themistocles*, however, accused him of misapplying the public money, and though nothing was falser than this charge, got him condemned. The court of *Areopagus* interposing, his fine was remitted, and he chosen treasurer for the next year. He now suffered all the collectors and un-

der officers to act as they thought fit, who thereupon extolled him to the skies, and wanted the people to chuse him a third time. *Aristides*, addressing himself to the assembly, said, *When I discharged my office with care and fidelity, I was reviled, and evil spoken of; but now when I have taken no care at all, but left these public robbers their liberty, I am, it seems, an admirable treasurer, and a most excellent patriot. I therefore declare to you, that I am more ashamed of the honour done to me this day, than of the sentence passed upon me last year.* Plut. in vit. Arist. Corn. Nepos.

mind;

mind; whereas they were before, sober, modest, and industrious. *Pericles* having rooted himself in the affections of the people, his party made an attempt to ruin *Cimon*, and accused the party him of treason against the state, pretending that after he had conquered *Thrace*, he had omitted to invade *Macedonia*, in consequence of large presents he had received from the *Macedonians*. *Cimon* in his own defence said, that he had prosecuted, to the utmost of his power, the war against the *Thracians*, and other enemies to the state of *Athens*; but that it was true he had not made any inroads into *Macedonia*, because he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind, and because he was struck with respect for a nation modest in their carriage, just in their dealings, and strictly honourable in their behaviour towards him and the *Athenians*. During the trial, *Pericles* spoke but once, and then not only treated *Cimon* with great respect, but touched the business of which he was accused slightly, as seeming to have no opinion of his guilt, and when he had done speaking he withdrew. The consequence of this was, that *Cimon* escaped capital punishment, and was only banished by the ostracism, which cured his rivals of envy, and took away all apprehensions from the people.

and banished.

The commons having now the chief sway, *Ephialtes* procured a decree, by which most of the causes which had been cognizable by the court of *Areopagus*, were transferred elsewhere. *Ephialtes*, however, did not long triumph, for a little while afterwards he was assassinated in the streets, at the instigation of the nobility, according to *Aristotle*. But an author quoted by *Plutarch*, ascribes his murder to *Pericles*, who thought it best to have him out of the way, after his purposes had been served by him*.

A war betwixt the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*. About the same time, the *Athenians* engaging in a war against the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, gained two signal victories over their enemies; after which, conceiving that the inhabitants of *Ægina* had secretly assisted the *Corinthians*, they sent *Leocrates* with a powerful fleet against that island. The *Æginates*, vainly trusting to their skill in maritime affairs, hazarded a battle with the *Athenians*; but being totally defeated, with the loss of 70 ships, they were constrained to submit, and purchase peace at the expence of honour and independance.

The states of the *Peloponnese* looking with jealous eyes on the growing greatness of *Athens*, watched every opportunity of making war upon her. The *Megarensians* having declared themselves allies of the *Athenians*, the *Corinthians* found a pretence for attacking them. The *Athenians*, who, upon some new provocation, were then laying siege to *Ægina*, sent *Myronides* with an army against the *Corinthians*, who being worsted in several engagements, were forced to retire from *Megara*.

The *Spartans* soon after sending an army to the assistance of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians*, the *Athenians*, without any

* Plut. in vit. Peric. Diod. Sic.

foundation, resolved to attack the *Spartans*, and drawing in the Hostilities *Argives* and *Thessalians* to be confederates with them, landed an betwixt army of 14,000 men at the *Isthmus*. The *Spartan* army, which the *Athe-* consisted of 11,000 men, turned aside to *Tanagra*, a city of *nians* and *Bæotia*, where they entered into a correspondence with some *Spartans*. *Athenians* that were inclined to an aristocracy. The *Athenian* Bef. Ch. army, however, coming up, both sides prepared for a battle. 458. *Cimon*, on this occasion, thinking himself dispensed with from his banishment, came compleatly armed, and went to take post among the troops of his own tribe. Those of the popular faction, however, considering only their private resentments, insisted that the general should not receive him. *Cimon* seeing the disposition of the people, exhorted his few friends, who were likewise suspected of favouring the *Lacedæmonians*, to behave gallantly, and at their request, leaving his armour with them, retired. The *Athenians*, in the beginning of the action, being The *Athe-* deserted by the *Thessalians*, were, after a long and bloody dis- *nians* de- pute, totally routed. The friends of *Cimon*, who were an hun- feated at dred in number, were all slain, fighting with great bravery *Tanagra*. round his armour. Shortly after, the *Thessalians*, marching to surprise a convoy coming out of *Attica*, were received by the *Athenian* escort as friends, but beginning the assault, were opposed with great vigour. Both armies in the mean time coming up, began to sustain their friends, which brought on a second engagement that continued till night, when a short truce was concluded.

The *Thebans* having been degraded from the government of *Bæotia*, for joining *Xerxes* in his war against *Greece*, now ap- *Thebes* re- plying to the *Spartans*, were by them restored to their ancient stored by lustre. The *Athenians* were highly displeased at the conduct of the *Spar-* the *Spartans* in this matter, and ordered *Myronides*, the son of *tans* to its *Callias*, to march with an army into *Bæotia*, to overturn all ancient that they had been doing. *Myronides* accordingly marched thi- lustre. ther with a few *Athenians*, many of those, whose names ap- The *The-* peared in the muster rolls, not having appeared at the rendez- *bans* de- vious; and though the *Thebans* and their allies were numerous feated by and well disciplined, he ventured an engagement, and gained a the *Athe-* glorious victory, which *Diodorus Siculus* justly equals with those *nians*. of *Marathon* and *Platæa*. The *Athenian* general then march- ing to *Tanagra*, took that city and razed it to the ground. He next plundered all *Bæotia*, beat an army which its inhabitants drew together, fell afterwards upon the *Locrians*, then pene- trated into *Thessaly*, and having chastised the inhabitants for their treachery to the *Athenians*, returned home laden with riches and glory.

The next year *Tolmides*, the *Athenian* admiral, piqued at the *Laconia* great actions of *Myronides*, obtained from the people a commis- invaded sion to invade *Laconia*, and embarking 4000 of the bravest by the youths of *Athens* on board 50 gallies, he went on the expedi- *Athenians*, tion. He took *Methon*, on the coast of *Laconia*, but was forced under *Tol-* afterwards to abandon it. He had better fortune at *Gythium*, *mides*, which

which he took and burnt, with all the shipping and naval provisions that were therein, wasting likewise all the country in its neighbourhood. Having afterwards reduced *Zacynthus* with several cities near it, he sailed over to *Naupactus*, which surrendered upon a capitulation: he ejected the *Lacedæmonians*, and settled there a colony of the *Messenians*, whom the *Athenians*, upon their being expelled the *Peloponnese*, had taken under their protection.

And *Pericles*.

Pericles next invaded the *Peloponnese* with great success, burning, spoiling, or taking whatever places he attempted, though he had with him only 1000 men. On his return to *Athens*, he found the people not a little out of humour, because *Cimon* remained still in banishment, as the gallant behaviour of his friends, at the battle of *Tanagra*, had fully cleared him of the crime under pretence of which he had been banished. *Pericles* conceiving well what would be the consequence of their compassion, immediately drew up an act for his restoration, which *Cimon* took so kindly, that he never afterwards thwarted him.

Cimon recalled from banishment.

He sails with a powerful fleet against the *Persians*.

Cimon, who had been absent five years, upon his return, stifled the sparks of war which had broke out among the *Greeks*, and concluded a truce for five years betwixt *Athens* and *Sparta*. As he judged the *Athenians* could not remain inactive, he thought it adviseable to lead them at a great distance from home against the common enemy. Accordingly he put to sea with a fleet of 200 sail. *Plutarch* suggests, that he had in view no less a conquest than that of the whole *Persian* empire. He sent 60 of his vessels into *Egypt*, to the aid of *Amyrteus*, whom the *Egyptians* had declared their king, and with the rest he sailed against the island of *Cyprus*; where, according to *Diodorus*, he made himself master of *Citium* and *Malum*. Upon the return of his ships from *Egypt*, he attacked and defeated the *Phœnician* fleet, and landing in *Cilicia*, routed 300,000 *Persians*, under the command of *Megabyzus*. The *Persian* monarch, finding the *Grecian* war continually unfortunate, sent orders to his commanders, *Artabazus* and *Megabazus*, to enter into a treaty of peace, which was accordingly concluded. The principal articles were, that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be free; that the *Persians* should send no army within three days march of the sea; that no *Persian* ship of war should sail between *Thaselis* in *Pamphilia*, and *Cyene* in *Lycia*.

who conclude a peace with the *Greeks*.

Cimon dies.

While this treaty was negotiating, *Cimon* died before *Citium*; whether of sickness, or of a wound he had received at the siege, authors were not agreed in the time of *Plutarch*. When he was near his end, he commanded them to sail with the fleet immediately for *Athens*, and to conceal his death with the utmost care.

His character.

Cimon was universally regretted, since he was possessed of all those qualities that dignify the soul. He was a most tender son, a faithful friend, zealous for the good of his country, a great politician, an accomplished general, modest when raised to the highest employments and most distinguished honours, liberal and beneficent almost to profusion, and simple and
averse

averse to ostentation of every kind. He curbed the vanity of his countrymen, and dissuaded them at all times from acting tyrannically towards the *Greeks*, and vehemently inveighed against that propensity they had, to sacrifice virtue to profit, and honour to power.

The affairs of the *Athenians* began to be suddenly and sorely disturbed after the death of *Cimon*; for their insolent and arbitrary proceedings having rendered them equally hated by their enemies and their allies, the least unlucky accident furnished a handle for new revolts or invasions. The *Megarians*, who had been long under the protection, which was but another word for being under the dominion of *Athens*, now disclaimed all dependence on the *Athenians*, and entered into a strict league with the *Spartans*. The *Athenians* in resentment, ravaged their little country, and even besieged their city; the *Lacedæmonians*, in defence of their new ally, made an irruption into *Attica*, upon which *Pericles*, who was then in *Eubæa* with some troops, was recalled in haste to assist his country. *Pericles* being informed that the *Spartans* were commanded by their king, *Plistonax*, a very young man, who had with him one *Chandrides* for a tutor, he sent the latter a considerable sum of money, and thereby procured the return of the *Lacedæmonian* army without blows. In his public accounts he charged in one article ten talents, laid out in a fit manner, on a proper occasion, which the *Athenians*, who were fully sensible how the money had been applied, passed without any objection, though at another time they would not have bore with such an article. After the departure of the *Lacedæmonians*, he again went against the *Eubæans*, who had revolted, but returned to *Athens* about the beginning of winter.

Tolmides, the *Athenian* admiral, then proposing an expedition into *Bæotia*, a great number of the bravest *Athenians* readily engaged to serve under him. *Pericles* pressing him to wait a more favourable opportunity, which *Tolmides* seeming to take amiss, *Pericles* calmly told him, *If you will not listen to my advice, yet you might safely wait time's leisure a little, who, let me tell you, Sir, is the wisest of all counsellors.* This saying, which was presently divulged, became afterwards exceedingly beneficial to *Pericles*; for *Tolmides*, after doing great things in *Bæotia*, was attacked by the *Bæotians* at *Cheronæa*, where his army was routed, and himself slain. This defeat terribly humbled the *Athenians*, for in order to redeem their prisoners, they were constrained to renounce all pretensions of dominion over the cities of *Bæotia*, and while this was doing, many other little states declared against the *Athenians*. He is killed and his army routed.

Notwithstanding all these checks, *Pericles* again marched with an army against the *Eubæans*, and in a short time subjected all the cities of that island to the *Athenians*. The *Lacedæmonians*, finding it no longer for their interest to carry on the war, a negotiation was set on foot, whereby a peace was effected for 30 years; but as the jealousy and enmity of the two nations still subsisted, the calm was not of long duration. 446.

About this time *Pfamitichus*, king of *Egypt*, sent as a present to the *Athenians* 40,000 bushels of wheat, which proved a great misfortune to the city. *Pericles*, out of spite to the family of *Cimon*, who had children by an *Arcadian* woman, had preferred a law, by which *Athenians* of the half blood were disfranchised. This law, on account of the division of the corn, was prosecuted with such severity, that no less than 5000 persons, who till then had been considered as freemen, were sold as slaves. The real number of freemen at this time, according to *Plutarch*, were only 14,040. *Pericles* afterwards losing all his children of the whole blood, was obliged to entreat the *Athenians* to cancel the cruel law, of which he himself had been the author.

The *Sylarites* in *Italy* reinstated by the *Athenians*.
 Bef. Chr. 444. The following year the *Sybarites*, a colony of the *Achæans* and *Træzenians*, in *Italy*, having been a second time driven from their city by the *Crotonians*, sent ambassadors into *Greece*, and humbly begged the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* to restore them, and to send a colony to share with them the new city they intended to build. The *Lacedæmonians* rejected their request, which was readily hearkened to by the *Athenians*, who not only dispatched thither ten ships, with a considerable body of men on board, but also caused a proclamation to be made throughout all the *Peloponnese*, that such as were willing to go and settle in *Italy*, should be taken under the protection of their fleet. Great numbers of people accepting the proposition, the *Sybarites*, by the assistance of these new comers, re-established themselves in their country, and built a new city, which they called *Thurium*, from whence themselves were afterwards stiled *Thurians**.

War between the *Athenians* and *Samians*.
 The *Athenians*, six years after the conclusion of the peace with the *Lacedæmonians*, took up arms in favour of *Miletus* against *Samos*, which two cities were then contesting for that of *Priene*. On what motive the *Athenians* engaged in the quarrel is not very clear. *Thucydides* says, the *Milesians* complained to the people of *Athens*, who were likewise solicited by some *Samian* malecontents, to assist them in settling a democracy in the island. *Plutarch* intimates, that the *Athenians* declared for the *Milesians*, because the *Samians* had refused to submit the dispute to their decision. It is also said, that *Pericles* engaged the *Athenians* in the war to gratify his mistress *Aspasia*, a native of *Miletus*, one of the handsomest women in her time, yet more distinguished for her surprising accomplishments than for the loveliness of her person. She rendered herself conspicuous by her perfection in the art of speaking, which she possessed in a superlative degree, being also admirably versed in all the branches of useful literature, particularly natural philosophy and politics. Her discourses, which were not more brilliant than solid, were attended to by the greatest men of *Athens*, who not only visited her themselves, but brought their wives to hear her lectures, her fine qualities atoning even for her want of reputation.

* Diod. Sic. l. 12:

Whatever motive the *Athenians* had for engaging in this war, Who are they sent *Pericles* against the *Samians* with a fleet of 40 sail. He reduced having presently brought them into subjection, began to change by *Pericles*: all things according to his will, establishing a democracy, and requiring 50 hostages of principal persons, with as many children, to be delivered to him. On this occasion all imaginable methods were tried to soften him; the hostages offered him each a talent, by way of ransom; those who disliked the democracy, proffered him a large sum of money, if he would leave the government as he found it; and the *Persian* governor of *Sardis*, rather than that a democracy should have been established, would have given 10,000 picces of gold. *Pericles*, however, having no respect to money, refused to alter what he had established, and carried away the hostages to *Lemnos*.

After his departure, the *Samians* fell into mighty dissensions, The *Sa-* and some of them who had fled to *Sardis*, having procured from *mians* the governor 700 men, surprized the *Athenian* garrison in *Samos*, drive out and expelled them from thence. Having also procured their the *Athe-* hostages to be privately sent away from *Lemnos*, and drawn the *nian* gar- *Byzantines* to their party, they declared themselves open enemies rison. to *Athens*. The *Samians* and their allies fitted out a fleet of 70 sail, but were defeated in a naval engagement by *Pericles*, who had only 44 ships. He then invested *Samos* by sea and land, Their city his fleet being reinforced by 65 vessels. After a nine months taken a siege, in which the *Athenians*, for the first time, are said to have second used military engines; the *Samians* were obliged to surrender, time by upon which *Pericles* demolished their walls, seized their ships, *Pericles*. and mulcted them in the whole expence of the war, part of which he obliged them to pay down, and took hostages for the remainder.

Pericles, upon his return to *Athens*, procured himself to be appointed to pronounce the public oration, in commemoration of such as fell in the war. He celebrated the praises of the deceased with such eloquence, that when he had finished, the women gathered about him, took him by the hand, and crowned him with garlands. *Elpinice*, the sister of *Cimon*, however, loaded him with reproaches, for having destroyed so many citizens merely from his private ambition and resentment. The *Athenians*, as may be concluded from *Thucydides*, conceived highly of *Pericles* for this expedition, as the *Samians* were then so flourishing, as to be looked upon by them as formidable rivals. The oration, which procured *Pericles* so great applause, was supposed by the most intelligent *Athenians* to have been composed by *Aspasia*, who attended him in the expedition*.

The *Athenians* soon after entering into an alliance with the *Corcyrans*, were drawn thereby into those engagements, which at last proved the ruin of their state. This alliance was formed

* Plot. in vit. *Pericl.* Athen. l. xiii. Cicero in *Bruto*. Diod. Sic. l. xii. *Thucyd.* l. i.

on the following occasion: An intestine war breaking out in the little territory of *Epidamnus*, now *Durazzo*, founded by the *Corcyrans*, one party called in the *Illyrians* to their assistance, and the other applied to the people of *Corcyra*, but being neglected by them, they had recourse to *Corinth*, owning her for their foundress, as the *Corcyrans* were a *Corinthian* colony. The *Corinthians*, by a powerful fleet, thoroughly established the party that applied to them, which the *Corcyrans* resenting, sent a fleet to *Epidamnus* to support the exiles. Nothing of consequence was done that year, but the year after the *Corcyrans* beat the *Corinthians* and their allies at sea, and took *Epidamnus* by storm. The *Corinthians* making great preparations for retrieving their honour, the *Corcyrans* instantly dispatched ambassadors to carry their complaints to *Athens*, and the *Corinthians*, on receiving this news, dispatched theirs likewise, both on the same errand and with equal hopes.

The *Athenians* declare for the *Corcyrans* against the *Corinthians*.

Nothing could be more glorious for the *Athenians* than such an application as this, which seemed to acknowledge the legality of that dominion, which they had for many years affected. The *Athenian* people in their general assembly, at first approved the cause of the *Corinthians*, but afterwards changing their opinion, probably on the remonstrances of *Pericles*, they made an alliance with the *Corcyrans*. They did not, however, conclude an offensive and defensive league with them, because, by such a step, *Athens* would immediately have broken with *Corinth* and all her allies. Both parties only agreed to succour each other mutually, in case they should be attacked. From *Thucydides* it appears, that the real design of the *Athenians* was to keep up the difference betwixt the *Corcyrans* and *Corinthians*, who were both very powerful, and after each should have exhausted the other, to triumph over the weakest. They had also designs upon *Italy* and *Sicily*, which the possession of the island of *Corcyra* would very much promote. They accordingly sent the *Corcyrans* only ten galleys, under the command of *Lacedæmonius*, the son of *Cimon*, with orders, however, not to act offensively against the *Corinthians*. Soon after the *Corinthians* and their allies sailed to *Corcyra* with a fleet of 150 sail, and the *Corcyrans* appearing at sea with a fleet of 120 sail, the *Athenian* squadron included, a battle ensued, which was fought with great obstinacy. The advantages and the losses on both sides being nearly equal, each party claimed the victory. The *Corcyrans* next day being reinforced with 20 *Athenian* ships, went to the port of *Cibotis*, opposite to *Corcyra*, and braved the *Corinthians*, who thought it prudent not to hazard a second engagement.

Potidæa revolts from the *Athenians*.

The *Corinthians* making loud complaints against the *Athenians*, these last, fearing that the *Potidæans*, who were a *Corinthian* colony, but subject to them, should revolt, ordered them to demolish a part of their wall, to send back the magistrates they had received from *Corinth*, and give hostages for their own behaviour. Demands of so unjust a nature only fomented the revolt. The *Potidæans* declared against the *Athenians*, and several
neigh-

neighbouring cities followed their example. Both *Athens* and *Corinth* sending forces thither, a battle was fought near *Potidaea*, in which the *Athenians* had the advantage, but with the loss of their general *Callias*. *Alcibiades*, who was then very young, and *Socrates*, his master, signalized themselves in this action, and the prize of valour was decreed to *Alcibiades*. The *Potidaeans* still refusing to submit, their city was invested by the *Athenians*, under the command of *Phormio*.

The city of *Athens* in the mean time was far from enjoying The *Athe-* tranquillity. *Pericles*, by his interest with the people, having *nians* dis- prevailed on them to banish *Thucydides*, a nobleman of great contented merit, who had vigorously opposed his innovations, from that with the time forward began to change his behaviour, and acted more admini- like a prince than a private man. He procured all things to be stration of at his disposal, and took the whole management of the *Athenian Pericles*. affairs, at home and abroad, upon himself. The *Athenians*, now seeing themselves threatened with a dangerous war, began to be out of humour with *Pericles*, and made no scruple of pro- They ac- secuting his friends. His enemies accused the famous statuary cuse his *Phidias*, of having embezzled part of the gold delivered to him friends. for the statue of *Minerva*. *Phidias*, however, cleared himself; for having laid on the gold so that it could be removed without injuring the figure, it was taken off, and its weight found to be just. The *Athenians* having accused him besides of having introduced in the shield of the goddess a picture of *Pericles* fighting with an *Amazon*, he was, according to some, dragged to prison, where he died, or according to others was banished.

Aspasia was next accused of impiety, and also for being a pro- *Aspasia* cureis to *Pericles*, and seducing the wives and daughters of *Athe-* accused. *nian* citizens. *Pericles*, who then lived with *Aspasia* as his wife, saved her with the utmost difficulty. He appeared for her in per- Being de- son, and in the midst of his pleadings let fall a shower of tears fended by like a child, which was the more remarkable, because he had *Pericles*, never been known to weep before; and thus, either the force she is ac- of his eloquence, or the sight of his grief, engaged the judges quitted: to acquit her.

A decree of the people being likewise past, by which infor- *Anaxago-* mations were ordered to be taken out against all such persons as *ras* accu- denied what was ascribed to the ministry of the gods, *Anaxagoras*, sed of im- the famous philosopher and preceptor of *Pericles*, was accused piety, and of impiety. *Pericles*, sensible that the philosophical notions of obliged to *Anaxagoras* could by no art be justified, before the supersti- leave *At-* tious people, wisely sent him out of *Attica*, with this mark of *ica*. respect, however, that he attended him in person (L).

The

(L) Authors differ greatly in setting, that the sun was a burn- their accounts of this accusation ing plate, was fined five talents, of *Anaxagoras*. According to and was banished. *Satyrus* says, *Laertius*, he was accused of as- he was accused by *Thucydides* of impiety,

Pericles
himself
accused.

The discontented party seeing that the people received these accusation with pleasure, at length impeached *Pericles* himself, of embezzling the public money during his administration. The final decision of his cause was committed to 1500 judges, who were to write their suffrages upon billets taken from the altars. *Pericles* was not greatly concerned at this personal accusation, as he was known to be above corruption, and had acted during his administration with great œconomy, and the strictest justice in pecuniary affairs.

The Spar-
tans re-
quire re-
paration
of wrongs
from the
Athenians.

During the siege of *Potidæa*, the *Corinthians* and their allies sent a deputation to *Lacedæmon*, to complain of the *Athenians*, as having infringed the articles of peace. The *Spartans*, from a jealousy of the *Athenian* greatness, hearkened to the complaints of the *Corinthians*, and resolved upon a war, and sent ambassadors to *Athens* to demand reparation for the public injuries. According to *Thucydides*, they demanded, in the first place, the expulsion of the descendants of *Cylon* and his associates, who had violated the sanctuary of *Minerva*; they next insisted that the siege of *Potidæa* should be raised; that the inhabitants of *Ægina* should be left free; that the decree made against the *Megarians*, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of *Athens* on pain of death, should be revoked; and that the *Grecian* states, which were under the dominion of *Athens*, should be set at liberty.

Their
terms re-
jected.

Pericles persuaded the *Athenians* to reject these terms; some think from personal motives, but most probably from his concern for what he thought the public good. According to *Thucydides*, he shewed the *Athenians* that they were better able to engage in a long and expensive war than the *Peloponnesians*, and advised them to propose the following terms to the *Lacedæmonians*, namely, that they would reverse their decree against *Megara*, if the *Lacedæmonians* would allow free egress and regress in their territories to the *Athenians* and their allies; that they

impiety, and of holding intelligence with the *Persians*. *Hieronymus* wrote, that *Pericles* brought him into court in poor garments, and much broken with sickness, which moved his judges to compassion. *Suidas* says, he was first imprisoned and then banished, for introducing a new opinion concerning the divine nature. *Anaxagoras*, indeed, could not but be looked upon as impious, in a country, where, in *Hesiod's* time, they had no less than 30,000 gods; for he taught, that one infinite self-moving mind had modified the chaos, and disposed the uni-

verse in the beautiful order in which we now see it. The sun, according to his notion, was a burning mass, many times bigger than the *Peloponnesus*. He held the moon to be a dark body, enlightened by the sun; and he asserted also, that the stars were earthy. He lived, after his banishment, at *Lampsacus*, and was so little affected therewith, that when a person told him one day, *You are deprived of the Athenians*, he answered, *You are mistaken, friend, they are deprived of me*. Laert. in vit. Anax. Plut. in vit. Pericl. Id. de superst.

would

would leave all those states free, who were free at the making of the last peace with *Sparta*, provided the *Spartans* would also leave all states free that were under their dominion; that they would submit the decision of their differences to arbitration, and would not commit the first hostilities. The *Spartan* ambassadors returning with this answer, the negociation was broke off, and the famous *Peloponnesian* war soon after broke out, the minutest circumstances of which have been preserved to us by *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*, historians cotemporary with the transactions they relate, and by *Diodorus Siculus*.

The first act of hostility was committed by the *Thebans*, who surprised *Platæa*, a city of *Bæotia*, in alliance with *Athens*. They were introduced into the city by treachery; but the citizens falling upon them in the night, killed them all, except about 180, whom they made prisoners. These, however, a little while after they put to death, contrary to their promise. The *Athenians*, as soon as they had notice of this attempt of the *Thebans*, caused all the *Bæotians* in their territory to be arrested, and sent succours and provisions to *Platæa*.

The league being now broken on both sides, each party prepared for war, and sought to strengthen themselves by the alliance of the *Greeks* and *Persians*, to whom they sent embassies. Most of the *Grecian* states were inclined to the *Lacedæmonians*, because they professed themselves on this occasion the deliverers of *Greece*, of which they looked upon the *Athenians* as the oppressors. With the *Spartans* joined all the *Peloponnesians*, except the *Argives* and part of the *Achæans*, who remained neuter. Their allies, without the *Peloponnesians*, were the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bæotians*, *Ambracotes*, *Leucadians*, and *Anactorians*. The confederates of the *Athenians* were the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Platæans*, *Messenians* of *Naupactus*, the *Acarnerians*, *Corcyrans*, *Zacynthians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Thracians*, the islands for the most part, and all the *Cyclades*, excepting *Melus* and *Thera*, with *Eubæa* and *Samos*.

The *Lacedæmonians* assembled their army at the *Isthmus*, but *Archidamas*, the *Spartan* king and commander in chief, before he would enter *Attica*, dispatched a herald to *Athens*; but the *Athenians* would not even admit him to enter their city, having, by the advice of *Pericles*, made a decree, that no ambassadors should be received from the *Lacedæmonians* till they had laid down their arms. *Pericles*, suspecting that *Archidamas*, who was his friend, would forbid the plundering of his estates, acquainted the people with his suspicions, and declared that in such a case, he made a present of his lands to the public. He advised them not to think of defending their country seats, but to turn all their care to the city; to busy themselves, especially in equipping their ships, and to be firmly resolved, not to be intimidated with the first evils of war. The *Athenians* readily assented to all his proposals, and appointed him, with nine more, generals of all their forces. They not only removed their effects from the country, but pulled down their houses, and even carried

The *Peloponnesians* ravage *Attica*.

ried off the timber of them. They conveyed the cattle of all kinds into *Eubœa* and the other neighbouring islands. Meanwhile the *Peloponnesian* army, which consisted of upwards of 60,000 men, began to advance in *Attica*, and having spent some time in fruitlessly besieging *Oenoe*, proceeded to *Acharne*, a considerable town within two miles of *Athens*. The neighbourhood of the enemy soon rendered the *Athenians* very impatient, and without considering their own weakness, they began to rail at *Pericles*, for not making some attempts to drive off the invaders. He, however, in spite of the clamour raised against him, firmly pursued the plan he had laid down, and to those who pressed him to an engagement he replied, *Trees when they are lopped or cut, grow up again in a short time; but men, once lost, cannot easily be recovered.* The land forces of the *Athenians* at this time, exclusive of 17,000 men in garrison, were only 13,000 heavy-armed soldiers, 1200 troopers, including the archers who rode on horseback, and 4600 foot archers.

The *Athenian* fleet ravages the coasts of the *Peloponnesians*.

As they had a powerful fleet of 300 galleys, *Pericles* very prudently sent 100 galleys, with 1400 land forces, to make a diversion in the enemy's country. This fleet ravaged the *Peloponnesians*, and drove out all the inhabitants of *Ægina*, which was re-peopled from *Athens*. Another fleet at the same time infested the *Locris*, reduced *Cephalenia* and several towns in *Acarmania* and *Leucas*. The *Peloponnesians* finding that they could not draw the *Athenians* out, and hearing that their own territories were ravaged by them, retired from *Attica*. Upon their departure, *Pericles* marched with an army into the territory of *Megara*, and did all the mischief therein that could be expected from a provoked enemy. Thus in the end of the year they retaliated the injuries they received from the enemy.

A dreadful plague at *Athens*.

The *Athenians*, during the winter, solemnized in an extraordinary manner, the funerals of those that first died in the war, and *Pericles*, by the appointment of the senate of *Areopagus*, made a funeral oration to their honour.

The following spring the *Athenians* were afflicted, not only with the calamities of war, but with a most dreadful pestilence. *Thucydides* the historian, who was himself infected with the distemper, relates, that it was supposed first to have appeared in *Ethiopia*, and that it afterwards spread into *Egypt*, *Africa*, and the *Persian* dominions. The *Athenians* at the *Pyreum*, who were first infected, imagined that the *Peloponnesians* had poisoned their wells; but the disease getting to the upper city, soon alarmed them by the dreadful havock which it made. Those who were affected, generally died in seven or nine days in extreme torments. If they survived that time, ulcers broke out at their extreme parts, and they escaped, though many not without the loss of their fingers or toes. The disease first seized the head, then inwardly the throats and tongues of the patients grew presently bloody, and their breath noisome. A hoarseness and pain in the breast succeeded, and the stomach being afterwards infected, they vomited all manner of bilious matter.

Though

Though their bodies were not hot to the touch, yet they burned inwardly to an extreme degree, and had an insatiate thirst. Those who were carefully attended by physicians, and those who were neglected, had the same fate, and the strong and the weak died without distinction. The utmost care to shun the contagion was ineffectual; and the disease baffling all care and remedies, persons were no sooner seized, than they were struck with despair, and would not even attempt any cure. The calamity was increased by the great numbers of country people, that had crowded into the city and lived in huts and booths, so that at length the streets were filled with the dead, and even the very temples, where many of the country people had taken up their residence, and the fountains and conduits were crowded with the dying, who had crawled thither to quench their thirst. All laws, divine and human, were now despised. Those who succeeded to great inheritances, spent their estates in riot and voluptuousness, as men that thought they held their lives but by the day, and many scrupled not to commit the greatest crimes, from a persuasion that they would be cut off by the distemper before they could be punished (M).

Pericles in the midst of these distresses, retained his courage, and endeavoured to inspirit his countrymen. He would not, however, allow them to sally out of the city against the enemy, who had again invaded *Attica*. While they were ravaging the territories of the *Athenians*, he fitted out a fleet of 150 sail, on the board of which he embarked 300 horse and 4000 foot, and then sailed to *Epidaurus*, which obliged the *Peloponnesians* to retire again from *Attica*, after they had wasted it 40 days. *Pericles*, after doing all the damage to the enemy in his power, returned to the city. The plague was still there as well as in the fleet, and coasts. it spread to those troops that were besieging *Potidaea*.

The *Athenians* seeing their country depopulated by two great scourges, war and pestilence, were driven to madness and despair; and, contrary to the remonstrances of *Pericles*, sent ambassadors to *Lacedæmon* to desire a peace, which the *Spartans* were too proud to bestow. *Pericles*, after this fruitless negotiation, endeavoured to calm the humours of the people, but they looking upon him as the author of all their present calamities,

(M) The *Athenians*, in gratitude to the famous *Hippocrates*, a native of *Cos*, who, at their desire, had come to *Athens* on this occasion, and attended the sick with unwearied assiduity till the plague had wholly ceased, ordained, by a public decree, that he should be initiated in the most exalted mysteries; that a crown of gold should be presented to

him of the value of 1000 staters; that the freedom of the city should be given him, and himself maintained in the *Prytaneum*, at the public charge all his life, in case he thought proper. In fine, that the people of *Cos*, which city had given birth to so great a man, might be maintained and brought up in *Athens*, in the same manner as if they had been born there.

deprived him of the command of the army and fined him. Shortly after, however, with their natural inconstancy, they vested him with almost absolute authority.

During the short time that he was in disgrace, his eldest son, *Xanthippus*, after behaving undutifully to him, died of the plague. *Pericles* also, by the same distemper, lost his sister and many of his relations and friends, and last of all his second son, *Paralus*. At his funeral *Pericles* lost his heroism quite; for going to place a chaplet of flowers on the head of the corps, he burst out into a loud fit of crying, after which, being conveyed home, he kept his house closely for some time, abandoning himself to melancholy. The *Athenians* not only restored him to his former honours, but repealed that very unjust law, denying the freedom of the city to children of the half blood, whereupon he enrolled, as a freeman of *Athens*, a son of his by *Aspasia*, by the name of *Pericles*.

In the summer of this year, a *Peloponnesian* fleet of 100 galleys wasted the island of *Zacynthus*. A few months after, some of their ambassadors, who were going to solicit the assistance of the king of *Persia*, were apprehended in *Thrace*, and sent to *Athens*, where they were put to death, the *Lacedæmonians* having lately killed some of the *Athenian* allies whom they had found in their territories. About this time the *Potidæans*, after they had been driven to the necessity of eating human flesh, surrendered to the *Athenians*, who permitted the men to depart with one garment and the women with two. They afterwards sent a colony thither.

Platæa
besieged
by the
Spartans.

In the spring of the third year of the war, *Archidamas*, king of *Sparta*, came with a great army and besieged *Platæa*. As the *Platæans* refused to abandon the *Athenians*, *Archidamas* wasted their country; and to cut off all their supplies, drew an intrenchment round the city. The *Platæans* baffled all his efforts against their fortifications, and though great part of their city was reduced to ashes, they defended themselves so vigorously, that *Archidamas* was obliged, after several months, to turn the siege into a blockade, and in autumn to return to the *Peloponnese*. In *Thrace* and *Acarnania* the *Athenians* fought with variety of fortune, and under the command of *Phormio* gained two small victories at sea.

Pericles
dies.

During the siege of *Platæa*, *Pericles* was cut off by the pestilence, in a manner different from any body else; for instead of hurrying him off suddenly, it destroyed him by degrees, preying at once on the constitution of the body and the faculties of his mind. In his very last moments, some of his friends sitting by his bedside, and conceiving him to have lost his senses, amused themselves with reckoning up the glorious events of his life. Of a sudden he raised himself on his bed, and turning to them, said, "I wonder you should commend those things in me, which were as much owing to fortune as to any thing else, and which have happened to others also, and at the same time should forget the most glorious circumstance in my life, that

" never

"never any of my fellow citizens put on mourning on my account."

In *Pericles* were united most of the qualities which constitute a great man. Notwithstanding the natural fickleness of the *Athenians*, he governed them with an almost absolute sway during 40 years. He is justly blamed for giving way to the corruption of the people, that he might govern them; and for squandering away the public treasure, merely to embellish the city with superfluous ornaments*.

In the summer following, the *Peloponnesians* invaded *Attica* The *Peloponnesians* the third time, destroying the ripe corn, and wasting, with implacable hatred, whatever belonged to the *Athenians*. Mean while, the whole island of *Lesbos*, except the city of *Methymna*, revolted from the *Athenians*, who sent a fleet of 40 gallies against *ca.*

Mitylene. The *Mitylenians* not being able to defend themselves, The *Mitylenians* amused the *Athenians* by sending a submissive embassy to *Athens*. At the same time they sent ambassadors to solicit the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, and when the *Grecian* states were assembled at the *Olympic* games, having made their complaints against the *Athenians*, they were admitted into the alliance against *Athens*. The *Peloponnesians* then sent 40 gallies to the assistance of the *Mitylenians*; but they were able to effect little, as the *Athenians* had sent a fleet of 100 gallies to sea, which, after making several descents upon the *Peloponnese*, sailed to *Lesbos* and blocked up *Mitylene*. Mean while the garrison of *Platæa*, which consisted only of 400 natives and 80 *Athenians*, took the desperate resolution of forcing their way through the lines of the enemy. Only 220, however, kept firm to their purpose, and leaving the place in a dark night, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain, they scaled the wall of circumvallation, which was built of brick, while the enemy were amused by false alarms from the city. One of them only was taken, and a few obliged to return to the city, but 212 escaped to *Athens*.

In the very beginning of the next year, the *Peloponnesians* sent 40 ships to the relief of *Mitylene*, and soon after entered with a great army into *Attica*, for the fifth time, under the command of *Cleomenes*. While the enemy was ravaging their territories, the *Athenians* received the joyful news of the surrender of *Mitylene*. They sent orders to their general, *Paches*, who was now in possession of *Mitylene*, to put all the inhabitants who were at man's estate, to death, and to sell the women and children for slaves. Next day, however, reconsidering their decree, they reversed it by the persuasion of *Diodorus*, an orator, and immediately dispatched a clean ship to *Lesbos*, to countermand the orders that had been sent the day before. The crew of this galley being promised a great reward, by the *Mitylenian* ambassadors, if they arrived in time, made the greatest possible dispatch, and though they did not overtake the ship that had sailed

* Plot. in vit. Pericl. Thucyd. l. i. and ii. Diod. Sic. l. xi: xii. Justin. l. iii. Val. Max.

the day before, yet they came with the joyful news before *Paches* had put his cruel orders in execution. A thousand of the most factious *Mitylenians* were ordered to be put to death, the walls of their city were demolished, their ships taken away, and their land divided among the *Athenians*, who let them again to the *Mitylenians* at very high rents. The *Athenians* the same summer made themselves masters of the island of *Minoas*, opposite to *Megara*, and seizing the port of *Nisæa*, caused it to be fortified.

The *Platæans* about the same time were forced to surrender to the *Lacedæmonians*, who put them all to death, to the number of 200, including 23 *Athenians*, and their women they sold for slaves.

The year after, which was the sixth year of the war, the plague again broke out in *Athens*, and cut off 4000 citizens, 300 knights, and an infinite number of meaner people. Meanwhile, ambassadors arriving at *Athens*, from one of the factions in *Sicily*, named the *Ionic* or *Leontine*, soliciting assistance against the other faction, which was called the *Syracusan* or *Doric*; the *Athenians*, probably from ambitious views, engaged in this quarrel, and sent a fleet, under the command of *Lachetes* and *Chabrias*, to the assistance of the *Leontines*. The war was carried on, both in *Greece* and in *Sicily*, during the summer, with various success, though no action of great consequence happened on either side.

The following spring, *Agis*, the son of *Archidamas*, invaded *Attica* with a great army. The *Athenians*, without venturing to oppose them, fitted out a fleet of 40 ships, for the assistance of the *Leontines* in *Sicily*, and sent *Demosthenes* with another fleet to infest the coasts of the *Peloponnese*. By the advice of this great man, the *Athenians* fortified the promontory of *Pylus*, which was united to the land by a narrow isthmus, and had behind it a barren island, called *Sphaacteria*, about two miles in circumference, with a convenient and safe port. The *Lacedæmonians* immediately leaving *Attica*, marched to attempt the recovery of *Pylus*, and accordingly attacked it both by sea and land. *Demosthenes*, who had been left behind with a small body of men, defended himself with great bravery. Mean while, a fleet of 40 *Athenian* ships arriving, sailed into the harbour of *Sphaacteria*, where they took and sunk most of the *Spartan* vessels. The *Spartans* being then besieged in the island, were soon reduced to the greatest difficulties for want of provisions, which obliged the *Spartan* magistrates, who had come to the camp, to conclude a truce with the *Athenians*, while a negotiation for peace should be carried on at *Athens*. The conditions of the truce were, that the *Lacedæmonians* should deliver all their ships, amounting to 60, which, if the treaty did not take effect, should be punctually restored to them; that all hostilities should cease on both sides, till the return of the ambassadors, and that a certain quantity of victuals should be carried daily to the island, but that no ship should attempt to pass thither by stealth. The

Spartan

Spartan ambassadors represented to the *Athenians*, how much it would be for their honour to restore peace to *Greece*, and seriously urged the uncertain fortune of war, as a motive for them to lay hold of the present opportunity for a reconciliation. The *Athenians* in general were heartily inclined to an accommodation; but *Cleon*, one of their demagogues, a warm and obstinate man, so wrought upon them, that they insisted on very unreasonable conditions, which the ambassadors perceiving, withdrew. At their return to *Pylus*, the *Spartans* demanded back their ships, but the *Athenians*, on pretence that the truce had been infringed in some particulars of little consequence, would not restore them.

The *Lacedæmonians* inveighed strongly against this refusal, as being a manifest perfidy, and renewed hostilities with great animosity. While the *Spartans* attacked the *Athenian* intrenchments at *Pylus*, the *Athenians* renewed their assaults on the *Lacedæmonians* in *Sphaacteria*. As the *Spartans*, by great rewards, prompted many people, at the hazard of their lives, to carry provisions into the island; the *Athenians* found their efforts against the besieged frustrated, which soon began to create great murmurs at *Athens*, where it was apprehended that the *Spartans* would escape, and the *Athenians* in their turn be entrapped in *Pylus*. *Cleon* foreseeing that the blame in that case would be laid upon him, accused the generals, who had the direction of the siege, of remissness, and said, that had he commanded, he would soon have taken the island. *Nicias*, who had been appointed for the command, caught his words and told him, he resigned his charge to him. *Cleon* then excused himself as being no general, but the people holding him at his word, he resolutely declared, that he would either bring the *Spartans* to *Athens* in 20 days, or lose his life; which vaunting speech occasioned a laugh in the assembly. *Cleon*, however, contrary to the expectation of every one, made good his words; for landing on the island, in conjunction with *Demosthenes*, he attacked the entrenchments of the *Spartans*, and after several encounters, obliged them to surrender prisoners at discretion. During the The Spar-
siege, which had lasted 72 days, 128 *Spartans* had been killed, ans oblig-
and 292 were now made prisoners; who being conducted to ed to sur-
Athens, by *Cleon*, within the time prefixed, the people decreed, render.
that they should be safely kept till a peace should be made, unless the *Peloponnesians* should in the mean time invade *Attica*, in which case the prisoners should be put to death. The *Messenians* of *Naupactus*, who had formerly possessed *Pylus*, and were now allies of the *Athenians*, sent the flower of their youth to repossess *Pylus*. Their neighbourhood was so troublesome to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they again sent ambassadors to *Athens*, in order to put an end to the war; but the *Athenians* being too much elated with their prosperity, and especially with their late success, would hearken to no honourable terms. This summer the *Athenians* fought the *Corinthians* near the *Isthmus*, and were successful in some other expeditions, for an account of which
we

we must refer our readers to *Thucydides*. In the winter a *Persian* ambassador, named *Artaphernes*, being sent to *Lacedæmon*, was intercepted in *Thrace* and brought to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, who were desirous of securing the friendship of the *Persian* monarch, treated *Artaphernes* with great respect, and sent him back to *Ephesus*, with ambassadors from *Athens* to the king. But upon their arrival at *Ephesus*, the *Athenian* ambassadors, hearing of the king's death, returned to *Athens*.

Nicias
takes *Cy-*
thera and
Ibyrea.

In the beginning of the eighth year of the war, there happened, *Thucydides* says, an eclipse of the sun, which was followed by an earthquake. This summer the *Athenians*, under *Nicias*, took the island of *Cythera*, on the coast of *Laconia* near cape *Malea*, and from thence they infested the neighbouring country. They also took *Thuria*, not far from *Pylus*, then possessed by those who had been expelled from *Ægina*. The *Athenians* put all the *Æginates* to death, as being the ancient and inveterate enemies of their state, and on the *Cytheræans*, which they left in their own country, they imposed a heavy tribute, dispersing the rest in the islands under their obedience. In *Sicily*, one *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse*, persuading all the inhabitants of that island to adjust their differences among themselves, the *Athenian* generals were constrained to reembark their forces and to return home. The *Athenians*, however, blaming the conduct of their generals for not making any advantage of the war, banished two of them, and laid a very heavy fine upon the third.

The *Athe-*
nians de-
feated by
the *The-*
*ban*s.

Hippocrates and *Demosthenes*, with some troops from *Athens*, made an unsuccessful attempt upon *Megara*. The same generals, at the request of some *Bæotians* who favoured the *Athenians*, marched soon after into *Bæotia*; but the other party defeated them at *Delium*, most of the *Bæotians*, who favoured them, were obliged to forsake their country, and take shelter in the *Athenian* territories. *Thucydides*, the historian, commanded at this time the *Athenian* forces on the coast of *Macedonia*, whither the *Lacedæmonians*, at the request of the inhabitants, had sent *Brasidas*, one of their best generals, with a considerable army. *Brasidas*, partly by force, partly by persuasion, reduced *Amphipolis* and several other places, but *Thucydides*, by a quick march, saved *Eione*; however, being accused of negligence, he was banished. The *Athenians*, who were extremely alarmed at the conquest of *Brasidas*, sent in the winter new supplies to the *Macedonian* coast, but all their care could not prevent a mighty defection from their interest in those parts.

Amphipo-
lis reduced
by the *La-*
cedæmo-
nians.

A truce
between
the two
parties for
a year.

In the following spring, the *Spartans*, supposing that their enemies, by their losses in *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, would be more tractable than before, made new propositions of peace at *Athens*. The *Athenians* finding their affairs much unsettled by the loss of *Amphipolis*, agreed to a truce for a year. The truce was no sooner agreed to, than negotiations were set on foot for a general peace. These, however, were soon interrupted by an accident in *Thrace*, where the cities *Scione* and *Menda* revolted

to *Brasidas*. The *Athenians*, pretending that *Scione* revolted two days after the truce was concluded, made loud complaints, but not being able by negociation to persuade the enemy to restore them, they sent an army against them. *Menda* was soon reduced, but *Scione* making an obstinate defence, the *Athenians* were obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. *Brasidas*, on the other hand, made an attempt upon *Potidæa*, but it miscarried, and the *Athenians* began to recover some courage in this part of the world.

At the expiration of the truce, *Cleon* persuaded the *Athenians* to send him to *Thrace* with 30 gallies, and 12,000 foot and 300 horse, all *Athenian* citizens. *Cleon* at first reduced some places, but allowed himself to be surprised by the enemy before *Amphipolis*; in which action he and 600 of his men were slain: of the *Lacedæmonians* seven only were killed; but *Brasidas* being mortally wounded, died immediately after.

This decisive engagement had a mighty effect on both parties. The two persons who were the greatest obstacles to the peace being now dead, both nations were more inclined to an accommodation. A suspension of arms was agreed to for 12 months, and this producing various negociations, a peace for 50 years was at length concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, on the following conditions: That a restitution of places and prisoners should be made on both sides; the *Athenians*, however, were to keep *Nicæa*, and the *Thebans* *Platæa*. The *Bæotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Megarians*, refused to be included in this peace, but the rest of the allies yielded to it, and it was accordingly sworn at *Athens* ten years after the commencement of the war.

Such of the states of the *Peloponnese* as were dissatisfied with this peace, began to intrigue and negotiate among themselves, and endeavoured to set on foot a new confederacy, the head of which was to be the state of *Argos*. Mean while some difficulties were raised on account of the restitution of places. *Amphipolis* absolutely refusing to return under the *Athenian* government, the *Athenians* therefore refused to evacuate *Pylus*. In hopes of recovering *Pylus*, the *Lacedæmonians* soon after prevailed with the *Bæotians* to restore *Panaëtus* and the *Athenian* prisoners. The *Bæotians*, however, having first destroyed the fortifications of *Panaëtus*, the *Athenians* began to suspect that the *Lacedæmonians* had circumvented them, and in the end would reconcile themselves to their old confederates at their expence.

The discontents of the *Athenians* were heightened by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who, from his hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*, and his aversion to *Nicias*, wanted to break the peace. *Alcibiades* was the son of *Clinias*, the nephew of *Pericles*, and a liberal descendant of *Ajax*. In his person he was so beautiful, that while a youth he was beloved, and when at manhood was revered for his extraordinary comeliness. He was equally distinguished for his many virtues and many vices. He was learned, eloquent, indefatigable, liberal, magnificent, and affable. At other

other times when he gave a loose to his passions, he was indolent, luxurious, dissolute, extremely addicted to women, intemperate, and inclined to prophaneness. He was chiefly remarkable for a haughty turn of mind, and for his great facility in accommodating himself to all times and occasions. It was a great advantage to him that *Socrates* had a friendship for him; for this not only corrected his manners, but also gave the *Athenians* hopes of him, and kept them from resenting many acts of pride and vanity which he committed in his youth. Tho' at first he professed himself a friend to the *Lacedæmonians*, yet taking a disgust at them, because they applied themselves to *Nicias*, he now began to work upon the peoples minds to their prejudice. He alledged, that the *Lacedæmonians* were not sincere in their last treaty, and that *Nicias* was more their friend than was consistent with his duty to his country, and pretended to justify his assertion by many proofs. Soon after, some *Lacedæmonian* ambassadors coming to *Athens*, were introduced by *Nicias* into the senate, where they declared that they were vested with full power to adjust all differences, and to add such new clauses to the treaty as might give ample satisfaction to the *Athenians*. *Alcibiades*, as the old friend of their nation, inviting them to his house in the evening, advised them not to confess to the people that they were vested with full powers, because if the *Athenians* knew that circumstance, they would extort from them unreasonable compliances. He at the same time made them many promises of his friendship, which he confirmed with an oath. Next day, when the ambassadors were asked by him, in the assembly of the people, whether they had full powers, they answered according to agreement, no. *Alcibiades* turning to the people, said, *You see, my countrymen, what credit ought to be given to these Lacedæmonians, who deny to you to-day, what they solemnly affirmed yesterday to the senate.* He then recommended the cause of the *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, who at that time sought the friendship of *Athens*.

Nicias in vain endeavours to prolong the tranquillity. A league between the *Athenians* and *Argives*. The people, who would not again hear the *Lacedæmonians*, deliberated about the alliance with the *Argives*; but an earthquake happening, the assembly was dissolved. *Nicias* at the next meeting persuaded the assembly to send him ambassador to *Sparta*, to reconcile all differences; but he found in that city a party as unreasonable as that which he had left at *Athens*. Having received no satisfaction to his demands, he returned to *Athens*, when the *Athenians*, who had in the mean time been influenced by *Alcibiades*, concluded an offensive and defensive league with the *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, for 100 years. *Alcibiades* valued himself upon his treachery and base policy, thinking that in case the feuds between *Sparta* and *Athens* were revived, he had provided a means to keep the war at a distance.

The following summer, which was the 13th year since the rupture, *Alcibiades*, who was declared general of the *Athenians*, passed over with a considerable body of troops into the territory of *Argos*, and from thence to *Patræ*, and endeavoured to persuade

persuade the inhabitants of both places to build walls to the sea, that they might safely receive succours from thence. The *Lacedæmonians*, to prevent the *Argives* from seizing *Epidaurus*, put a garrison into it of 300 men, whereupon the *Athenians* brought back the *Helots* and *Messenians* to *Pylus*, from whence they had been prevailed upon to remove them. Thus both parties prepared for hostilities; but no action was undertaken till the summer following, when the *Spartans*, under their king *Agis*, invaded the territory of *Argos*. As both parties were about to engage, a truce was suddenly concluded by two of the *Argive* generals and the king of *Lacedæmon*, for which none of them received thanks, but on the contrary, each of them were extremely ill treated by their respective citizens. The *Argians* soon after receiving an *Athenian* reinforcement of 1000 foot and 300 horse, renounced the truce. *Alcibiades*, who served as a volunteer, persuaded them to besiege *Orchomenus*, and afterwards *Tegea*. *Agis*, king of *Sparta*, advancing to put a stop to their victories, gave them battle near *Mantineia*, and after an obstinate dispute, gained a signal victory. The *Eleans* and *Athenians*, however, after this battle, invested *Epidaurus*, and threw up intrenchments round it. During the winter, the *Lacedæmonian* party in *Argos* abolished democracy, which had hitherto subsisted in their city, established aristocracy, and entered into an alliance with *Sparta* for 50 years. The following summer, however, the *Athenian* party prevailing in *Argos*, restored democracy, and expelling the *Lacedæmonians* and the chiefs of their faction, they renewed their alliance with the *Athenians*, and began to raise the walls that were necessary to join their city to the sea. The *Athenians* in the mean time declared war against *Perdiccas*, king of *Macedonia*, who they were convinced had acted perfidiously towards them. These were the events of the 15th year.

The *Spartans* invaded the territory of *Argos*.

The battle of *Mantineia*.

Bef. Chr.

417.

In the beginning of the next year, *Alcibiades* came with a fleet of 20 ships into the territories of *Argos*, and caused 300 *Argians*, suspected of favouring the *Lacedæmonians* to be carried away. The *Athenians* then sailed to the island of *Melos*, the inhabitants of which, after a long siege, were obliged to surrender at discretion, when all those who were able to bear arms were put to the sword, and the women and children were carried captives to *Athens*. The same year made several incursions into the territories of king *Perdiccas*; and their garrison at *Pylus*, likewise, made inroads into *Laconia*.

Alcibiades reduces the island of *Melos*.

Notwithstanding the unsettled state of their affairs, the attention of the *Athenians* was very fatally engaged to a new object. *Alcibiades* had filled them with the hopes, not only of conquering *Sicily*, but of reducing *Carthage* and *Africa*. Their assistance being now solicited by the *Egestans* against the *Syracans*, they decreed to send a fleet and army to *Sicily*, and gave the chief command to *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*. While the necessary preparations were making, an accident happened which put the whole city into confusion. The *Hermæ*, or statues

The *Athenians*, from an ambitious view, agreed to send troops to *Sicily*.

The statues of *Mercury* defaced at *Athens*

statues of *Mercury*, of which there were a multitude in and about the city, were all defaced in one night, and though great rewards were offered to an informer, no discovery of the authors could be made. Some servants and slaves, indeed, deposed, that a long time before, *Alcibiades* and some other young men, heated with wine, had ridiculed some religious mysteries. A day was accordingly fixed for the trial of *Alcibiades*, who hearing the soldiers declare, that they would leave the service if any injury were done him, ventured to appear to defend himself, when his enemies, that they might the more easily destroy him in his absence, prevailed with the people to defer his trial.

Alcibiades recalled from *Sicily* upon an accusation of irreligion.

The *Athenian* forces had not been long in *Sicily*, when messengers arrived from *Athens*, directing *Alcibiades* and some others to return and abide their trial, the city being all in an uproar on account of the defacing of the *Mercuries*. *Alcibiades* and the other accused persons accordingly embarked; but during the voyage, learning from the sailors that some severe resolution was taken against them, they determined not to trust themselves to an enraged and superstitious multitude, and took the first opportunity of escaping from their convoy. *Alcibiades* went to

He flies to *Sparta*.

Sparta, where he was well received, and the following spring persuaded *Agis*, the king, to invade *Attica*. *Agis*, by his advice, seized and fortified *Decelia*, which stood at an equal distance from *Athens* and the frontiers of *Boeotia*. The *Athenians* in this year, not only saw themselves insulted at home, but also received the melancholy news of the miscarriage of their expedition in *Sicily*, where their generals were cut off, and their numerous fleet and army totally destroyed.

The *Athenians* in *Sicily* totally cut off.

The *Athenians* for a long time would not believe the report of their misfortune in *Sicily*; but when it could be no longer doubted of, they grew very angry with those who had advised the war, and with such as had pretended to publish prophecies and oracles in favour of it. Being alarmed with their danger, they took all necessary measures for supporting the dignity of the state; committed the administration of affairs to grave and wise persons; and began to live with frugality at home, and treat their confederates better abroad. This conduct quickly appeared very necessary, for no sooner was the news of their defeat spread throughout *Greece*, when many of their allies began to waver in their fidelity, while the *Lacedæmonians* and their confederates prepared to carry on the war with greater vigour than before.

Their allies begin to waver.

The *Athenians* caused the promontory of *Sunium* to be fortified, and wrought with the utmost diligence to equip a new fleet, with which preparations ended the 19th year of the *Peloponnesian* war.

In the beginning of the next year, the people of *Eubœa*, *Chios*, *Lesbos*, and some other states, gave the *Lacedæmonians* to understand, that they were ready to quit the party of the *Athenians* if they would support them. The *Athenians* being informed of the intention of the *Chians*, sent a fleet to *Chios*, and obliged them to fit out seven galleys to join the fleet of *Athens*.

The

The *Athenians* after this, gaining some advantages at sea, the *Peloponnesians* were somewhat discouraged. *Alcibiades*, however, *Alcibiades* earnestly pressed them to carry on the war, and persuaded them to send him with a small fleet to *Ionia*, where he prevailed with several cities to declare for the *Lacedæmonians*, who in some of *Ionian* their enterprises on that coast were assisted by the *Persian* troops under *Tissaphernes*. The *Athenians* in this extremity ordered revolt 1000 talents, which had hitherto been reserved untouched, to be from the laid out in the service of the war, for which also they made *Athenians* other great preparations. They sent soon after several squadrons to sea, which reduced *Lesbos*, *Clazomene*, and other places that had revolted.

Notwithstanding the services that *Alcibiades* had performed for The *Spartans*, yet having disgusted many of their nobles, *Alcibiades* and particularly *Agis* their king, whose wife he had debauched, sent them orders to their general to put him to death. *Alcibiades* with his gaining intelligence of their design, retired to *Tissaphernes*, and conduct, as he had formerly at *Sparta* assumed the *Lacedæmonian* manners, attempt he now wholly adopted those of the *Persians*. *Tissaphernes*, to put him though naturally very haughty and brutal, was so charmed with to death. the complacency and polite address of *Alcibiades*, that he gave himself wholly up to him, and flattered him more than he was flattered by him. *Alcibiades*, to revenge himself of the *Spartans*, began to do them ill offices with *Tissaphernes*, and advised him that it would be more for the interest of the king to support the *Athenians*. Having brought over *Tissaphernes* to his opinion, he He pre- wrote to some of the officers of the *Athenian* army, lying at vails with *Samos*, that he was now treating with the *Persians* on their be- *Tissapher*- half, and that he would procure the *Athenians*, not only the fa- *nes* to fa- vour of *Tissaphernes*, but of the great king, and would himself vour the return to *Athens*, on condition they would abolish the popular *Athenians*. government, because the *Persian* king liked not a democracy.

The proposal of *Alcibiades*, when it was first published at The *Albe*- *Athens*, by *Pisander* and other deputies from the army, occa- *nians*, in sioned great disputes among the people. They at length agreed hopes of to send *Pisander* with ten deputies to treat with *Tissaphernes*, procuring engaging to vest the sovereignty in the hands of a few, if assistance, the terms offered were reasonable. Before the arrival of abolish the deputies, *Tissaphernes* changed his mind, and as *Alcibi*- the demo- *ades* himself had taught him to help always the weaker party, cracy. he inclined to assist the *Lacedæmonians*. *Alcibiades* perceiving this, set up such high demands in the name of the *Persians*, that the *Athenians* themselves broke off the treaty, whereby he preserved both their friendship and that of *Tissaphernes*.

Pisander and his colleagues returning to the army at *Samos*, they procured a commission from them to overturn all the democratic governments under the dominion of *Athens*. When they came back to the city, they found their party had been very busy in their absence, partly in cajoling the people, and partly in assassinating those who chiefly favoured a democracy. Mean while, towards the conclusion of the 20th year of the war,

war, *Oropus*, a strong city on the borders of *Bæotia*, revolted from the *Athenians*, which made them apprehensive, lest the *Eubæans* should also declare against them.

A new
govern-
ment esta-
blished at
Athens.

The factions and tumults in the city, however, still continued, and *Pisander* the following year, by the advice of one *Antiphon*, a man of great parts and eloquence, proposed that ten men should be chosen with full power to frame, model, and alter the laws. Ten men being accordingly nominated, they soon after called an assembly of the people without the city, and having obtained their consent to the following resolution, namely, that every *Athenian* might make such proposals as he thought fit, without danger from any of the laws, *Pisander* produced his scheme. He proposed, that the old form of government should be dissolved, and five prytanes elected; that these five should chuse 100, and each of the hundred name three persons; that the 400 thus elected should become a senate with full power, and should consult the 5000 only, when and on such matters as they thought fit. Thus an end was put to the popular government of *Athens*, which was grown into dislike with the people.

The new
magis-
trates of-
fer to treat
of peace.

The 400 arming themselves with daggers, and attended by a guard of 120 men, entered suddenly into the senate house, dissolved the old senate, paid them their salary, and turned them out. All who ventured to oppose this change, or even to complain of it, were put to death upon false pretexes; but as soon as their enemies were removed, the 400 began to rule with great mildness. They sent ambassadors to *Agis*, who lay with the *Lacedæmonian* army at *Decelia*, to acquaint them that they were ready to treat of a peace. But *Agis*, who supposed their authority was but weakly founded, instead of entering into a negotiation with them, advanced with his army against *Athens*, which he hoped to find in great confusion. The *Athenians*, however, received him with such order and intrepidity, that he was obliged to retire with some loss.

The *Athe-
nian* army
declare for
a demo-
cracy,

and recall
Alcibiades,
whom
they de-
clare their
general.

The 400, soon after their establishment, sent ten deputies to *Samos*, to reconcile the army, if possible, to the revolution. This, however, they found impossible to effect; for the army hearing of their proceedings, were highly incensed; immediately deposed several of their chiefs whom they suspected, and put others into their places, of whom *Thrasyllus* and *Thrasymbulus* were the principal, and in highest credit. At the request of *Thrasymbulus*, they recalled *Alcibiades*, who, upon his arrival, was declared general with full power. He having represented to them, that it was necessary before they set out for *Athens* that he should have an interview with *Tissaphernes*; he went to *Miletus*, and told the *Persian* governor that matters were now quite changed; that it was in the power of the *Athenians* to be either great friends, or very troublesome enemies to the subjects of the great king, and that whether they should be friends or enemies depended upon him.

When *Alcibiades* returned to the army, he strenuously endeavoured to moderate their unruly resentment against the 400 tyrants.

tyrants. The soldiers having passed a vote to put the deputies from *Athens* to death, they had prudently stopped at *Delos*; however, on the motion of *Alcibiades*, they were allowed to come and deliver their message. The army tumultuously insisting upon sailing directly to *Athens*, *Alcibiades* still interposed; he shewed that if such a course was taken, all *Ionia* and the *Helle-spont* would immediately be lost, so that if they pretended to be true patriots, they ought to remain where they were, and defend the dominions of the state. He prevented the deputies from being ill-treated, and ordered them to return to *Athens*, and to acquaint the 400 that they were commanded to resign their power, and to restore the senate they had ejected. As to the 5000 he said, they might retain their authority, provided they used it with moderation.

On the return of the deputies to *Athens*, the confusions and Great tumults increased, the 400 and their adherents, for fear of future confusions and punishment, doing their utmost to retain their authority, and in *Athens*, the other party labouring to restore the former government. The tyrants sent an embassy to *Sparta* to treat of peace, in hopes of being supported by that republic, and had even determined, as their last resource, to make a composition for themselves, by delivering up the city to the *Peloponnesians*. The other party, however, encouraged by the behaviour of the army, seized the chiefs of the 400, who next day assembled in great consternation at the senate house, and sent some of their members to appease the tumults, promising to set all things right. The people with difficulty consenting to an accommodation, the commotions ceased for some time, but news arriving that the *Peloponnesians* had defeated their fleet on the coast of *Eubæa*, had taken 22 ships out of 36, and sunk and disabled the others, and that all *Eubæa*, except *Orcu*, had revolted, the murmurs of the people were renewed. The wise and the unwise gave up all for lost, the defeat in *Sicily* seeming a small thing to this, because they *Eubæa* re- had now neither fleet nor army, and had lost *Eubæa*, from whence the city had received greater supplies than from *Attica* the *Athe-* itself. The slowness of the *Spartans*, who not knowing their *nians*. own strength, neglected to sail to *Athens*, where they might have put an end to the war, allowing the *Athenians* time to recover from their consternation, they in a short space equipped a fleet of 20 galleys, abolished the power of the 400 by law, conferred the sovereignty on the 5000, and acted in all respects with such moderation and firmness, that *Thucydides* thinks the commonwealth never enjoyed so happy a temperature as at this time.

Meanwhile the *Phenician* fleet, which the *Lacedæmonians* eagerly expected as a reinforcement, arrived at *Aspendus*, a city of *Pamphylia*; but *Tissaphernes*, who now inclined to favour the *Athenians*, prevented it from sailing any further, and made various excuses to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Alcibiades* hearing that *Tissaphernes* was at *Aspendus*, sailed thither and had several conferences with him. During his absence, an engagement happened between the *Athenian* fleet and that of the *Peloponnesians*;

The *Lace-* which last, though superior in number, was entirely defeated, *dæmonians* though not without considerable loss to the *Athenians*. This defeated victory, though dear bought, raised the hopes of the *Athenians*, at sea by gave new life to their affairs, and saved all *Ionia* and the *Helle-* the *Athe-* *spont*. A few days after, the *Athenians* retook *Byzantium*, which *n.ans.* had revolted, and *Alcibiades* sailing to *Halicarnassus*, obliged the inhabitants to pay a large sum of money, and afterwards fortified *Cos*. These events, which fell out in the summer of the 21st year of the war, gave the *Athenians* hopes of recovering *Eubæa*, and at length concluding an honourable peace.

The *Athe-* In the following year a general engagement happened between *nians* gain the *Athenian* and *Peloponnesian* fleets near *Abydos*. *Mindarus*, another the *Spartan* admiral, commanded 84 gallies, and was besides re-victory at inforced with several vessels from *Syracuse*. The fleet of the sea.

Athenians was not so numerous, but they being inspirited by their late successes, scrupled not to engage, and fought with great resolution. In the heat of the engagement, *Alcibiades* arriving with 20 gallies, the *Spartans*, who at first believed him their friend, no sooner discovered his flag, than they fled with the utmost precipitation. *Mindarus*, to save the remains of his fleet from the *Athenians*, who took 30 gallies, run them into the ports of *Asia*, and marched with his men to join *Pharnabazus*, who was encamped on the shore of *Abydos*.

Eubæa The *Eubæans* in the mean time, that they might the more joined to conveniently receive succours from the *Bæotians*, joined their the conti- island to the continent by a mole, in spite of the rapidity of the nent. sea, and the opposition made to them by *Theramenes*, the *Athenian* admiral. *Theramenes* seeing it impossible to oppose their design, sailed to *Paros* and some other places, which he again reduced under the *Athenian* government. *Alcibiades* about the same time waiting upon *Tissaphernes* with a magnificent retinue, that governor, to screen himself from the resentment of the *Lacedæmonians*, caused him to be seized and sent prisoner to *Sardis*. Thirty days after, *Alcibiades* having found means to get a horse, escaped from his guards and fled to *Clazomene*, from whence he returned to the fleet, where he was joined by *Theramenes* with his squadron of 20 ships, and by *Thrasybulus* with 20 other vessels. Hearing that *Mindarus*, by the assistance of *Pharnabazus*, had taken *Cyzicum* by storm, he sailed directly thither, and dividing his fleet into three squadrons, appeared with the first, consisting of 40 gallies, before the harbour. The *Alcibiades* *Peloponnesians* advanced and attacked him; but soon after, the gains two two other *Athenian* squadrons appearing, they broke their line signal vic- and fled in great confusion to the shore, losing many of their tories in ships, that were sunk or taken by the enemy. The *Athenians* one day. immediately landing, attacked the *Spartans* and *Persians*, and after an obstinate engagement, killed *Mindarus* and totally routed his troops, and those of *Pharnabazus*. By this double victory, the *Athenians* made themselves masters of the enemies whole fleet, took *Cyzicum*, and drove the *Spartans* entirely out of the *Hellespont*.

The news of this victory occasioned no less joy to the *Athenians*, than consternation to the *Spartans*, who again sent an ambassador to *Athens* to propose a peace. The people at first were inclined to relish the proposal of the ambassador, who shewed them that *Athens* had suffered more, and was like to suffer more than *Sparta* from the war; but an orator, named *Cleophon*, a man of mean birth, and formerly a slave, who had surreptitiously got his name inserted in the roll of citizens, inflamed them by a petulant harangue, and engaged them to send back the ambassador without an answer. They soon had occasion to repent of their conduct, for never afterwards were they in any condition to refuse peace again.

In the beginning of the following year the *Spartans* marched with an army to the walls of *Athens*, but were repulsed by *Thrasylbulus*. Soon after, however, to the great regret of the *Athenians*, they recovered *Pylus*. The *Megareans* not long after surprising *Nisæa*, the *Athenians* sent an army into their territories, which gaining an easy victory over their troops, committed horrid devastations in their country. Mean while *Alcibiades*, *Thrasylbulus*, and *Theramenes*, reduced several places on the *Hellepont* and in *Thrace*, and among the rest *Byzantium*, which had again revolted. Their conquests alarming *Pharnabazus*, he concluded a treaty with *Alcibiades*, and paid a certain sum that the *Athenians* might not commit hostilities in his territories.

In the beginning of the next year, *Alcibiades* returned at length in a triumphant manner to *Athens*, and brought with him a fleet of near 200 ships, and such a load of spoils, as had never been seen in *Athens* since the *Persian* war. The people leaving their city destitute, came in a body to the port to behold him as he landed: Old and young blessed him as he went by; and the next day when he made an harangue in the assembly, they directed the record of his banishment to be thrown into the sea, ordered the *Eumolpides* to absolve him from the curses he lay under, and created him general with absolute power. His natural complaisance and condescension to all degrees of people, and the care he took of applying the immense riches he brought to the discharge of taxes, made the best of the *Athenians* ready to own that he deserved the honours that were paid him. The factious, however, beginning to renew their cabals, he thought proper not to delay his departure from the city. He set sail, accordingly, with 100 ships, and steered for the island of *Andros*, which had revolted. He was scarce departed, when *Agis*, king of *Sparta*, made a bold attempt upon *Athens*, and in the night even seized a part of the walls; but the *Athenians* taking the alarm, he was repulsed and obliged to withdraw.

The *Lacedæmonians* in the mean time, alarmed at the return and success of *Alcibiades*, gave the command of their fleet to *Lyfander*, who having an interview with the young *Cyrus*, at *Sardis*, prevailed upon him to augment the pay of his sailors, which animating their courage, he soon after attacked and routed part of the *Athenian* fleet, in the absence of *Alcibiades*, destroyed

Lyfander 15 of their vessels, and killed *Antiochus* the commander. *Alcibiades* returning from the *Hellefpont*, in vain endeavoured to advantage draw *Lyfander* to a second engagement. The *Athenians* in the at sea over mean time, listening to some reports that *Alcibiades* corresponded the *Athe-* with *Pharnabazus* and the *Lacedæmonians*, and blaming him *nians*, as the cause of the defeat, stripped him of his command, and who de- named ten new generals; among whom were *Conon*, *Thrafsy-* prive *Al-* *bulus*, and *Pericles*, the son of the famous *Pericles*. *Alcibiades* *cibiades* readily yielded up his command to *Conon*, but refusing to return of the to *Athens*, retired with his own ship into *Thrace*, where he built a castle for his own security, and erected a principality in the com- mand. fight of his enemies.

The following year, the *Athenians* hearing that *Callicratidas*, the successor of *Lyfander*, had defeated their fleet, destroyed 30 of their ships, and was besieging *Conon* in *Mitylene*, they were greatly alarmed, and admitted all sorts of persons to the freedom of their city, who would assist them in the war. By some reinforcements they augmented their fleet, which was stationed at *Samos*, to 150 sail. Their admirals, then sailing to relieve *Mitylene*, fell in with the enemies fleet, near equal in number to their own, at the south end of the island of *Lesbos*. Next morning an obstinate and bloody engagement ensued, in which the *Spartans* and their allies were defeated with the loss of 77 of their ships, the *Athenians* themselves, however, losing 25. The *Lacedæmonian* general before *Mitylene*, immediately raised the siege, and *Conon* being then at liberty, joined the victorious fleet, which returned forthwith to *Samos*. It might have been expected that the *Athenians* would have been extremely grateful to those generals who had gained them this victory; but the very contrary happened, for hearing that they had not taken up the dead bodies of their friends, in order to their interment, they in a great rage recalled them all. *Theramenes*, who arrived first, threw the whole blame upon his colleagues, though he was equally guilty himself. Two of the generals, not caring to trust the people, fled; but six of them returned home and stood their trial, proving that they were hindred by a storm from doing what they were then accused of neglecting. Their defence was to no purpose, for the people, without law or reason, condemned them all to death. Their names are *Diomedon*, *Thrafsyllus*, *Calliades*, *Lysias*, *Aristocrates*, and *Pericles*. They all suffered like brave men, with great calmness and fortitude. *Socrates*, the celebrated philosopher, who was then a senator, was the only one who stood firm, and persisted obstinately in opposing their condemnation. The generals were hardly executed, when the people opened their eyes and perceived the horror of the sentence. *Cleophon* the demagogue, who had railed furiously against the generals, was killed in a sedition, and *Calixenes*, who had pronounced the sentence, was shunned and detested by every one, and died of want.

The year after, *Lyfander*, the *Spartan* admiral, taking *Thasus* and soon after, by the assistance of the *Persians*, reducing *Lamp*
sacus

sacus, the *Athenian* fleet, consisting of 180 ships, under *Conon* *Lyfander* and other generals, sailed thither after him. *Lyfander* being inferior in strength, declined an engagement, and prudently kept *sus* and himself in the harbour of *Lampsacus*, ordering his men to hold *Lampsacus* themselves in readiness to sail upon a moment's warning. The *Athenians* who were encamped on the *European* side, being conscious of their superiority, grew idle and careless. They, however, sailed over every day and braved *Lyfander*, and at their return at night came back into their camp, where they amused themselves with contriving punishments for their future prisoners. *Alcibiades*, who resided in the neighbourhood, being amazed at the conduct of the *Athenians*, came to their camp and earnestly besought them to be more vigilant. They rejected with insult his salutary council, and threatened, if he came any more, to seize him and send him to *Athens*. *Lyfander* in the mean time carefully watched all their motions, by sending some gallies after them when they returned at night. Finding that they constantly left their vessels to amuse themselves in their camp, he at length sailed after them in the evening, and before they could half man their gallies, gained one of the most complete victories recorded in history; nine gallies of all the *Athenian* fleet only escaping to *Cyprus*, under the command of *Conon*. *Lyfander* returning in triumph to *Lampsacus*, put 3000 *Athenians*, whom he had taken prisoners, to death, sparing only *Adiamantus*. After this execution, he reduced all the maritime cities then governed by the *Athenians*, and at length came before *Athens*, sieged by which at the same time was invested by land by *Agis*. The *Athenians* defended themselves for a long time without demanding a peace. At last, being sore pressed by famine, as the garrisons of all places reduced by *Lyfander* had returned to the city, they proposed to treat with *Agis*. This first proposal had no effect, as the *Spartans* insisted that they should demolish part of their walls. Some time after, *Theramenes* undertook to treat with *Lyfander*, who after detaining him three months, referred him to *Sparta*, whither, with some other deputies, he was presently sent. The council of the *Spartan* confederates being then sitting, all gave their votes for the utter destruction of *Athens*, excepting only the *Spartans*, who declared they would not consent to the ruin of that city, which had so well deserved of *Greece*. On the return of *Theramenes*, peace was concluded on these terms: that the long walls and fortifications of the port should be demolished; that the *Athenians* should deliver up all their ships, except 12; receive all they had banished, and follow the fortune of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Lyfander having demolished the long walls, and the fortifications of the *Piræum*, established an oligarchy expressly against the will of the people, giving the supreme power to 30 archons, or rather tyrants, who were all his creatures. Instead of making new laws, for which purpose it was pretended they were nominated, they governed without any laws, appointed a senate and magistrates at their will, and to support their arbitrary measures.

fures, obtained a garrison from *Lacedæmon*, upon their promise to pay the soldiers regularly.

Therame-
nes and
many
others un-
justly put
to death.

They began with punishing all false informers, which was a very popular proceeding, and gave great satisfaction, though it was not exactly according to the forms of law. They quickly, however, turned their rage against the good and innocent, and by their injustice and violence filled the city with the utmost terror, putting more people to death in eight months of peace, than the enemies had slain in a war of 30 years. *Theramenes*, one of the 30, declaring against the excess of violence and cruelty of his colleagues, drew their resentment upon himself, and was accused before the senate by his colleague *Critias*, a man of an ambitious and blood-thirsty spirit. *Critias* perceiving that the defence of *Theramenes* was heard with silence and approbation, withdrew; but quickly returned with a guard, crying out, that *Theramenes*'s cause did not now belong to the cognizance of the senate, as he had struck his name out of the 3000 who were called the representative of the people, and enjoyed the privilege of being tried by the senate only. *Theramenes*, upon these words, leaping upon the altar, said, *I do not seek refuge here, because I neither expect or desire to escape death, but that the impious authors of my murder, by tearing me from the altar, may interest the gods to bring them to a speedy judgment.* Of all the senators, *Socrates* alone defended *Theramenes*, who being dragged from the altar, was carried to the place of execution, where he drank the poison with undaunted courage; and putting the people in mind with his last breath, that the tyrants might, when they pleased, strike their names out of the 3000 as they had struck out his. *Athens* becoming a scene of blood, many of the *Athenians* endeavoured to escape into the territories of their neighbours; but the *Spartans*, with unheard-of cruelty, commanded by a public decree, that such as fled from the 30 tyrants should be carried back bound to *Athens*.

Thrasylu-
lus takes
arms a-
gainst the
tyrants.
He seizes
the *Pyræ-*
um.

The *Argives* and *Thebans* only had the courage to oppose this decree, and the latter granted their protection to great numbers of *Athenians*, and among the rest to *Thrasylulus*, who boldly resolved to hazard something for the relief of his distressed country. Though he had only 30 men on whom he could depend, he made an irruption into *Attica*, and seized a castle named *Phyla*, at a small distance from *Athens*, where his forces were soon augmented to 700 men. Having gained the advantage in several skirmishes with the *Spartan* garrison, his troops daily increased, so that he was at length able to make an attempt upon the *Piræum*, which he made himself master of, and fortified. The tyrants endeavoured to expel him from thence, but after a desperate attack, were repulsed with loss, *Critias*, the president of the 30, being among the slain. When they came to demand the dead from *Thrasylulus*, he ordered a cryer to represent to them, that they ought to look upon him, not as an enemy, but as a fellow citizen, who had declared war only against

against the 30 tyrants, and that they ought to assist him to destroy them.

The people, moved by this discourse, expelled the tyrants, and committed the government to ten men, chosen out of all the tribes, who acted little better than their predecessors, and refusing to treat with *Thrasybulus*, sent to *Sparta* for succours against him. The 30 who had retired to *Eleusina* sending also to *Sparta*, and complaining that the *Athenians* had revolted, the *Lacedæmonians* immediately resolved to send an army and fleet against *Athens*, appointing *Lysander* commander in chief, and his brother admiral. It was supposed that they intended to annex it to their own dominions, and their design would probably have taken effect, if *Pausanias*, king of *Sparta*, envying *Lysander*, had not obstructed it. He procured another army to be raised against the *Athenians*, and marching with it, pretended to besiege the *Pyræum*, entered into a private correspondence with *Thrasybulus*, and instructed him what terms of peace he should ask of the ephori, who were then in his camp. He at length obtained a peace for the *Athenians* on the following conditions: that all the *Athenians* should be restored to their houses and privileges, excepting the 30, the 10 who had succeeded them, and the 11, who, under the 30, had been governors of the *Piræum*; that if any were afraid to trust to the accommodation, they should have free leave to retire to *Eleusina*.

The tyrants expelled.

A peace concluded between the Spartans and Athenians.

The exiles who retired thither, endeavouring, after the departure of the *Spartans*, to create new disturbances in the city, *Thrasybulus* proposed to pass an act of oblivion, to be confirmed by an oath. All differences by this means were adjusted, and both parties most religiously observing the agreement they had made, the state was soon thoroughly resettled. This happy revolution was chiefly owing to the virtue of *Thrasybulus*, he having rejected, with disdain, the offers made to him by the tyrants, who had privately proposed to him, to admit him into their number instead of *Theramenes*, and to pardon, at his request, any 12 persons he should name (N).

The state of Athens thoroughly resettled.

A little

(N) Among the great number of citizens whom the tyrants inhumanly put to death, *Alcibiades* is generally reckoned one. After the total defeat of the *Athenian* fleet by *Lysander*, *Alcibiades* thought himself no longer safe in *Thrace*, and retired to *Bythinia*, and afterwards to *Phrygia*, under the protection of *Pharnabazus*. The 30 tyrants suspecting that the *Athenians*, to be relieved from their oppression, would apply to *Alcibiades*,

resolved to destroy him. *Critias*, who had formerly been his most intimate friend, urged *Lysander* to assassinate him; but the *Lacedæmonian* paying no regard to his remonstrances, *Critias* procured an order for that purpose to be sent to him from *Sparta*. *Lysander* not daring to disobey this order, communicated it to *Pharnabazus*, in consequence of which a body of *Persians* surrounded the house of *Alcibiades*, and set it on fire.

A a 4

Though

Socrates
the philo-
sopher en-
vied by
several
Athenians.

A little after the popular government was resettled again in *Athens*, *Socrates* was condemned and put to death. The oracle of *Delphos* had declared him the wisest of mankind, and he had for many years distinguished himself at *Athens* as a true philosopher, by his many excellent sayings, by the freedom with which he attacked all vice, and by the great purity of his morals. He served in several campaigns as a soldier, and in them all was most remarkable for enduring hardships with patience, executing punctually whatever he was commanded, and complying readily with any thing that was desired of him. He refused to meddle at all with matters of state, till he grew far in years, and was then elected to the senate by his tribe, when he behaved with an inflexible integrity. His distinguished probity, and the singular attachment of his disciples for his person and maxims, raised him a great many enemies; who, however, for a long time were ashamed or afraid to discover their malice.

During the arbitrary and tyrannical government of the 30, he continued to speak his mind with great freedom, which gave some offence to the tyrants; who, nevertheless, suffered him to live because *Critias* was his intimate friend. He made many severe reflections upon their government, particularly the following: "A herdsman would be very disingenuous, who, in case the cattle grew worse, and the herd thinner by his management, would not confess himself an ill herdsman; but the governor of a city would be yet more disingenuous, if seeing his citizens grow worse and thinner, he should not own himself an ill governor." This speech being reported to the tyrants, *Critias* and *Charicles* sent for him, and forbade him to converse with any man under 30, on pain of having his head placed somewhere else than upon his shoulders. Soon after, as a trial of his fidelity to their government, they ordered him to go with some other persons whom they named, to seize one *Leon*, a man of rank and fortune, whom they determined to put out of the way, that they might enjoy his estate. This commission *Socrates* flatly refused, and moreover added his reason for such refusal.

Though he escaped from the flames, yet the barbarians slew him with their darts and arrows at a distance. One *Timandra*, a mistress of his, who then lived with him, wrapped his dead body in her own robes, and buried him as decently and honourably as she could, in a town called *Me'issa*. This is *Plutarch's* account; but *Diodorus* relates, from the authority of the historian *Ephorus*, that *Alcibiades* having discovered the design of *Cyrus* the younger, in-

formed *Pharnabazus* thereof, and desired that he might carry the intelligence to the king; but *Pharnabazus* envying him that honour, sent a confident of his own to court, and took all the merit to himself. *Alcibiades* afterwards applying to the governor of *Paphlagonia* for letters of credence to the king, *Pharnabazus* hired people to murder him. *Plut. in vit. Alcib. Diod. l. 14. Corn. Nep. Athenæus.*

I will

I will never, willingly, said he, assist in an unjust act. Chericles replied sharply, *Dost thou think, Socrates, to talk always in this high stile, and not to suffer?* Far from it, added he, *I expect to suffer a thousand ills, but none so great as to do unjustly.* The tyrants being shortly after obliged to turn their thoughts to the contriving of means for their own safety, Socrates thereby escaped their resentment.

The poet *Aristophanes*, for what reason is uncertain, first endeavoured to ruin Socrates, by introducing him in a ridiculous light in one of his comedies. Some think *Aristophanes* was infligated by one *Anytus*, who had taken a pique against Socrates, and now, many years after engaged *Melitus*, a bold young man, to prefer a complaint against him to the senate, in the following words: *Melitus, son of Melitus, a Pythian, accuseth Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, an Alopertian. Socrates violates the law, not believing in the deities in whom the city believeth, but introducing other new gods. He violates the law, likewise, in corrupting youth: the punishment death.* As soon as the conspiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. *Lysias*, the most able orator of his time, brought him an elaborate discourse of his own composing, which Socrates greatly approved of; but at the same time he refused to make use of it, as not fitting for him. When the day of trial came on, *Melitus* opened the prosecution with a very poor harangue, in which he was often prompted. Having with much ado got through it, *Anytus* then began a long and malicious detail, wherein he was favourably heard, and after him *Lyco*, in a set rhetorical speech, supported the accusation. When these had done speaking, Socrates, who had disdained to use any of the common artifices for his defence, went up into the orators desk, and justified himself in a bold, manly, and generous discourse, without any ornament but that of truth, and brightened throughout with the character and language of innocence. He made his defence with a noble intrepid assurance. His air, his action, his countenance expressed nothing of the accused, but from the freedom and nobleness with which he spoke, he rather seemed the master of his judges.

Plato would also have spoken in his defence, and going up into the desk, opened his speech thus: *Though I, Athenians, am the youngest of those that come up into this place.* The people immediately cried out, *of those that go down,* and without allowing him to speak another word, they obliged him to leave the desk, then proceeding to vote, Socrates was found guilty by a majority of 31 voices. He might, however, have escaped with a fine, which his friends offered to pay for him; but he refused to demand any abatement of the penalty, because that would have been to acknowledge himself guilty. At length, when he was pressed to declare, according to custom, what punishment he thought he deserved, he replied, *That for his great services to his country, he condemned himself to be maintained in the Prytaneum at the expence of the republic for the rest of his life.*

This

He is con- This answer so much offended the judges, that they condemned demned. him to drink the hemlock, and immediately sent him to prison. *Apollodorus*, one of his friends and disciples, then expressing his grief for his dying innocent, *Socrates* said to him with a smile, *What, would ye have had me die guilty?* His friends urged him to make his escape from prison, and proposed several expedients for that purpose, at which he laughed and said, *Do you know any place out of Attica where death never comes?* He refused to violate the laws of his country by breaking prison, but drank the poison in the presence of his friends, praying to God

He death. to make his passage from this life happy, and shewing the same calmness and resolution in death, for which, throughout his life, he had been so famous.

His accus- The *Athenians*, after the death of *Socrates*, grew quickly sen- ers detest- sible of the mischief they had done. *Melitus* was condemned ed by the to die, and several others of the accusers were banished. *Plu- Athenians*, *tarch* says, that all those concerned in the accusation, were so detested by the citizens, that they would not suffer them to light fire at their houses. They would not answer them a question; they would not bathe with them; and if they were seen to touch ever so large a vessel of water, it was thrown away as impure, which drove them into such despair, that many of them killed themselves*. The *Athenians*, not contented with having pu- nished his accusers, caused a statue of brass to be erected to him. Their respect and gratitude rising even to a religious veneration, they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demi-god†.

who erect a statue and chapel to So- crates. Notwithstanding the ill usage, with which the *Athenians* treated their most worthy patriots, never any city was more be-

Canon pro- loved by her citizens than *Athens*. *Canon*, who since the mis- poses to fortune which befel him at the battle of the *Hellepont*, had restore the kept himself in *Cyprus* and never ventured home, now conceived affairs of in his mind a mighty project, no less than the restoring the the *Athe- Athenian* state to its antient splendor. With this view he trans- mitted a memorial to *Artaxerxes*, wherein he represented the great advantage the *Persians* would receive by enabling the *Athenians* to check the pride and ambition of the *Lacedæmonians*, who, if they once reduced *Greece*, would presume to give laws to *Asia*. His memorial was quickly supported by facts. Two *Lacedæmonian* armies, within the compass of a few years, passed over into *Asia*, where they did great mischief to the *Persians*, and would have done much greater, had not the *Persian* king, by sending vast sums of money to *Greece*, raised a formidable alliance against the *Spartans*, who were thereupon obliged to call home their troops.

The *Athenians* in the mean time having formed a confederacy with the *Argives* and other states, entered into a new war against the *Lacedæmonians*, which they pursued with variety of fortune.

* Plat. in Phæd. Plut. de Invid. & Odio. Xenoph. in Apol. Socr. & Memor. † Diog. p. 116.

Conon having been declared admiral of the *Persian* fleet, consisted of upwards of 90 sail, attacked that of the *Lacedæmonians* on the coast of *Cnidos*, and gained a complete victory, taking 50 of the enemies ships, and 500 prisoners. In consequence of this victory, most of the states dependant on *Lacedæmon*, changed sides, some voluntarily, and some by force. The *Lacedæmonians* having now lost the empire of the sea, *Conon* the year following sailed with part of the fleet to *Athens*, and in his way thither, brought over the *Cyclades*, and reduced *Cythera*. Having landed a great part of the men from his fleet, and hired many other workmen, he immediately set about re-fortifying the city. Many neighbouring cities sent men to assist in the work, and of the *Thebans* particularly sent 500 carpenters and masons. *Conon* soon after fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the *Lacedæmonians*, who accusing him to *Tiribazus* of employing the king's money in aggrandizing his own country, he was sent for to *Sardis* and imprisoned. What afterwards became of him is uncertain.

Another great man at this time contributed not a little to the re-establishment of the *Athenian* affairs. This was *Iphicrates*, his birth, not only the best officer of *Greece* in his days, but one, who in education, the knowledge of the art of war, exceeded all who went before him. He carefully studied war as a science, laid down rules for it, and brought things nearer to a certainty than it was ever conceived they could have been brought. According to *Plutarch*, he was the son of a shoemaker. The first exploit by which he distinguished himself, was in a sea fight, where finding himself wounded, and unable to remain on board the enemies ship, he caught up one of the soldiers in his arms, and carried him on board his own, which shews that he had great strength of body, as well as mighty presence of mind. His aspect was wonderfully venerable, and he struck with awe all those who conversed with him. Among his many military regulations, he altered the habit and arms of the *Athenian* soldiers; instead of short spears he gave them long ones; instead of large heavy shields, light bucklers; and instead of little stabbing swords, weapons of a more useful size. In this war of *Corinth*, as it was called, he many times by his skill gained advantages over troops superior in number to his own, and particularly, defeated *Agésilas*, who had elsewhere been accustomed to conquer. He always carefully fortified his camp, though in the country of his allies; and when one of his officers asked him who he was afraid of, he answered, I am afraid of being forced to use that expression, which of all others least becomes a general, *I did not think of that*.

While *Iphicrates* was retrieving the honour of the *Athenians* by land, *Thrasylbulus* sailed with a fleet to prevent the defection of the *Rhodians*; but finding that such an attempt would be fruitless, he sailed to the *Hellepont*, where he reduced several cities, particularly *Byzantium* and *Chalcis*. He afterwards brought the island of *Lesbos* again under the obedience of *Athens*, and sailing a second time towards *Rhodes*, he exacted a sum of money from

from *Aspendus*. After it was paid, his soldiers plundering some of the inhabitants without his knowledge, they were so much provoked, that they assaulted his camp by night, and slew him and a great many of his troops. Those who recovered their ships, thought of nothing but returning to *Athens*. The intelligence and the misfortunes of the *Athenians*, having either driven away or extinguished all their great men, they were now forced to supply the place of *Thrasylbulus* with *Iphicrates*, who joining the remains of the fleet with eight galleys, sailed towards *Abydus*, where he surprised and slew the *Lacedæmonian* admiral.

Ægina revolts from the *Athenians*. *Iphicrates*, however, could not prevent the revolt of the *Æginates*, who now declaring for the *Lacedæmonians*, infested the coasts of *Attica*. *Gorgopas*, the *Spartan* admiral, sailing after the *Athenian* galleys in the night, when half the crews were gone ashore in *Attica*, suddenly attacked them, and after an obstinate fight, carried off four galleys to *Ægina*. This loss was repaired a little after by *Chabrias*, the *Athenian* general, who, in his way to *Cyprus*, landed some of his forces in *Ægina*, and drawing the *Æginates* and the *Spartans* into an ambuscade, cut off near 400 of them, *Gorgopas* being among the slain. The *Æginates* were quiet for a considerable time after; but at length another *Spartan* admiral, named *Talentias*, prevailing upon them to embark with him, at day-break he entered into the *Piræum*, where he took several galleys and a great number of prisoners. Soon after he carried off several trading vessels, and an immense booty; and likewise taking eight *Athenian* galleys, he increased his fleet to 80 sail, and maintained the dominion of the sea for the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Spartans*, to secure the advantages they were possessed of, concluded a general peace with the *Persians*, on terms very dishonourable to *Greece*, which the other states, however, were obliged to accept of.

387. The *Spartans* now hoped to exercise an uncontrollable dominion over the *Grecian* states. Without the least provocation

The *Spartans* unjustly seize upon *Thebes*. they seized the citadel of *Thebes*, and enabled the *Thebans* of their faction to tyrannize over their countrymen, 400 of whom fled to *Athens*, where they were treated with great humanity and kindness. These exiles, impatient to return to their own country, set on foot a conspiracy in *Thebes*, and by the private assistance of the *Athenians*, at length got possession of the city.

The *Athenians* succour the *Thebans*. The *Lacedæmonians*, however, being still masters of the citadel, the *Thebans* were apprehensive lest its garrison should be reinforced; but obtaining succours from *Athens*, they made themselves masters of the fortress before it could be relieved. The *Athenians* from this time forward sought to put themselves at the head of a party against the *Spartans*, but the *Spartan* forces being as yet much greater than their own, they were obliged to dissemble their hatred to that state, and also to discountenance and punish those orators who imprudently discovered their enmity to *Sparta*.

Pelopidas, the *Theban* general, however, by a stratagem, prevailed on the *Athenians* to take arms against the *Spartans*. He

sent

sent an emissary to *Sphodrias*, a *Spartan* general, encamped at *Thebes*, and urged him to make an attempt to seize the *Piræum*. *Sphodrias* thought to have seized the port in the night, but day ral makes appearing before he could reach the place, he was obliged to an at-tempt to return unsuccessful. The *Athenians* immediately sent ambassa-tors with their compliments to *Sparta*. Before their arrival, surprise *Sphodrias* had been cited for his conduct, which was some satisf-the *Piræum*. faction for the insult, but by the interest of *Agésilas* being ac-um. quitted upon his trial, the *Athenians* instantly declared war. The *Athe-*

Iphicrates being absent in the service of the king of *Persia*, *nians* de- they named *Timotheus*, *Chabrias*, and *Callistratus*, as their ge- clare war nerals. *Timotheus* was the son of *Conon*, and was greatly against esteemed on account of his magnanimity and prudence; *Callis-* them. *tratus* was a man of great worth; and *Chabrias* was reputed one of the first generals of his age. To strengthen their confede- racy, they restored all the lands which had been divided among their citizens out of *Attica*, to their ancient proprietors, and offered such reasonable terms to their allies, particularly the establishing a senate, composed of a deputy from each city, that they presently drew a great number to their side, and exceed- ingly alarmed the *Lacedæmonians*, who sent *Agésilas* with a powerful army against the *Thebans*. *Chabrias*, who commanded the allies, successfully opposed all the designs of *Agésilas*, and even prevented *Cleombrotus*, king of *Sparta*, from entering *Bœotia*.

The command of the *Athenian* fleet being afterwards given to *Chabrias*, he sailed against *Naxos*, and besieged the capital of The *Athe-* the island. *Pollis*, the *Lacedæmonian* admiral, attempting to re- *nians* de- lieve the place, was defeated by him, with the loss of 32 gal- feat the lies, eight of which were taken with all their men. The *Athe-* *Lacedæ-* *nians* by this naval victory, which was the first they had acquir- *monians* at ed since the *Peloponnesian* war, recovered their reputation at sea. sea. *Chabrias* being soon after assassinated at *Abdera*, which city he had delivered from the tyranny of the *Thracians*, the *Athe-* *nians* sent *Timotheus* to supply his place. *Timotheus* by his elo- quence, affability, and justice, prevailed on many of the *Lace-* *dæmonian* allies to forsake them. By his great skill in mari- A second time affairs, he gained a victory over the *Spartans* at *Leucades*, victory and was in general so successful, that his enemies envying his gained by glory, painted him sleeping, with the goddess *Fortune* at his feet the *Athe-* taking towns in nets for him. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmo-* *nians*. *nians* at length being weary of the war, which they perceived A peace only served to aggrandize the *Thebans*, concluded a peace at the betwixt intercession of *Artaxerxes*, upon this condition, that all cities them and should be free. The *Thebans* absolutely refused to agree to this the *Lace-* treaty. *dæmoni-*

Iphicrates about this time quitting the *Persian* service, the *ans*. *Persians* charged him with mighty crimes, and earnestly desired *Bef. Chr* the *Athenians* to punish him. They answered that he should be 371. punished when he was proved guilty. In the mean time having occasion for his services, they made him admiral of their fleet.

Disputes

Disputes arising in the *Greek* cities, that were declared free, about the form of government, the *Lacedæmonians*, notwithstanding the peace, assisted, to the utmost of their power, such as were for oligarchy, while the *Athenians* endeavoured every where to support the democratic government. *Menestippus*, the *Lacedæmonian* general, blocked up the *Corcyrans*, who begging the assistance of the *Athenians*, they ordered *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates* to sail to their relief. These generals, however, finding it necessary to sail first to *Thrace*, the *Athenians* condemned them both, but restoring them afterwards to their command, they sailed to *Corcyra*, from whence they expelled the *Lacedæmonians*. *Artaxerxes* still labouring to reconcile the *Grecian* states, the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* again renewed the peace upon the old terms, which were rejected by the *Thebans*, who from the success of their arms, under *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas*, began to aspire at extending their dominion.

The *Athenians*, on the other hand, perceiving that they were become very inconsiderable, endeavoured to strengthen themselves, by proposing a general alliance, offensive and defensive, which was readily agreed to by all, except the *Eleans* and *Thebans*. A new war breaking out between the *Thebans* and the *Spartans*, the latter were obliged to ask the assistance of the *Athenians*, who sent *Iphicrates* to them with some troops. Soon after they sent *Chares* to the assistance of *Phliacians* against the *Argives*, who were twice defeated by that general. The *Athenians* being now forced to temporize, and to take such opportunities as the times offered for maintaining themselves in any degree of power, entered into a strict league with the *Arcadians*. Some commotions happening soon after in *Arcadia*, the *Athenians* sent an army thither, under the command of *Pammenes*, who performed what he was sent for, and returned home with the honour.

Arcadians. The *Athenians* afterwards opposed the designs of *Alexander*, tyrant of *Phærea*, against the *Cyclades*, but some of their galleys being taken by the enemy, they condemned their general, *Leosthenes*, and sent *Chares* with a fleet into those parts, who, by his ill management, greatly encreased the disasters of the republic, plundering the confederates, delaying any attempts upon the enemy, creating seditions where-ever he came, and seeming to have nothing in view but to enrich himself*.

About the same time a rupture happened between the *Athenians* and *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, who was very desirous of making himself master of their colonies in *Thrace* and *Macedon*. As *Philip's* power was not then well established, he readily consented to an accommodation. The *Athenians* were quickly after engaged in a more dangerous war; the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, who had hitherto been their allies, now entering

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* Xenoph. Hellen. l. 7. 8. Diod. l. 15. Plut. and Corn. Nep. Justin. l. 6.

into a confederacy against them. On the first notice of this revolt, the *Athenians* sent *Chares* with a land army to besiege *Chios*, while *Chabrias* was to block up the place by sea. *Chabrias* broke in with his galley into the port, but the other galleys, afraid to follow him, he was surrounded by the enemy and cut off. This first attempt having miscarried, the *Athenians* reinforced their fleet with 60 galleys, under *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*. The confederates in the mean time fitting out a fleet of 100 galleys, ravaged several islands belonging to the *Athenians*, where they made a great booty, and at last invested *Samos*. The *Athenians* obliged them to abandon this design by laying siege to *Byzantium*. They sailed with their whole fleet to the relief of this city, and when they came before the port, offered the *Athenians* battle; but a great storm arising, *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates* refused to fight. *Chares*, though less experienced, was of a different opinion, and sending to *Athens* and accusing his colleagues, the people were so incensed against them, that they cashiered and fined them. *Timotheus* being unable to pay his mulct, did not return to his country, but retiring to *Chelos*, broke his heart. *Iphicrates* at his trial, posted round the place where the judges assembled, a number of young men armed with poinards, and being afterwards reproached with so violent a proceeding, by which he had got himself acquitted, he answered, *I had been a fool indeed, if having made war successfully for the Athenians, I had neglected doing so for myself.*

Chares having now nobody to check him, rashly engaged in an arduous affair, probably from views of personal interest. Having received great promises from *Pharnabazus*, who had revolted from the *Persian* king, and was then besieged by an army of 30,000 men, he sailed to his assistance, and enabled him totally to rout the king's generals. The *Athenians*, on the news of this victory, greatly extolled *Chares*; but the *Persian* king complaining loudly of their violation of the amity subsisting between them, and threatening to assist the allies with a fleet of 300 sail, they then treated *Chares* as a traitor, and in their transports of fear resolved to make peace with the states that had revolted from them, almost upon their own terms. Peace was accordingly concluded, though little to the honour of the *Athenians*, after the war had lasted four years.

The same year that this peace was concluded, the *Phocian* war broke out, which, as we have formerly related, was owing to the supposed sacrilege of the *Phocians*, who had plowed some lands dedicated to the temple of the *Delphic Apollo*, and had even seized the temple. To support themselves against their neighbours, who had taken up arms against them, the *Phocians*, by making use of the riches of the temple, prevailed with the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* to declare for them. During the war, which lasted ten years, the *Athenians* sent the *Phocian* commanders large supplies, at one time no less than 5000 foot and 300 horse. As their zeal for the *Phocians* was chiefly owing to the large pay which their troops received,

Philip,
king of
Macedon,
wants to
engage
in this
war.
Demosthe-
nes, his
birth, edu-
cation,
&c.

the *Athenians* were highly censured for their conduct. The money expended on this occasion, being raised either by the coinage or sale of the dedicated things in the temple of *Delphos*, it was considered as a sacrilege to receive any part of it, especially for defending the robbers. The *Athenians*, however, made no hesitation of accepting the pay of the *Phocians*, which may be looked upon as a certain sign of their degeneracy and corruption, as it has always been accounted so, when people lose all sense of religion, and openly affront those powers they pretend to worship. The *Phocian* chiefs had nothing else to support their cause but money, and that they parted with it very freely may be conjectured from *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, who tell us, that in a few years they squandered 10,000 talents, which falls little short of two millions of our money. *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, wanted to interest himself in this war, but *Demosthenes*, the famous orator, who perceived his ambitious designs, warned the *Athenians* to guard against him. They accordingly seized the straits of *Thermopylæ*, and prevented him from advancing.

Demosthenes was the son of an eminent *Athenian*, who had raised a great fortune from the manufacture of sword blades. He seemed least of all designed for an orator; his person was far from being handsome, his tongue was too large, his voice weak and broken, and his gesture very uncouth. His father dying when he was young, and his own constitution being weak, his mother indulged him to the prejudice of his education, and his guardians taking the advantage of his tender years, imposed on him to the prejudice of his fortune. These unforeseen accidents led him to commence orator. The first essay of his eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this success, he attempted, when of a proper age, to harangue the people, but being hissed by the whole audience, he retired greatly discouraged. The advice of his friends, however, and his passion for becoming an orator, enabled him to get the better of nature and of the people. To render his tongue flexible, he accustomed himself to speak with small pebbles in his mouth. To raise his voice to a proper pitch, he declaimed on the sea shore; and to repress a habit he had got of shrugging up his shoulders, he hung a drawn sword in his chamber in such a manner, that when he practised his orations, it pricked his shoulders whenever he pulled them up. At length by patience, long study and practice, he acquired a manly solid eloquence, being superior, not only to his contemporaries, but excelling also all that went before, and all that came after him. He reproached his countrymen with their fickleness, faithlessness, and want of true regard for the public interest. He exclaimed against their vanity, in attributing to themselves the merit of their ancestors, and fancying that the reputation of the ancient *Athenians* would support the vices of their posterity. He exhorted them to live always on good terms with

with the *Persian* king, because it was no longer in his power, or indeed in his will to conquer them; but on the contrary it was his interest to preserve them from being conquered.

Above all he cautioned them against the ambition and growing power of *Philip*, who, after he was repulsed from *Thermopylae*, turned his arms against the *Olynthians*, allies of the *Athenians*, in *Macedonia*. *Demosthenes*, by warmly espousing the cause of the *Olynthians*, prevailed on the *Athenians* to send them succours. These, however, being chiefly mercenaries, the *Olynthians*, who were besieged in their city, obtained a second reinforcement of 2000 foot and 300 horse, under the command of *Chares*, a man of great vices and small abilities. The *Athenians* vainly thinking that they had acted with great spirit against *Philip*, could not be prevailed upon by the warmest remonstrances of *Demosthenes*, to support the war against him in his own territories, so that the *Olynthians* were quickly reduced and their city destroyed.

Philip then took several places belonging to the *Athenians* in *Philippa Thrace*; nevertheless, by the interest of his friends in *Athens*, he prevailed on the *Athenians* to conclude a peace with him. This was the easier accomplished, because *Phocion*, the worst thief man in the republic, did not oppose *Philip*. *Phocion* was a most disinterested patriot, and therefore could have no great affection for *Philip*. He nevertheless advised his countrymen to cultivate his friendship, for since they would not be at the head of *Greece* themselves, it would be their interest, he said, to be on good terms with that power who would be so. He was both a great general and a great statesman, but he was so modest, that he never sought commands, nor did he ever promote wars, that he might raise his authority by them. He was of a mild temper, delivered himself in few plain and significant words, and lived and died poor.

The peace was no sooner concluded with the *Athenians*, than *Philip* suddenly passed *Thermopylae*, and entering *Phocis*, put an end to the sacred war. Some time after, making an attempt upon *Byzantium*, the *Athenians* dispatched *Chares* thither with a good fleet, but the *Byzantines* knowing him to be no better than a pirate with a commission, refused to let him enter their harbour. The *Athenians* looked upon this as a great insult; but *Phocion* rising up in the assembly, and saying, *My masters, you ought not so much to blame the jealousy of your allies, as the base behaviour of your generals, who have rendered you suspected, even to those who are unable to support themselves without your assistance:* they unanimously appointed him general in the place of *Chares*. *Phocion* was admitted by the *Byzantines* into their harbour, and into their city with joy, though he offered to encamp without the walls. He quickly obliged *Philip* to return to his own dominions, took many of his ships, recovered several places into which he had put garrisons, and exceedingly harassed the frontiers of his kingdom. *Phocion*, some time after his return, persuaded the *Athenians* to send succours to the *Macedonians*, and *Byzantines*.

and drives his forces from *Eubæa*. marching thither at the head of the troops, he caused the long walls to be rebuilt, which joined the city to its port *Nicæa*, and thereby effectually secured *Megara* to the *Athenians*. Soon after, he expelled *Philip* from *Eubæa*, where, encouraged by some of the factions, he attempted to establish his authority. *Philip*, by his great power, and by his large bribes, had now a great number of partizans in all the considerable states of *Greece*, who were always ready to excuse or support his usurpations. Encouraged by the want of union and inactivity of the states, he boldly ventured into *Greece*, and while the *Greeks* expected he would fall upon the *Locrians*, who had committed some sacrilegious act, he seized *Elatea*, a great city in *Phocis*, on the river *Cephissus*, where he assembled a powerful army. The *Athenians* were now struck with consternation, but *Demosthenes* having prevailed with the *Thebans* to join with them, they resolved to oppose *Philip* by arms. *Phocion* expressed a dislike to the war, and a doubtfulness of its event, and even proposed the renewing of the peace with *Philip*; when an *Athenian* of a very bad character cried out, *Darest thou, Phocion, think of dissuading the Athenians from the war now the sword is drawn. Yes, I dare*, returned he, *though I know that in time of war I shall always be thy master, whereas in peace thou perhaps may be mine.*

Philip surprises *Elatea*, defeats the *Athenians* and *Thebans* at *Cheronea*. The event shewed how just a notion *Phocion* had of things; for *Philip* coming down at last with an army of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse, totally defeated the *Athenians* and *Thebans* at *Chæronea*. *Demosthenes* acted very unbecomingly in this battle; for he deserted his post, and was one of the first that fled. It is even said, that a stake or a bramble catching hold of his robe, he not doubting but it was an enemy, cried out, *Spare my life*. More than 1000 *Athenians* were left dead upon the field of battle, and above 2000 were taken prisoners.

His indecent behaviour after the victory. *Philip*, after the victory could not contain his joy, for he danced about like one distracted, and coming up to the band of *Athenian* prisoners, treated them with scoffs and ill language. *Demades*, who was one of them, could not help reproving him, *O Philip*, said he, *since fortune has assigned you the part of Agamemnon, why will you play Therites.* *Philip* blushing at this speech, ordered *Demades* and the rest of the *Athenian* captives to be released, and even sent them their baggage, though when they demanded it, he said laughing, *I believe those people don't think we beat them in earnest.* After the battle of *Chæronea*, *Philip* was declared generalissimo of the *Greeks* against the *Persians*, in a general assembly of the *Greek* states which he had convoked. The *Athenians*, contrary to the advice of *Phocion*, insisted that their deputies should be admitted to the assembly; but when by this rash step they found themselves obliged to furnish the king with a body of horse and a squadron of ships for his *Asiatic* expedition, they repented their meddling at all, and seemed inclined to refuse to comply with articles so dishonourable; but *Phocion* representing to them, that they ought to imitate their ancestors, and suit their behaviour to their fortune, they

they thought proper to agree to them. *Philip* being soon after He is murdered, *Demosthenes* and many other *Athenians* made great rejoicings, and appeared in public with chaplets of flowers, for which they were reprehended by *Phocion*, who bid them remember, *That the army which beat them at Chæronea was lessened but by one.*

This reproof, however grave, however poignant, had little effect; for the people not only railed at the deceased *Philip*, but treated his son, *Alexander*, with contempt, representing him as a giddy wrong-headed boy, ready to grasp all things in his imagination, and able to perform nothing. They entered into a confederacy with the other states, not only for depriving him of the command of *Greece*, but even of his hereditary dominions. They likewise treated with *Attalus*, *Alexander's* uncle, who aspired to the kingdom, to favour his pretensions. *Alexander* however, returning with his army from *Illyricum*, procured himself to be declared general of *Greece*, in the council of the *Amphictyons*, and then marching against *Thebes*, sacked and plundered it, which struck such a terror into the other *Greek* states, that they all submitted, and in a general assembly at *Corinth*, declared him generalissimo. After the destruction of *Thebes*, the *Athenians* were so terrified, that they made themselves ridiculous, for they sent to compliment the king on his safe return from his expedition against the barbarians. *Alexander* took all in good part, only he required the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, who he supposed had been the authors of all the mischiefs that had lately happened in *Greece*. *Demades*, whom *Alexander* had honoured with his friendship, interceded for them, and was so successful as to pacify the king, who at last only insisted that *Charidemus* should banish himself.

Upon the death of *Alexander*, all *Greece* was again in commotion. The orators unanimously concurring in prompting the people to make war, it was at length agreed by a great majority, that the *Athenians* should take upon them the defence of the common liberty; should fit out a fleet of 240 sail; and that all men under 40 years of age should take up arms. *Leosthenes* being appointed commander, drew together a very fine army, and marched against the *Macedonians*. He defeated *Antipater*, governor of *Macedon*, who having sent to *Craterus* in *Cilicia* for succours, had marched into *Thessaly* with 13,000 foot and 600 horse. After the battle, *Antipater* fortified himself in *Lamia*, a city of *Thessaly*, with 8 or 9000 men. *Leosthenes* being unfortunately killed in the siege, *Antiphalus* was chosen general. He allowed *Antipater* to escape from *Lamia*, but soon after routed the *Macedonians* under *Leonatus*. This victory proved their ruin; for beginning to flight the enemy, many of them returned home, so that *Antipater* being reinforced with the remains of *Leonatus's* army, and joined also by *Craterus*, at length gained a victory over the confederates. Though 500 men were only slain in this action, yet the allies were so dispirited, that they

Antipater agreed to make a separate peace with *Antipater*. The *Athenians* being thus deserted, sent *Phocion*, with some other deputies, to *Cadmea*, where *Antipater* was encamped, to treat of peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded, or rather *Antipater* imposed these conditions upon the *Athenians*, that *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* should be delivered up; that the ancient way of raising taxes in the city should be restored; that a garrison should be admitted into *Munichia*; that the *Athenians* should defray the expences of the war, and submit to some other taxes. *Xenocrates*, who was one of the deputies, said, the terms were very moderate for slaves, but extremely severe for freemen.

Demosthenes, *Hyperides*, and some others, that they might not be delivered to *Antipater*, fled from *Athens*. One *Archias*, a player, undertook to *Antipater* to find them out, and having received some *Thracian* troops from him, he found *Hyperides* and two other orators in the temple of *Ajax* at *Ægina*. He dragged them from their asylum, and sent them to *Antipater*, who caused them to be put to death. *Archias* having found *Demosthenes* in the temple of *Neptune*, in the little island of *Calauria*, would fain have persuaded him to go with him to *Antipater*. *Demosthenes* answered, O *Archias*, I was never much pleased with you as a player, and now I am as little moved with you as a negociator. *Archias* beginning at this to be angry and to threaten him, *Demosthenes* desired him to forbear a little till he should write a word or two home to his family. Then retiring a little, he took some poison which he had in a paper, which occasioned his death before he left the temple. The *Athenians*, soon after this event, erected a statue of brass to his memory, as a testimonial of their gratitude and esteem, and made a decree that the eldest branch of his family should be brought up in the *Prytaneum* at the public expence, from generation to generation.

The *Athenians* dissatisfied with the situation of their affairs. The *Macedonian* garrison being settled in *Athens*, upwards of 12000 of the lower citizens were disfranchised by one of the stipulations of the treaty. Many of these going into *Thrace*, *Antipater* assigned them a place to build a city, and lands to cultivate. In the mean time political affairs were managed by men of the better sort, and especially by *Phocion*, who was in very high credit with *Antipater* and the *Macedonians*. He was for proceeding still on his old maxim, of complying with the times, and making no attempts beyond the reach of their power. The *Athenians*, however, not sensible of the happiness of their present condition, which was more for their advantage than the licentious exercise of their liberty, prevailed on *Demades*, the orator, who had been greatly favoured by *Antipater*, to apply to that general to have the garrison removed. *Demades* was a man of parts and eloquence, but void of probity and disinterestedness, as we may guess from this saying of *Antipater's*, That he had two friends at *Athens*, *Phocion* and *Demades*, the former a man who would receive no satisfaction for the services he did him, and the latter who would never be satisfied how much

never he received. While *Demades* was soliciting the call of the garrison, he corresponded with *Perdiccas*, *Antipater's* mortal enemy, endeavouring to persuade him to invade *Macedonia* and *Greece*, and to assume the government of them himself. *Antipater* discovering this correspondence, instead of withdrawing the garrison, put *Demades* and his son to death.

Not long after, *Antipater* himself dying, two factions sprung up in *Macedonia*, the one headed by *Antipater's* son, *Cassander*, and the other by *Polyperchon*, who had the custody of the persons of the kings. As the forces were chiefly attached to *Cassander*, *Polyperchon* endeavoured to secure the favour of the *Greek* cities, and published a decree in the king's name, restoring them all to their freedom, particularly *Athens*; directing the garrison immediately to withdraw from thence, and ordering the democracy to be restored. *Nicanor*, who commanded the garrison for *Cassander*, paid no regard to this decree. *Phocion* likewise seeing no likelihood that a bare decree, unsupported with arms, would have any any great effect, still corresponded with *Nicanor*, for which the people who had turned licentious, upon the notion of recovering their liberty, accused him of being an enemy to his country.

Polyperchon, not long after, coming with a great army to the borders of *Attica*, *Phocion* and several others were sent as prisoners to him; but he professing to keep up to the terms of his decree, sent them back chained in carts, with this message, *That though he was convinced they were traitors, yet he left them to be judged by the Athenians as a free people.* Upon their return to *Athens*, the people assembled, and in a clamorous and furious manner, condemned them all to die. Some even moved, that *Phocion* might be tortured before he was put to death: nay, they were for bringing the rack into the assembly, and torturing him there; but this was opposed by the majority. As he was going to die, a person who was his intimate friend, asked him if he had any message for his son. Yes, replied *Phocion*, tell him it is my last command, that he forget how ill the Athenians treated his father.

His death did not even satiate the spiteful malice of his enemies, who passed a decree, banishing his corpse from *Attica*, and forbidding any *Athenian* to furnish fire for his funeral pile. One *Canopian* took up the corpse and carried it beyond *Elcusina*, where he borrowed some fire of a *Megarian* woman, and burned it. The *Athenians* very soon after began to repent of their rashness and ingratitude, and remembering the many kindnesses they had received from *Phocion*, they decreed him a statue of brass, ordered his bones to be brought back at the public expence, and that his accusers should be put to death. *Agonides*, who was principally concerned, suffered; and *Epicurus* and *Demophilus*, who were his associates and fled, were put to death by *Phocion's* son, who had but a very small share of his father's abilities, and none at all of his virtues.

B b ?

The

Cassander
seizes
Athens.
Bef. Chr.
318.

Phocion
accused.
Con-
demned
and put to
death.

The ho-
nours af-
terward's
paid to
him.

*Demetrius
Phalereus*
appointed
governor
of *Athens*.

The *Athenians*, for their attachment to *Polyperchon*, were soon after besieged by *Cassander*, who forced them to submit to these terms; that he should leave a garrison in the fort, and appoint some *Athenian* to preside over the city. He accordingly conferred the office of governor upon *Demetrius Phalereus*, a descendant of *Conon*, and very wealthy, yet more distinguished by his virtue than his birth or fortune. He treated the *Athenians* with the utmost kindness, and employed that power, which he might easily have improved into tyranny, to do those things for them, which their factions had hitherto hindered them from doing for themselves. He encreased their public revenues, beautified their city with many magnificent structures, and in every other respect gave such signal testimonies of his tender affection for them, that the *Athenians* set up no less than 300 statues to his honour. Nevertheless, they secretly hated him, because he derived his power from *Cassander*, and they were not able to depose him at their pleasure.

*Demetrius
Poliorcetes*
frees
Athens.
Bef. Ch.
306.

Antigonus, another of *Alexander's* captains, and his son *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, having resolved to free *Greece* from the yoke of *Cassander*; the young prince *Demetrius*, who was the handsomest, and bravest man of his time, sailed into the *Pyreum* with a considerable fleet, having got free access by hoisting false colours. The *Athenians* perceiving their mistake, immediately ran to arms; but he causing proclamation to be made, that he was come to free them from the oppression of *Cassander*, and to restore to them their ancient laws and government, they welcomed him with shouts and acclamations. *Demetrius Phalereus* was instantly deserted, and the very next moment loaded with reproaches, and in danger of suffering death. The young prince, however, at his request, granted him a guard, and allowed him to retire to *Thebes*. Having driven the garrison of *Cassander* from *Megara*, and also taken *Munichia* by assault, *Demetrius* entered *Athens* at the desire of the people, in great pomp, and in a general assembly declared, that he not only restored their former popular government, but would prevail on his father to bestow on them 15000 measures of wheat, and timber sufficient to build 100 gallies for the defence of the city.

The base
flattery of
the *Athe-
nians*,

The *Athenians*, as a return for these favours, condescended to the basest flattery. They not only conferred on *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the title of kings, but also stiled them tutelar deities, and appointed a priest to them, ordering the year to be designed by the name of the priest. They caused the portraits of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* to be placed among the number of their gods, and to the ten tribes added two others, which they called *Antigonides* and *Demetriades*. A decree was also passed, that as often as they sent ambassadors to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, they should be stiled ambassadors of the gods. At the same time this degenerate people, by another decree, adjudged *Demetrius Phalereus* to death, ordered all his statues to be thrown down, and even sent persons to execute, as far as in them lay, their decree, by endeavouring to way-lay and murder him.

and their
ingrati-
tude to
*Demetrius
Phalereus*.

The

The effects of the democratic government quickly appeared, and accusations and condemnations became very frequent. A decree was also published, that no philosophers should teach, unless licenced by the senate and people; in consequence of which, many philosophers, particularly *Theophrastus*, the successor of *Aristotle*, broke up their schools. Soon after, however, this decree was rescinded, and the philosophers were recalled.

Demetrius in the mean time being engaged in the siege of *Athens* besieged by *Rhodes*, *Cassander* entered *Greece* with a powerful army, and many cities revolting to him, he entered *Attica*, and besieged *Cassander*, *Athens*. *Demetrius* speedily returned to the relief of the *Athenians*, but relieved by *Demetrius*, and obliging *Cassander* to raise the siege, he stript him in a very short time of all his conquests. He then put various cities under the power of the *Athenians*, and multiplied his good offices, as if he meant to overwhelm them with benefits. They, on the other hand, degraded themselves by the basest and most servile flattery. They assigned *Demetrius* lodgings behind the temple of *Minerva*, in the apartments of the virgins, devoted to her service, which was a scandalous insult on religion, as *Demetrius* was remarkably intemperate with respect to women.

Their servility seems to have had no bounds; for when *Demetrius* desired, in the month of *March*, to be admitted into the mysteries of *Ceres*, they decreed that month to be *November*, which was the time when novices were admitted to the lesser mysteries. When the initiating ceremonies were over, they again decreed the same month to be *August*, which was the time of admission into the greater mysteries. *Demetrius* was accordingly gratified by such base compliances, which *Philippides*, the comedian, could not help stigmatizing in the following distich :

What miracles, by flattery wrought, are here,
Which, in one month, have crowded all the year!

Demetrius was soon after obliged to quit *Greece*, and proceed to *Asia*, to assist his father against the other successors of *Alexander*, who had formed a confederacy against him. *Antigonus* hazarding a battle, was defeated and slain; and *Demetrius* was constrained to sail from *Ephesus* with a small squadron of ships for *Athens*, where he had left his queen and great part of his navy. The *Athenians*, who had heard of the bad state of his affairs, made a decree that no crowned head should enter their city, and refused him admittance into their harbour; but, at his request, sent him his queen and his ships. *Demetrius*, before his departure, had indeed given them just cause of offence by several tyrannical acts, they therefore, by a decree, made it capital for any person even to mention an accommodation with him. They were, however, far from enjoying tranquility, and one *Lacharis*, an obscure person, encouraged by their seditions, seized the sovereignty. Their ingratitude to him in his adversity.

Demetrius having soon after re-established his affairs, resolved to punish the *Athenians*, and invested the city by sea and land. The *Athenians* being in great distress, *Lacharis* applied to *Ptolemy*, who sent a fleet of 150 sail to their relief, with a great quantity of corn. This fleet arrived at *Ægina*, but finding that of *Demetrius* greatly superior, they immediately returned back to *Egypt*. *Lacharis* now despairing of holding out, privately quitted the city, and the *Athenians*, who were perishing with hunger, surrendered at discretion to *Demetrius*. He entered the city with all his forces, and having ordered the *Athenians* to assemble in the public theatre, he surrounded it with armed men, placing also many of his forces round the stage. The people were filled with the greatest terror, and expected every moment to be put to death, when *Demetrius* came upon the stage, and in a short oration, gently reprimanded them for their ingratitude, and told them that he received them again into his wonted grace and favour; as an instance of which he presented them with 100,000 bushels of wheat, and named such magistrates as were agreeable to them. The *Athenians* in return relapsed into their old strain of flattery, and their orators exerted themselves in extolling the clemency of *Demetrius*. The people, on the motion of one of the orators, passed a decree, by which they gave the *Pyreum* and the castle of *Munichia* to the king, who, fully convinced of their fickleness, accepted of the present, and left garrisons in both places.

Not long after, when *Demetrius* was expelled from *Macedon*, and reduced so low that he did not presume to wear the habit of a king, they renounced their acknowledgments to him, degraded the priest of the two deities, and put all things into their old form. He was again in a condition to invest their city, and actually came before it, but was persuaded by *Craterus*, the philosopher, to leave them in the full enjoyment of their liberties, and to pass over into *Asia**.

Though the *Athenians* remained free for several years after, yet they made no great figure. When the *Gauls*, under *Brennus*, invaded *Greece*, the *Athenians* for a time exerted somewhat of their ancient magnanimity, under their general *Callippus*. These dangers being over, *Antigonus Gonatus*, the son of *Demetrius*, to punish the *Athenians* for their behaviour to his father, wasted their territories, and afterwards closely besieged *Athens*. They were obliged to surrender, and admit a garrison of his troops, which held them in subjection to him and his son *Demetrius*. A spirit of liberty again reviving in *Greece*, particularly among the *Achæans*, who were encouraged by *Cratus*, not only to defend their own freedom, but to free others, the *Athenians*, by the assistance of *Cratus*, again recovered their liberty, as will afterwards be more particularly related.

* Plat. in vit. Demet. Athenæus. Diog. Laert. in vit. Theoph. Epic. & Crat.

C H A P. III.

The history of SPARTA from Lycurgus, to its being joined by Philopæmen to the Achæans.

LYCURGUS, as we have already related, succeeded to the throne of *Sparta*, upon the death of his brother without issue. No sooner, however, was it known that his brother's widow was with child, than he declared, that the crown belonged to her son, if she should have one, and from thenceforth he governed the kingdom only as his guardian. The queen privately offered to make use of means to cause herself miscarry, if he would promise to marry her. *Lycurgus* detested her horrid proposal; but so amused her with fine speeches, that she abstained from her purpose, and was delivered of a boy. *Lycurgus*, instead of making away with it, as she hoped, laid the infant before the *Spartan* nobles and proclaimed him king, calling him *Charilaus*, that is, *the joy of the people*. The disappointed queen was filled with resentment against him, and all her family and faction endeavoured to calumniate him, alledging, that notwithstanding his professions of disinterestedness, he intended to murder his nephew, to make way for his own succession.

Lycurgus, to stop the mouths of his malicious enemies, about eight months after the birth of his nephew, went into a voluntary exile, nor did he return till *Charilaus* was banished. While he was abroad he carefully studied the art of government, and the manners of the different people among whom he travelled. He first visited *Crete*, an island famous in the most ancient times for the prudent laws by which it was governed, and at this time, as appears from *Plutarch*, governed by several princes, or cantoned into various independant states. Through all these *Lycurgus* travelled, procuring to himself the acquaintance of persons of the first rank, and by their means a perfect knowledge of their laws. From *Crete* *Lycurgus* passed over to the continent of *Asia*, that he might philosophize on the *Ionian* mode of life, which differed greatly from the *Cretan*. He went next into *Egypt*, a place never forgot by such as went in quest of wisdom. There he met with that method of distinguishing military men from mechanics, which he afterwards introduced at *Sparta*. As to his voyages to *Spain*, *Afric*, and the *Indies*, *Plutarch* says, the credit of them rests solely upon one author.

During his absence, the greatest corruption of manners and disorders prevailed in *Sparta*, owing to the weak authority of the kings, and the turbulent and factious spirit of the people. The *Spartans* seeing the state of affairs grow daily worse, and having a great regard for *Lycurgus*, at length sent an embassy to him, entreating him to return home. The kings, *Archelaus* and *Charilaus*, importuned him to the same effect, hoping that

The generous conduct of *Lycurgus*.

He travels into *Crete*.

Is recalled by the *Spartans*.

his

The oracle of Delphi approves his institution.

He new models the commonwealth. Bef. Chr. 705.

His laws ranged under 12 heads.

1. Laws regarding religion.

his presence would serve as a bulwark to defend them from the growing insolence of the people. *Lycurgus*, upon his arrival at *Sparta*, finding the state in the utmost confusion, was soon convinced that a few particular laws would produce no great effect and resolved to change the whole form of government. To surmount the dangers and difficulties attending so glorious an undertaking, he endeavoured first to gain the confidence of the most eminent men of *Sparta*, by communicating to them his scheme; and next he sought to secure the obedience of the people, by pretending to the sanction of divinity, ascribing all he did to the councils of the *Delphian Apollo*. Having visited that temple, and consulted the priestess, she in her answer stiled him, *Beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man*. She declared the laws he had framed were perfectly good, and that the commonwealth, wherein they were observed, would be the most famous in the world. This divine declaration having wonderfully awed the people, he, upon his return, resolved to publish his laws; but to intimidate the refractory, he ordered 30 of his friends to appear by break of day in the market place. He began with establishing a senate, consisting of 30 persons, including the two kings, which step alone was of very great consequence, since it gave a form and stability to the constitution, which had fluctuated hitherto between tyranny and democracy. He allowed the people still to hold a general assembly, but without any deliberative power, allowing them only the liberty of assenting to, or dissenting from, what the kings and senate proposed. When *Lycurgus*, by constituting a senate, had secured to himself an accession of power, he proceeded entirely to new model the commonwealth. His laws may properly be divided into twelve tables, according to the subjects of which they treated.

In the first may be comprehended such laws as regarded religion. The statues of all the gods and goddesses worshiped by the *Spartans*, were represented armed, even to *Venus* herself, that the people might conceive a military life the most noble and honourable. Their sacrifices consisted of things of very small value, for which *Lycurgus* himself gave this reason, that want might never hinder them from worshiping the gods. They were forbidden to make long or rash prayers to the heavenly powers, and were enjoined to ask no more than that they might live honestly and discharge their duty. That all degrees of people might be made familiar with death, graves were permitted to be made within their city, and even close by their temples. On the same account, the touching of dead bodies, or assisting at funerals, made none unclean. Magnificent sepulchres were forbidden, neither was there so much as an inscription, however plain or modest, permitted. Mournings were stinted to eleven days, and tears, sighs, and lamentations in public, were prohibited. There were some exceptions from these rules, in favour of those who were slain in the wars; for such had a short and decent inscription on their tombs.

Under

Under the second table may be placed the laws relating to the 2. Laws lands, and to the city. *Lycurgus* divided all the country of *Laconia* into 30,000 equal shares, and the territories of *Sparta* into to the 9000, which he distributed among the inhabitants. Property lands. being thus equally divided among the citizens, a spirit of industry was diffused among all; none was powerful enough to oppress his fellows, nor any in such necessity as to be in danger of corruption. He forbade the buying or selling of those possessions; but if a stranger acquired a right to any of them, he might quietly enjoy it, provided he submitted to the laws of the republic. The city of *Sparta* was unwalled, *Lycurgus* trusting its defence to the valour of its citizens. As to the houses, they were very plain, for their ceilings could only be wrought by the axe, and their gates and doors only by the saw.

The laws regarding citizens may compose the third table. 3. Laws The citizens were to be neither more nor less than the number regarding of city lots, which were 9000: the supernumeraries were to be citizens. led out in colonies. Their laws concerning children, were equally cruel and unreasonable. A new-born infant was submitted to the inspection of the gravest men of his tribe, who, if they perceived its limbs straight, and thought it had a wholesome look, returned it to its parents to be educated, otherwise it was thrown into a deep cavern. One good effect seems to have followed from this law; for their women, when they were with child, were very careful of either eating, drinking, or exercising to excess. That the constitution might not be corrupted by the introduction of novelties, strangers were not allowed to reside long in the city, nor were the citizens permitted to travel, unless the good of the state required it. Such as were not bred up in their youth, according to the law, were not allowed the liberty of the city.

Under the fourth table may be included the laws relating to 4. Laws marriage. Celibacy in men was infamous, and punished in a concernmost extraordinary manner. The old batchelor was constrain- ing married to walk naked in the depth of winter through the market- place, and to sing a song in disparagement of himself; and never had any of the honours paid him which otherwise belonged to old age. If a man did not marry at the time of life fixed for marriage, he was liable to an action, as were such also as married above or below themselves. Virgins were married without portions. Husbands went for a long time secretly and by stealth to the beds of their wives. They were also allowed to lend their wives; but the kings were forbid to take this liberty. Some other institutions of *Lycurgus* on this head were far from being justifiable, for as they were evidently against modesty, the *Spartan* women were generally decried for their boldness and want of decency.

His laws relating to eating may make the fifth table. That 5. Laws he might entirely suppress all the luxury of magnificent and expensive tables, he ordained, that all the citizens should eat together, of the same common victuals which the law prescribed, and

and expressly forbade all private eating at their own houses. Youths were allowed to eat flesh, but older men only their pulse and black broth, which last was composed of salt, vinegar, blood, &c. Children of all ranks were brought up in the same way, and none was more favoured in food than another. Nurses were directed to accustom their infants to spare meals, and now and then to fasting. The children, when twelve or thirteen years of age, were carried to persons who examined their education, and tried whether they were able to be in the dark alone, and had got over all other weaknesses and follies incident to children. The lads slept together in chambers, upon beds made of mattrasses of reeds. The *Spartans* were equally moderate in their drinking as in their eating: thirst was the sole measure thereof, and never any of them thought of drinking for pleasure. Drunkenness was not only infamous, but severely punished. To expose the beastliness of this vice, they sometimes, as lessons to their youth, compelled their slaves to drink to excess, and then exposed them to their children.

6. Laws
relating
to their
apparel.

The laws relating to their habit fell under the sixth table. The rich could wear nothing better than the poor, and they neither changed the fashion nor the materials of their garments, which were made for conveniency, and not for gallantry and shew. The young lads wore a tunick till they were 12 years old, when they had a cloak given them, which was to serve them a year, and their cloathing was in general so thin, that a *Lacedæmonian* vest became proverbial. Boys were always used to go without shoes, and were inured to climb up and slip down steep places with bare feet. They were not permitted to wear their hair, but when they grew up they did not cut it. In the camp their sumptuary laws did not take place so strictly as in the city; for when they went to war they wore purple habits, and when they were about to engage an enemy, they put on crowns. Young women wore their vests or jerkins, only to their knees, or according to some, not quite so low, a custom censured both by *Greek* and *Roman* authors, as indecent. Only common women were allowed to wear gold, precious stones, and other costly ornaments, on which account women of virtue, or who affected to be thought virtuous, carefully abstained from them. Virgins went abroad without veils, with which married women, on the contrary, were always covered. In certain public exercises, the boys and girls were obliged to perform naked. Various reasons have been given for this institution; some learned men suppose, that by it *Lycurgus* intended to prevent the *Spartan* youth from taking that vile and unnatural bias, so dishonourable to human nature. The author of the travels of *Cyrus* observes, that *Lycurgus* wanted to make the *Spartan* women heroines, that they might bring the republic none but heroes; and that he thought it possible to deaden the fire of voluptuous desires, by accustoming the eye sometimes to those objects which excite them.

Under

Under the seventh table we shall include the rules regarding 7. Laws discipline and manners. The *Spartans* were as strictly bound regarding by their laws in civil life, as soldiers in other states were bound discipline by the rules of war in the camp. In *Sparta* the first and great and man- thing required was obedience to their superiors, which they ners. looked upon as the very basis of government. Old age among them was an undoubted title to honour: the youth rose up to old men, whenever they came into any public place; they gave way to them when they met them in the streets, and were silent whenever their elders spoke. The children being all considered as the children of the state, all old men had the authority of parents, and reprehended whatever they saw amiss in any children. If an old man was present where a youth committed a fault, and did not reprove him for it, the laws ordained that he should be punished equally with the delinquent. The youths had monitors appointed from among themselves, who had authority to punish those who did amiss. Silence and modesty were held to be becoming virtues in young people. Those who were untractable, and would not listen to instruction, none would converse with; but they were thrown off as rotten branches, and useless members of society.

The study and learning of the *Spartans* may compose the 3. Laws eighth table. They measured the worth of all things by their regarding usefulness, and therefore if they wrote to be read, and spoke to studies be understood, it was all they sought. As subtle speculations, and learning and the refinements of science, serve often to spoil the understanding and corrupt the heart, they therefore made little account of them. A soldier was the only reputable profession in *Sparta*; a mechanic or husbandman was thought a low fellow; for they imagined that professions which required much labour, some constant posture, the being continually in the house, or always about a fire, weakened the body and depressed the mind. Husbandry, agriculture, and the like necessary occupations, they left to their slaves, the *Helots*; but for curious arts, and such as served only to luxury, they would not suffer them to be introduced into their city. They allowed of no theatrical diversions; but admitted of other kinds of poetry, if the magistrates approved of the pieces.

Above all things they affected brevity of speech, and accustomed their children, from their very infancy, never to express themselves in more words than were strictly necessary; and in writing they used the same conciseness. Grave and serious affairs were generally the subjects of their conversation, but they were strictly prohibited from discoursing on the laws and customs of other states. The greatest part of their education consisted in giving their youth right ideas of men and things. The master proposed questions, and either commended or censured the answers that were made him. All questions of a trivial or absurd nature were avoided, and such points only treated of as were of the highest importance in civil life; such as, who was the

the best man in the city? wherein lay the merit of such an action? and whether this or that hero's fame was well founded?

The music which had been in favour with their ancestors, was greatly encouraged among the freemen, but they prohibited their slaves from learning either the tune or the words of their admired odes.

The boys were allowed, and even ordered to practise, one kind of theft, which was rather nominal than real, as it was authorised by the law, and by the consent of the citizens. They were taught to slip as cunningly and cleverly as they could into the gardens and public halls, in order to steal away herbs or meat; but if they were caught in the fact, they were punished for their want of dexterity. This it must be owned was not a safe or commendable way of teaching them stratagems, and would have been attended with very pernicious effects to the morals of any youth, but the *Spartan*, who were taught to condemn riches and superfluities, and were guarded by balancing virtues and great severity of life and manners.

9. Laws relating to exercises.

Under the ninth table we shall place the exercises instituted by law. Hunting was the usual diversion of their children; nay, it was made a part of their education, because it had a tendency to strengthen their limbs. They had a kind of public dances, which were common alike to virgins and young men. In all their sports, indeed, girls were allowed to divert themselves with the youths, so that at darting, throwing the quoit, pitching the bar, and such like robust diversions, the women were as dexterous as the men. To accustom their youth to patience and constancy, they used to whip them in the temple of *Diana*, and about her altar, in a certain festival, in honour of that goddess, which was a most barbarous and unnatural institution. The youths made it a point of honour to sustain these whippings with the utmost fortitude, and they suffered themselves to be whipped to such a degree, that they sometimes expired under the strokes. *Plutarch* assures us, that he had seen with his own eyes, a great many children lose their lives on those cruel occasions.

10. Laws respecting contracts and money matters.

In the tenth table we shall include their laws respecting contracts and money matters. *Lycurgus* being well apprized of the danger of riches, not only made gold and silver of no value, but even the very possession of them penal. He ordained that no other money should be current than that of iron, which he made so very heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were necessary to carry home a sum of ten minas, or about twenty pounds sterling. The *Spartans* used to traffic by barter, or by the exchange of one commodity for another; and they were forbid by law to take interest, to alienate their lands, or to accept of presents from foreigners, even without the limits of their own country, and when their authority and character might well seem to excuse them.

Under the eleventh table may be included the laws, relating to their courts of justice. It was held indecent and of ill report

port for a man to have any fondness for law-suits, or to be busy- 11. Laws
ing himself at the tribunals, when he had no affairs there of relating to
his own. No one had any right to concern himself in juridical courts of
proceedings, till after he was 30 years of age. Young people justice.
were forbidden to ask any questions about the reasons of the laws
by which themselves were governed; and men of abandoned
characters lost all right of speaking in public assemblies, or of
giving their votes in respect of public affairs.

We shall include their military laws in the twelfth table. 12. Mili-
According to the best authors, a man was not capable of serv- tary laws,
ing in the army till he was 30 years old; but according to others,
the age for entering into the service is not well ascertained.
They were forbidden to march at any time before the full moon,
which institution was probably founded on superstition. They
were likewise forbidden to fight often against the same enemy,
which prudent maxim being slighted by *Agésilas*, in his wars
with the *Thebans*, they in the end turned as expert warriors as
the *Spartans*. *Lycurgus* ordered them not to intermeddle with
maritime affairs; but this law they afterwards were obliged to
dispense with. After the *Peloponnesian* war, indeed, they again
neglected naval affairs, from a persuasion that sailors and stran-
gers corrupted those they conversed with. They were forbidden
to remain long encamped in the same place, to hinder their be-
ing surprised, and that they might be the more troublesome to
their enemies, by wasting every corner of their country. They
slept all night in their armour, but their outguards were not al-
lowed their shields, that having no defence, they might not
dote to sleep. In all expeditions they were careful in the per-
formance of religious rites, and after their evening meal was
over, the soldiers sung together hymns to their gods. In all
their engagements, they were sure either to conquer or die, and
indeed had no other choice; for if they fled, they were infam-
ous, and in danger of being slain even by their own mothers.
It was infamous also to throw away a shield, and mothers when
they embraced their departing sons, were wont to recommend
to them, either to return with their shield, or upon it; for such
as were slain in battle, were nevertheless buried in their own
country. They were ordered not to spoil the dead bodies of
their enemies, but in process of time they scrupled not to in-
fringe this, and many other of their most excellent regulations.
After 40 years service a man was not required to go into the
field, so that if the military age was 30, the *Spartans* were not
held invalids till they were 70.

Lycurgus left few or none of his laws in writing, because he The
would have them written in the hearts of the people, and to *Cryptia*.
impress them the more strongly upon them, he took pains to
make it be believed that they were given to him by *Apollo*.
There is one of the *Spartan* institutions peculiarly barbarous and
inhuman, which *Aristotle*, *Plato*, and several other authors,
charge upon *Lycurgus*, but by *Plutarch* it is placed in a later
period. It was stiled *Cryptia*, or the ambuscade, and was con-
trived

trived for lessening the number of their slaves, whenever they grew dangerous to the state. Some of the stoutest *Spartan* youth, armed with daggers, fell upon the unhappy slaves, or *Helots*, either in the day when they were at their work, or during the night. These *Helots* were originally the inhabitants of *Helos*, a city of *Laconia*, who had made such an obstinate struggle for their liberty, that the *Spartans*, when they conquered them, in resentment made them slaves, and called all other slaves afterwards by their name. According to *Plutarch*, the *Helots* were a kind of cottagers, or hinds, who cultivated the lands of their lords, for which they paid a small rent, which the possessors could not raise higher without incurring public censure. Other authors, however, represent the condition of the *Helots* as much more deplorable, and relate that they were marked out as slaves in their dress, their living, and in short, in every thing. They were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of freemen. Once a day they received a certain number of stripes, for fear they should forget they were slaves; and to crown all, they were liable to this *Cryptia*, which was sure to be executed on all such as spoke, looked, or walked like freemen. By their laws they could not be set at liberty, neither could they be sold, so that the expedient of assassinating them seemed necessary to their masters, for lessening their great numbers*.

A sedition in *Sparta*. It may well be supposed that the mighty changes made in the *Spartan* state by *Lycurgus*, met at first with great opposition, which was indeed the case. When he proceeded to the division of property, a great sedition arose, in which the people at last coming to blows, he found himself obliged to quit the assembly, in order to fly to a sanctuary. Several of the rioters pursued him, and among the rest a young nobleman, named *Alcander*, who, on *Lycurgus's* looking back, struck him on the eye, and, as some say, beat it out. This outrage making the people sensible of their violence, they immediately asked his pardon, and delivered up *Alcander* into his hands, to be treated as he thought fit. *Lycurgus* carried *Alcander* home with him, but instead of punishing him, or even reproving him harshly, he received him as his attendant, and kept him always near his person. This mildness was of great service to them both; for *Alcander* perceiving that *Lycurgus* was of a most sweet and affable temper, became, from his fiercest enemy, his greatest admirer. This wrought mightily on the minds of the people, and engaged them to receive, as oracles, the instructions of *Lycurgus*.

This great law-giver, desiring to render his institutions perpetual, signified to the people, that there was still one point remaining to be performed, the most essential and important of all, about which he would go and consult the oracle at *Delphi*,

* *Arist. Pol. l. 2. Plat. & Plut. in vit. Lycurg. Athen. Deipnos. l. 14. Plut. in vit. Lacedæm.*

and in the mean time he made them all take an oath, that till his return they would inviolably maintain the form of government which he had established. When he arrived at *Delphi*, he proposed this question to the oracle, *Shall the laws established in Sparta make that city virtuous and happy?* The priestess declaring, *That the laws given to Sparta were excellent, and that as long as the city observed them, it would continue in the highest renown;* he sent her answer in writing to *Sparta*, after which, sacrificing a second time to *Apollo*, and taking leave of his friends and of his son, he put an end to his life by voluntary fasting, that the *Lacedæmonians* might never have it in their power to free themselves from the oath which he had taken from them. *Plutarch*, who bestows many encomiums on this last act of *Lycurgus*, tells us, that his bones were carried home to *Sparta*, and buried under a plain tomb, which, as a mark of the divine favour, he says; was afterwards blasted with lightning, an accident peculiar to *Lycurgus*, and *Euripides* the poet. The *Spartans* to do honour to his memory, erected a temple to him, and sacrificed annually thereat. After all, *Plutarch* confesses, that authors are not well agreed how or where this good man died. He left behind him one son, who dying without issue, his race became extinct.

From the death of *Lycurgus*, the *Lacedæmonian* history is for a long time very perplexed and obscure, we shall relate what is to be found concerning them in the scattered passages of ancient authors. *Charilaus* made war on the *Argives*, but with little success. He afterwards attacked the *Tegeatæ*, a people of *Arcadia*; but his army was routed and himself taken prisoner, and to purchase his freedom, he was constrained to take a solemn oath, that he would never make war on the *Arcadians* any more; which oath, however, he kept very indifferently. He afterwards recovered several frontier places out of the hands of the *Achæans*. He retained always a great respect for his tutor, *Lycurgus*, as appears from several of his sayings, which have been preserved by *Plutarch*. To those who one day asked him, what kind of polity he held to be most complete, he answered, *That wherein most of the citizens contend in virtue, without disturbing each other.* His colleague of the other regal branch, during some part of his reign, was *Teleclus*, a prince of indifferent parts and fortune. In his youth, being told by some that his father had spoken slightly of him, he answered, *That he was sorry for it, because if he had not deserved it, his father would not have done so.*

Upon his death, a war broke out betwixt the *Spartans* and *Messenians*, the occasion of which is differently related by the two nations. The *Spartans* say, that the *Messenians* attempted to violate some *Spartan* virgins, who were worshiping in a temple of *Diana*, on the frontiers, which was resorted to by both nations, and that *Teleclus* endeavouring to prevent the outrage, was slain. The *Messenians* relate, that *Teleclus* came thither with several of his friends in female habits, intending to surprise some principal persons of their nation, and that he was slain in a fray that ensued. The *Spartans* besides envied the

senians, thinking that *Cresphontes* had cheated his two nephews; *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, and assigned them the most barren territories.

An injury done to a private person at length kindled up the war. A *Messenian* intrusted some cows to a *Spartan*, on condition that he should have a part of the profit arising from the milk; but the *Spartan* basely sold the cows and their keepers, and pretended to the *Messenian*, that certain robbers had taken them away by force. While he was in the midst of his tale, two herdsmen that had escaped, appeared and falsified all he had said. He then confessed the truth, and having persuaded the *Messenian* to send his son to receive one half of the money, he perfidiously murdered the lad. The *Messenian* having in vain applied at *Sparta* for redress, resolved to take vengeance on the whole nation, and killed as many of the *Lacedæmonians* as he could meet with.

The reigns of *Nicander* and *Alcamenes*.

This last transaction did not happen till some time after *Teleclus* had been dead, before whose death *Nicander* succeeded his father *Charilaus*, and reigned 39 years. All that is recorded concerning him is, that he carried on the war successfully with the *Argives*, and that in the 34th year of his reign, the first olympiad was celebrated. *Teleclus* had for his successor his son *Alcamenes*, who, before the death of *Nicander*, sent to the *Messenians* to demand justice against their countryman who had killed so many *Spartans*. The demand occasioned a dispute betwixt the two *Messenian* princes, who were brothers, and blows ensuing, one of them, who was for breaking with the *Spartans*, was slain. The other immediately sent an embassy to *Sparta*, proposing to refer the dispute to the decision of the *Argives*, or the council of *Amphictyons*, or the court of *Arcopagus*. Before the *Spartans*, however, would deign to return an answer, the *Messenian* prince died; and was succeeded by his son *Euphaes*, in whose reign the *Lacedæmonians*, after having made great preparations for war, attacked the *Messenians* without any previous declaration of hostilities. Their troops levied for the war took a solemn oath, never to return home, till they had entirely conquered *Messenia*, which shews that this was a war of ambition rather than justice.

The beginning of the *Messenian* war.

The *Spartans*, under their king *Alcamenes*, entered the *Messenian* territory suddenly and by night; in consequence of which they easily surprized the city of *Amphæa*, and massacred the whole inhabitants, not even sparing those who took sanctuary in the temples. *Euphaes* immediately assembling the *Messenians*, exhorted them to keep up their spirits, and explained to them what would be the most proper manner of carrying on the war. As the *Spartans* were bred up to war as to a trade, he shewed that it would be improper to hazard pitched battles with them, till they acquired experience to be able to face them upon equal terms. Thus by prudently carrying on a defensive war, the *Spartans*, after continuing near four years in the *Messenian* territories, without gaining any advantages of consequence, were obliged

obliged to return home; where, on account of the oath they had formerly taken, they met with a very indifferent reception. A short time after this, both the *Spartan* kings died. Ancient authors make scarce any mention of *Nicander*. With respect to *Alcamenes*, it appears from some of his sayings recorded by *Plutarch*, that he was a wise and gentle prince.

The two following princes who next reigned in *Sparta*, were *The Polydorus*, the son of *Alcamenes*, and *Theopompus*, the son of reigns of *Nicander*. The *Spartans*, under these princes, again invaded *Polydorus Messenia*, with a full intention to conquer that kingdom. The and *Theo-* *Messenians* now ventured to face their enemies, and in a pitched *pompus*. battle, fought with such bravery, that the victory was left un- *The Spar-* decided, and next day the *Spartans* agreed to a truce. Despair- *tans* de- ing of making a conquest of *Messenia*, they again returned feated by home, and resolved to carry on the war for the future only by the *Mes-* harrassing the enemy and plundering their country. They ac- *senians*. cordingly made frequent incursions into the *Messenian* territories, which obliged the *Messenians* to keep garrisons in their frontier places, and an army in the field, so that they had not leisure to mind their country affairs. An epidemical distemper at the same time raging in *Messenia*, they resolved to abandon their small towns on their frontiers, the inhabitants of which retired to a city on the top of the mountain *Ithome*, which was strongly fortified.

The *Spartans* about the same time engaged in a war with the *The Ar-* *Argives*, about the frontier city, *Thyrea*. To avoid a great ef- *give* or fusion of blood, it was by both parties agreed, that 300 of each *Thyrean* nation should decide the quarrel by an engagement. These 600 war- men fought with such obstinate resolution, that when night came on, there were but two *Argives* and one *Spartan* left alive. The *Argives* ran home to their city, to carry the news of the victory, but the *Spartan* remained on the field and erected a trophy. Both parties from thence claiming the victory, the war was again renewed, and a general battle being fought, the *Argives* were defeated with great slaughter. Some would have persuaded the *Spartan* king to have pursued his victory, and to have attacked *Argos*; but he generously answered, that the *Spartans* sent him to assert their right, but not to rob others*.

The *Messenians*, in the mean time, being desirous of freeing The mea- themselves from the grievous war with *Sparta*, sent a person to sures ta- consult the oracle of *Delphi*. The priestess answered, that un- ken by less a virgin of the house of the *Epytidæ*, that is, of the royal the *Mes-* family, were sacrificed to the gods, the war would end in the *senians*. ruin of their nation. This oracle, when reported, struck the *Messenians*, and especially the royal family, with great consternation. Lots, however, were cast, and the daughter of *Lysiscus* was taken, but he found means to carry her off, and fled with her to *Sparta*. Upon this, *Aristodemus*, another of the

* Suidas in voce Οἰζυζδης. Pausan. in Lacon. Plut. in Apogthem.

royal house, freely offering his daughter, a young man alledged that he was contracted to her, and that therefore her father had no right over her; which plea being over-ruled, the young man then alledged, that he had consummated his marriage, and that she was actually with child by him. *Aristodemus*, conceiving this to be a dishonour to his family, instantly slew his daughter with his own hand, and opening her womb, justified her innocence. The soothsayer insisted that another should be sacrificed, but all the family of the *Epytidæ* joined with the king, who persuaded the people that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of *Aristodemus's* daughter.

The *Spartans* again invade *Messenia*.

Six years after the flight of *Lyfiscus*, and eight from the fortifying of *Ithome*, the *Lacedæmonians* entered again with a great army. The *Messenians* concluding that the oracle was fulfilled, and hoping that the war would now have a happy issue, eagerly ventured an engagement, in which again the victory was left undecided. The *Messenians* lost one of their best captains, and their king, *Euphaes*, being mortally wounded in the action, died a few days after at *Ithome*, after a reign of 13 years, which had been one continual scene of war and confusion. *Euphaes* leaving no issue behind him, *Aristodemus* was elected by the people, although the soothsayers urged that he was incapable, on account of his having slain his daughter. This new monarch prevailed on the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, to declare for the *Messenians*, almost all the *Peloponnesian* states beginning to be apprehensive of the mighty power of the *Spartans*. He also laboured to unite the minds of his countrymen, and with that view raised those who had been his competitors to the chief dignities in the kingdom, conferred honours on men of birth and fortune, and distributed money amongst the people.

The *Ephors* created at *Sparta*.

About this time a great change was made in the *Spartan* republic, which is ascribed to *Theopompus*. He seeing the necessity of leaving magistrates to execute the laws, when the kings were absent in the field, appointed the *Ephori*, who afterwards acquired a great authority in the *Spartan* state. Some with great probability think, they were at first the kings' friends, to whom they delegated authority. They, however, soon grew to have no dependance on the kings; but on the contrary, made the kings dependant on them. They were five in number, and placed as checks on the senate and kings, being chosen by the people out of their own body, sometimes out of the very dregs of it; for whoever was a bold, factious, talking citizen, was most likely to be elected into this office. They were elected annually, and in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the whole college was requisite. Their authority was in a manner absolute; they presided in particular assemblies, collected the suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces that should be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state. They likewise held a court of justice, enquired into the conduct of all magis-

magistrates, inspected into the behaviour and education of youth, had a general jurisdiction over the *Helots*, and in short, drew by degrees the whole administration into their own hands. One of their great privileges was, that they did not rise up at the presence of the kings; another, that the year was denominated from the first of them, as at *Athens* from the first of the archons. The third high mark of their authority was, that if the kings offended against the laws, or were guilty of any excess, the *Ephori* took cognisance thereof and punished them. *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, it must be owned, ascribe the settling of the *Ephori* to *Lycurgus*; but *Aristotle* and *Plutarch* place it later, and with greater probability, for it does not appear to be so consistent with his plan, which seems to have been to support the authority of the kings and nobility: we have therefore chosen to place it under *Theopompus*; for several authors have recorded the complaint of his queen, and his answer to her. She reproached him that he would leave his children the regal authority in a worse condition than he had received it; on the contrary, said he, I shall leave it them in a much better condition, as it will be more permanent and lasting*.

The *Spartans* having thus provided for the administration of *The Spar-* affairs at home, renewed the *Messenian* war, and having pre-*tans* vailed with the *Corinthians* to send them some assistance, they *much a-* marched towards *Ithome*. *Aristodemus* having received succours *gainst* from the *Argives* and *Sicyonians*, boldly ventured an engagement, *Ithome*. in which the *Spartans*, after a long and bloody contest, were *The Spar-* defeated. The war still continuing, both parties sent to consult *tans again* the oracle at *Delphi* on its event. The answer to the *Lacedæ-* *menians* was to this purpose, *By fraud, that is, of Cresphontes,* *Messenia was obtained, and by fraud it must be subdued.* The *Messenians* received so perplexed and obscure an answer, that nobody even ventured to offer an explication of it. The *Spartans*, in pursuance of the answer returned to them, tried the following stratagem: they pretended to condemn 100 men for treason, secretly instructing them to fly to *Ithome* as suppliants: *Aristodemus*, however, penetrating the fraud, obliged the pretended deserters to return home.

Soon after, the *Messenians* at *Ithome* being extremely alarmed by ill omens, again had recourse to the oracle at *Delphi*, and were told, that whoever first dedicated 100 tripods in the temple of *Jupiter*, should remain masters of the place. The *Messenians* for the greater dispatch, began to make the tripods of wood; but the *Spartans* hearing of the oracle, one of them, named *Oebalus*, made 100 little tripods of clay, and disguising himself like a fowler, got into *Ithome*, and after placing them in the temple of *Jupiter*, escaped. The *Messenians* at this were again struck with despair, especially when they found their city invested by a great army from *Sparta*. *Aristodemus* finding all

* *Arist. Polit.* l. 5. *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.* *Val. Max.* l. 4.

things unprosperous, laid violent hands on himself. On his death the *Messenians* did not elect any other king; but chose a general, named *Damis*, who did his utmost to defend the place, but without success. According to *Polyænus*, the *Spartans* made themselves masters of *Ithome*, by the following stratagem. *Theopompus* pretending to desert his colleague, removed from the camp and pitched behind the city. The *Messenians* greedily laid hold of this opportunity of falling on *Polydorus*; but while they were engaged with him, *Theopompus* and his forces attacked the city and took it by storm. The *Spartans* razed *Ithome*, and treated the *Messenians* with great rigour. Those who remained in their own country were tied to these conditions: first, that they should diligently cultivate their lands, and deliver half their fruits to the *Spartans*; and secondly, when any of the nobles of *Sparta*, or either of the kings died, they and their wives were to attend at the funeral procession in their weeds, on pain of suffering the highest penalties. Besides, the *Spartans* gave away a part of their territories to the *Asinei*, and another part to the descendants of *Androcles*. Such at this time was the end of the famous *Messenian* war.

The *Spartans*, not long after the conclusion of the war, lost both their kings. During their reigns it is probable there were great dissensions in *Sparta*; for besides establishing the *Ephori*, they had recourse to the contrivance of substituting a new clause in the *Rhetra*, or laws of *Lycurgus*, to restrain the power of the people. *Theopompus* was a wise and gentle prince, and died in peace, a natural death, after a long and glorious reign. *Polydorus* was also a prince of the most amiable qualities, and was greatly beloved by his people; but was nevertheless killed by one *Polemarchus*; for what reason is unknown. The *Lacedæmonians* honoured his memory with a statue, and which surpassed the usual measure of their favours, ordered his effigies to be engraven on the seal which their public magistrates were to make use of for the future; a noble instance of their gratitude, and his virtues*.

Eurycrates *Theopompus* was succeeded by his grandson, *Zeuxidamus*, and *Polydorus* by his son *Eurycrates*. No foreign war happened in their time; but at home a conspiracy was discovered, which succeed to might have proved very prejudicial to the state. The *Spartans*, when engaged in the *Messenian* war, being ten years absent from the city, their wives put them in mind, that while they were intent upon subduing their enemies, their own city was falling to decay. They upon this sent back the youths that had but lately come to the camp, and were not bound by oath to stay in *Messenia* till it was conquered, desiring them to associate themselves promiscuously with the unmarried women.

The *Partheniæ* Such as were born of these young women were stiled *Partheniæ*, that is, sons of virgins; but when the *Lacedæmonians* plot against the state.

* Pausan. in Lacon. Herod. l. 7. Plut. Apoph.

returned victors, the youths finding themselves neglected; and having no parents to apply to, nor inheritance to expect, they entered into a conspiracy with the *Helots*, to fall upon the citizens at a general assembly. Their plot, however, being discovered by one of the *Helots*, the *Lacedæmonians* took measures to frustrate their design; but instead of punishing them, permitted them to sail under their chief, *Phalantus*, to *Italy*, where they settled themselves in *Tarentum* *.

No other remarkable thing is recorded of the *Spartans* during the reigns of these princes.

The two following kings were *Anaxander*, the son of *Eurycrates* and *Anaxidamus*, the son of *Xeuxidamus*, in whose reign the second *Messenian* war broke out. The revolt was promoted by *Aristomenes*, descended of the royal blood, who was intrepid and enterprising, and a man of strong judgment, strict honour, and enthusiastically fond of liberty. Perceiving that the *Argives* and *Arcadians* were friends only by force to the *Spartans*, he easily prevailed with them to declare for him, upon which he engaged his countrymen unanimously to take up arms, 39 years after the taking of *Ithome*, as *Pausanias* relates. About a year after the revolt, an obstinate engagement happened between the *Spartans* and *Messenians*, in which *Aristomenes* behaved so well, that he brought victory to his side. His countrymen unanimously saluted him king, but he modestly declined that dignity, and accepted only of the title of general. To intimidate the *Spartans*, and to inspire his own troops with courage, both being equally slaves to superstition, he disguised himself and went privately to *Sparta*, where, in the night, he hung up a shield in the temple of *Minerva*, with this inscription, *Aristomenes dedicates this out of the spoils of the Spartans, to the goddess*.

The *Lacedæmonians* being advised by the *Delphic* oracle, to seek a general from *Athens*, they accordingly applied to the *Athenians*, who being naturally envious of the *Spartans*, sent them for a general, *Tyrtæus*, a schoolmaster and poet, lame of an Athenian poet, one foot, and who was suspected to be a little out of his wits. This captain, however, notwithstanding his despicable appearance, proved of mighty consequence to the *Spartans*, teaching them how to use good fortune, and how to bear calamities with fortitude. The *Spartans* not long after being defeated with great slaughter by *Aristomenes*, were greatly dispirited, and began to despair of a successful issue of the war. Their *Athenian* general on this occasion convinced them that he was capable of fulfilling the promises of the oracle. He shewed them the folly of diffidence, directed them by his councils, roused them by his poems to the practice of those virtues which had distinguished their ancestors, and recruited their broken armies with chosen men from among the *Helots*.

* Strab. Geog. 1. 6. Justin. 1. 3.

Pharæ
taken
from the
Spartans.

Aristomenes, on the other hand, acted with no less prudence and vigour, and boldly entering the territories of *Sparta*, took and plundered a considerable town, called *Pharæ*, putting all who made any resistance to the sword, and carrying off an immense booty. The *Spartans* pursued the invaders, but were repulsed with great loss. *Aristomenes* in this encounter had a spear run through his thigh, and was carried off the field. After he was cured of his wound, he made an unsuccessful attempt to carry the war even to the gates of *Sparta*, and afterwards made an incursion with a small party, in hopes of seizing some *Spartan* women, who were celebrating some religious rites, near a village called *Egila*. Those zealous matrons, however, fell upon him and his soldiers with such fury, that they put them to flight, and took him prisoner; but he soon afterwards made his escape and rejoined his forces.

The *Mess-*
senians are
betrayed
by the
king of
Arcadia,
and routed.

In the third year of the war, an engagement happened between the *Spartans* and *Messenians*; in which the latter, being basely deserted by their ally, the king of *Arcadia*, who had been corrupted by the *Spartans*, were totally defeated, *Aristomenes* with a few only escaping. *Aristomenes* now seeing the impossibility of carrying on the war upon equal terms, abandoned all the country of *Messenia* to the enemy, gathering the inhabitants into *Era*, *Pylus*, and *Methone*, which three places he strongly fortified.

Aristome-
nes, by his
bravery,
supports
the cause
of the
Messen-
ians.

The *Spartans* now looking upon *Messenia* as their own, divided the lands among their citizens, and caused them to be carefully cultivated. *Aristomenes*, by frequent incursions, supplying his garrisons plentifully, at the expence of his enemies, the *Spartans*, as the only means to distress him, were constrained to issue a proclamation, forbidding the cultivation, not only of the *Messenian* lands, but those of *Laconia*, in its neighbourhood. This soon brought a great distress upon themselves, and they were again filled with discontent and murmurs. *Tyrtaeus*, however, inspired them with fresh courage, and prevailed with them not only to invest *Era*, but to maintain a flying camp.

He is ta-
ken pri-
soner.

Aristomenes, nevertheless, continued his incursions with 300 chosen men. He was at length surprised by a great body of *Spartans*, and after an obstinate dispute, taken prisoner with 50 of his men, having in the action received so many wounds, that he was senseless when they carried him away. The *Lacedæmonians* expressed the loudest joy upon the sight of this illustrious captive, and when he was recovered of his wounds, they threw him and all his fellow prisoners into a deep cavern, allowing him, however, to put on his armour before he was thrown down. After he had continued three days in this dismal place, surrounded and covered with dead bodies, he at length, when he was almost perishing for want of food, heard a fox gnawing a dead body near him. He immediately seized one of its hind legs with one hand, and with the other defended his face when it attempted to bite him. He followed its steps as well as he could; and at last thrusting its head into a small hole, he let

His won-
derful
escape.

go its leg, and soon found that it forced its way through, and opened a passage for the light. *Aristomenes*, feeble as he was, wrought himself an outlet with his nails, and by travelling by night, at length arrived safe at *Era*, to the inexpressible joy of his countrymen.

When this news was first blazed abroad, the *Spartans* treated it as a fiction; but *Aristomenes* soon convinced them that he was still alive, for falling upon the quarters of the *Corinthians*, who were the only allies of the *Spartans*, he slew a great many of them, pillaged their camp, and did so much mischief, that the *Spartans*, under the pretence of an approaching festival, agreed to a cessation of arms for 40 days. On this occasion, *Aristomenes*, for the second time, celebrated the *Hecatombonia*, or sacrifice, appointed for those who had killed 100 of the enemy with their own hands.

He lived to offer this sacrifice a third time, though he was basely seized during the truce by some *Cretan* archers, in the *Spartan* service, as he was walking without the walls. Two of the *Cretans* immediately ran with the news to *Sparta*, and seven others remained to guard their prize, whom they bound and conducted to a lone cottage, inhabited only by a widow and her daughter. The daughter having dreamed the night before that she saw a lion without claws, bound, and dragged along by wolves, and that she having loosed his bonds, and given him claws, he tore the wolves to pieces, she now interpreted the meaning of her dream. Therefore plying the *Cretans* with drink, she took a poinard from one of them when they were asleep, and cutting the bonds of *Aristomenes*, put it into his hands; he presently put all his guards to death, and carrying her and her mother to *Era*, he gave her in marriage to his son *Gorgus*, then about 18 years of age.

Era, after holding out 11 years, fell into the hands of the *Spartans* in the following manner: the servant of the general, by frequently driving his master's cattle to the river *Neda*, became acquainted with the wife of a *Messenian*, whom he engaged in an amour. Being informed by her, that her house was without the wall, and learning also that her husband was on duty in the garrison, he paid her a visit, which was disturbed by the unexpected return of her husband. The wife having secured her gallant, gave admittance to her husband, who told her, that as *Aristomenes* was confined to his bed by a wound, the soldiers were allowed to retire to their houses, to avoid the bitter inclemency of the season. The *Spartan* no sooner heard this, than he crept softly out of doors, and carried the news to his master, who immediately ordered the army to march, though it rained excessively, and there was no moonlight. The fellow guiding them to the ford, they advanced and seized all the *Messenian* posts; they were, however, afraid to begin the attack before day-break. Though the city was thus surprised, yet the inhabitants, both men and women, defended the place for three days and two nights with a most desperate fury.

Aristomenes march-
es off with
his troops. *Aristomenes* early the fourth morning disposed the women and children with the less able-bodied men, in the center, and drew up the *Messenian* youth in the front and rear, and causing the last barrier to be thrown open, advanced at the head of them against the *Spartans*, in order to force a passage. The *Spartan* general perceiving his intent, ordered his men to open to the right and left and allowed *Aristomenes* to march off, as it were in triumph, to *Arcadia*. The *Arcadians*, though very desirous of succouring the inhabitants of *Era*, had been prevented by their king, *Aristocrates*, who was in the interest of the *Spartans*. They, however, no sooner heard that *Aristomenes* was on their frontiers, than they went in crowds to carry him provisions. *Aristomenes*, in a general assembly of the *Arcadians*, laid before them one of the boldest and best-concerted schemes recorded in history. He said that he had yet 500 undaunted soldiers, and that as most of the *Spartans* were probably employed in pillaging *Era*, he was determined to march and surprise *Sparta*. *Aristocrates*, by various pretences, retarded the execution of this project, and in the mean time gave intelligence of it to the *Spartans*. The *Arcadians* at length suspecting him, waited for, and surprised his messengers as they came back, and thereby discovering his treacherous correspondence, immediately stoned him to death, erecting afterwards a monument over him, with an inscription to perpetuate his infamy. The *Messenians* passed over into *Sicily*, under the command of *Gorgus* and *Manticlus*, and founded the city of *Messene*, afterwards one of the most famous in that island. *Aristomenes*, however, remained in *Greece*, where he married all his daughters, except the youngest, to persons of great rank. A prince of *Rhodes* being directed by the oracle at *Delphi*, to marry the daughter of the most worthy of the *Greeks*, demanded the virgin daughter of *Aristomenes*, who consenting to the alliance, accompanied his son-in-law to *Rhodes*, where he formed a scheme of uniting the *Lydians* and *Medes* against the *Spartans*; but before he could put it in execution, he was surprised by death*.

Aristomenes dies.

Messenia divided by the *Spartans*.

The *Spartans*, now masters of *Messenia*, treated those inhabitants that remained with such severity, that it became proverbial. They made them all slaves, and except the district of *Methone*, which they gave to the *Argives*, they divided the whole country among their own citizens, which rendered them much more formidable than hitherto they had been.

The two following kings of *Sparta* were *Eurycrates*, the son of *Anaxander*, and *Archidamus*, the son of *Anaxidamus*, of whom nothing is recorded by historians, but that they reigned in peace and quietness.

The reigns of *Leo* and *Aristo*.

Eurycrates was succeeded by his son *Leo*, and *Archidamus* by his son *Aristo*. *Leo*, from some of his sayings, appears to have

* Pausan. in Messen. Polyb. l. 4.

teen a man of great capacity, and very solicitous for the strict execution of justice. Being asked, *Under what government a man might live safest?* He immediately answered, *Where the inhabitants are neither wealthy nor poor; where integrity is sure to meet with many friends, and fraud with none.* At the Olympic games when every body commended the victors, *How much better,* said he, *would it have been, if these men had laid out the pains they have taken to be swift, in learning to be honest.* *Aristo*, his colleague, having no issue by two wives, married a third, who was the wife of his friend *Agetus*, and the most beautiful woman in *Sparta*. He obtained her by the following stratagem: finding his friend one day in a gay humour, he swore to give him whatever precious thing he chose belonging to himself, and drew from him a like oath, in consequence of which he demanded his wife. *Agetus* protested that he did not intend his wife to be included in the promise, but the king insisting, he submitted. About seven months after she bore a son, whom, nevertheless, he owned as his, and called him *Demaratus**. The *Lacedæmonians*, during the reigns of *Leo* and *Aristo*, were engaged in a war with the *Tegeatæ*, wherein, according to the account of *Pausanias*, they were successful.

Anaxandrides succeeded his father *Leo*, during the life-time of *Anaxandrides* succeeds *Leo*. his colleague *Aristo*. He is reported to have had two wives at once, which was a singular thing in *Sparta*. He married his second wife at the desire of the *Ephori*, because his first wife was childless; however, he refused to divorce his first wife. Not long after his marriage with his second wife, she bore him *Cleomenes*. His first wife then also conceived, and brought him a son, who was called *Doricus*, and afterwards bore two others, namely, *Leonidas* and *Cleombrotus*. Both *Aristo* and *Anaxandrides* were princes of great worth, and were mightily beloved by the people.

They were succeeded by their sons, *Demaratus* and *Cleomenes*, *Demaratus* and *Cleomenes*. which last was promoted to the throne, merely from the regard which the *Lacedæmonians* had for birth-right; for he was known to be at certain times out of his senses, and when he had them, he was cunning, ambitious, and deceitful out of measure. His brother *Doricus*, who was remarkable for his prudence, and the gentleness of his temper, was so much disgusted at his brother's being preferred before him, that he demanded leave to lead out a colony. *Cleomenes* in the very beginning of his reign, engaged in a war with the *Argives*, whom he beat, and having driven a considerable body of them into a wood, he caused the wood to be set on fire. By all his actions he appears to have been a man of a fierce untractable temper, a great lover of war, in which he sought only victory, without minding whether his means were just or not.

* Pausan. in Lacon. Herod. l. 6. Plut. Apoph. Lacon.

He was a great friend to *Clisthenes*, the *Athenian*, and his party, and at his request he drove the *Pisistratidæ* out of *Athens*. Afterwards he joined with *Isagoras*, whom the *Athenians* had banished, and made several attempts to confer on him the sovereignty of that city. *Cleomenes* by his haughty behaviour, and his wasting the territory of *Eleusina*, so disgusted the *Lacedæmonians*, that they renounced their alliance with the *Spartans*.

Demaratus deposed.

His wild proceedings were opposed by his colleague, *Demaratus*, who was a very worthy and excellent person, and accused him to the *Ephori*, as a disturber of the peace of *Greece*. This accusation, however, turned to the disadvantage of *Demaratus*; for *Cleomenes* returning from *Ægina*, whither he had gone to seize some principal persons, under pretence that they were in the *Persian* interest, he found means, not only to get himself acquitted, but also his colleague deposed, alledging that he was not of the royal race, but the son of *Agetus*. By corrupting the oracle at *Delphi* he carried his point, and *Demaratus* being set aside, *Leotychides*, his cousin, was raised to the regal dignity. *Demaratus*, instead of quitting his country, continued to serve the state, to the utmost of his power, by executing inferior magistracies. The insults of his successor, however, at length vanquishing his patience, he entreated his mother to satisfy him as to his birth, and she assuring him that he was really the king's son, he left *Sparta* and retired to the court of *Darius*, who received him with the utmost civility, assigned him large revenues, and treated him in every respect like a prince. In his exile he behaved in a manner suitable to his dignity, and shewed no rancour against his country. On the contrary, when he found that the *Persian* was determined to make war on *Greece*, he sent the first advice thereof, cut in tables, which he afterwards covered with wax. Such was his merit, that none of the *Persians* envied the honours and revenues which he acquired in their country, where his posterity flourished many ages after.

He retires to Persia.
Bef. Chr. 485.

Leotychides succeeds Demaratus.

Leotychides being raised to the kingdom, by the craft of *Cleomenes*, suffered himself to be governed by him in every thing, and went with him to *Ægina*, from whence they brought away some of the inhabitants prisoners, and left them with the *Athenians*, their mortal enemies. *Cleomenes* soon after was solicited by *Aristagoras*, tyrant of *Miletus*, to assist the *Ionian* cities against the *Persian* king. Having patiently heard the proposals of *Aristagoras*, both as to the method of the war, and the private advantages that might accrue to himself, he absolutely refused to hearken to his proposals. In this he acted with great penetration as well as integrity; for the same prince prevailing with the *Athenians*, thereby kindled that war which had well nigh brought on the total destruction of *Greece*. He resisted also the solicitations of the tyrant of *Samos*, and as he tempted him with money, he even complained of him to the *Ephori*.

The *Spartans* afterwards seeming inclined to examine strictly into the affair of *Demaratus*, *Cleomenes* thought proper to fly first

first into *Thessaly*, and then into *Arcadia*, where he attempted to *Cleomenes* engage a body of men into his service. The *Ephori*, apprehen- flies to sive that he might raise some disturbances, recalled him and *Thessaly*, restored him to his dignity. Soon after his return he fell mad, but is re- and thrust his sceptre in the faces of those he met in the streets; stored to upon which they were constrained to confine him, and to put his digni- him in fetters of wood. Having in this condition, partly by ty. fair means, and partly by threats, obtained a sword from a *Helot*, who was his keeper, he began at the calf of his leg, and ripping himself up till he cut out his bowels, he fell down dead. His death: His madness by some is attributed to his drinking immoderately with ambassadors from *Scythia*. He left behind him a daughter, named *Gorgo*, one of the most celebrated women of her time.

Upon his death the *Æginates* made complaints to the *Spartans*, against *Leotychides*, for carrying off the principal men of their island, and putting them into the hands of the *Athenians*. The *Spartans* disclaimed the whole of this transaction, and having no respect for *Leotychides*, offered to deliver him into the hands of the *Æginates*; but all the satisfaction the deputies from *Ægina* required was, that he should go with them to *Athens*, and use his utmost endeavours to procure the freedom of their hostages. This he readily agreed to, but the *Athenians* not complying with his solicitations, he returned to *Sparta*, where he still retained the regal dignity, without being beloved by the people.

His colleague, after the death of *Cleomenes*, was *Leonidas*, half *Leonidas* brother of the deceased king, and son of *Anaxandrides*. He succeeds married *Gorgo*, the daughter of *Cleomenes*. He was distinguish- *Cleomenes*. ed for his great moderation and intrepidity. The designs of the *The Spar-* *Persians* against *Greece*, being discovered by the intelligence sent *tans re-* by *Demaratus* to *Gorgo*, the wife of *Leonidas*, the *Spartans* re- solve to solved to oppose them, and a general assembly being afterwards oppose the held at the *Isthmus*, the following resolutions were taken: *That Persians.* *the states of Greece should unanimously join in defending its liberty against the Persians; that for the present all their quarrels amongst themselves should be suspended; that the tenth of the spoil should be dedicated to Apollo; and that of those who deserted the common cause, every tenth man should be put to death without mercy.* Of all the confederates, however, only the *Spartans* and *Athenians* kept up to these generous resolutions.

The *Thessalians*, who lay most exposed to the invaders, upon the approach of *Xerxes*, pressing the *Greeks* to hasten their suc- cours, 10,000 men were sent to *Thessaly*, under the command of *Evenetus*, a *Spartan*, and *Themistocles*, an *Athenian*. It being afterwards judged improper to attempt to make a stand in that plain country, those troops therefore returned, and gave up *Thessaly* to the invaders.

In the next general council, it being resolved to defend the pass of *Thermopylæ*, 6000 men were appointed for that service, and the command of them given to *Leonidas*. Of these only 300 were *Spartans*, according to the direction of the king, and when some principal persons demanded of him, whether he had not

not a secret design in his head, he answered, *I pretend to defend the straits of Thermopylæ; but in truth I go to die for my country*; he having resolved to sacrifice himself for its safety, as an oracle had declared, that either *Lacedæmon* or its king must necessarily perish. His wife, when he took his leave of her, asking him if he had nothing to say to her, *Marry*, said he, *some brave man, and bring him brave children*.

Leonidas
defends
the straits
of *Ther-*
mopylæ
with great
bravery.

He proceeded with his chosen band of 300 to *Thermopylæ* where, for a considerable time, he repulsed the *Persians* with great slaughter. Being informed, however, that they had been conducted by a private road over the mountain, and would soon attack him in the rear, he sent away all his allies, and besides the 300 *Spartans*, retained only 700 *Thespians* and 400 *Thebans*. The *Thebans* were retained contrary to their inclination, but all the others willingly devoted themselves to death. *Leonidas* looking on his *Spartans*, and observing some striplings, who had scarce attained the age of men, he pitied their hard fate, and calling them to him one after another, he pretended to send by each of them billets to the *Ephori*. He would also have done the same thing in favour of some persons of extraordinary merit, but they penetrating his design, refused to obey him; one of them answering, *Sir, I came to serve you as a soldier, not as a courier*; another, *Let us fight first, Sir, and then I will carry your account of the battle*. Having passed the straits, he re-

His death.

newed the engagement, in which he and all his *Spartans* were slain, together with the *Thespians*; but the *Thebans* holding up their targets, cried out for quarter, which was given only to a few, and they were stigmatized. One *Spartan*, indeed, escaped and returned to *Sparta*, where he was looked upon as infamous, and surnamed *the fugitive*; but he afterwards redeemed his credit, by devoting himself to death at the battle of *Platæa*, when it was unanimously agreed, that he had merited the prize of valour.

Xerxes, who lost in the action at *Thermopylæ* two of his brothers, and 20,000 of his best troops, was exasperated greatly against *Leonidas*, and caused his body to be nailed to a cross; a barbarity which reflected great dishonour upon himself. Being now convinced that the *Greeks* would not be terrified into submission by the number of his forces, he sent for *Demaratus*, who attended him in the expedition, and adjured him by the kindness he had shewn him, to give his sentiments sincerely, as to the best method for carrying on the war. *Demaratus* advised him to seize the island of *Cythera*, which lay over against *Laconia*, from whence he could have greatly incommoded the *Lacedæmonians*, who would have been obliged to abandon the *Athenians*: but *Achæmenes*, the king's brother, being of a different opinion, *Xerxes* preferred his council, and thereby failed in his design.

Xerxes a-
bandons
Greece.

The *Persian* fleet being soon after defeated at *Salamis*, *Xerxes*, with the utmost dispatch, abandoned *Greece* and returned to *Asia*, leaving behind him, however, 300,000 chosen men, under the command of *Mardonius*. After the flight of *Xerxes*,
the

the *Lacedæmonians* gave the command of their fleet to *Leotychides*, the king, who in conjunction with *Xanthippus* and the *Athenians*, the following year, defeated the *Persians* at *Mycale*, on the coast of *Asia*.

On the death of *Leonidas*, his young son, *Plistarchus*, was *Plistarchus* declared king, and his cousin *Pausanias* appointed guardian, *chus* during the minority, in right of which he was the first magis- *ceeds* trate in *Sparta*, as *Leotychides* was absent with the fleet. On *Leonidas*, the same day that *Leotychides* gained the victory at *Mycale*, *Pausanias* and *Aristides*, at the head of the confederate army, entirely defeated *Mardonius* at *Plataea*, with such slaughter, that scarce 3000 out of 300,000 *Persians* escaped, exclusive of 40,000 The *Per-* who had retired towards *Thrace* with *Artabazus*. The loss of *sians* de- the *Greeks* in this battle is variously related. According to *He-* feated at *redotus*, only 91 *Spartans* were slain, 16 *Tegetæans*, and 52 *Athe-* *Plataea*. *nians*. *Plutarch* makes their slain 1360; but *Diodorus Siculus* says they amounted to near 10,000. After the battle, *Pausanias* was advised by *Lampon*, of *Ægina*, to cause the body of *Mardonius* to be hung upon a cross, as a retaliation of the indignity offered by *Xerxes* to the body of *Leonidas*. He disdained, however, to hearken to this proposal, and reproved *Lampon* severely for presuming to give him such an advice.

Pausanias received the tenth of all spoils, among which was the tent and magnificent equipage belonging to *Xerxes*, which he had left to *Mardonius*, with the mighty magazines of luxury belonging thereto. Having viewed those spoils, he ordered the *Persian* cooks and bakers to prepare him such a supper as they were wont to do for that general, which when they had done, he ordered some of his own servants to dress a *Spartan* meal. He then sent for some of the principal officers among the *Greeks*, and pointing to both the suppers, he said with a smile, O *Gree-* cians, see the folly of the king of the *Medes*, who living in this sumptuous manner at home, came hither to pillage us who fare so hardly. The decisive victory at *Plataea* having put an end to the war, *Pausanias* resolved to punish those who had betrayed The *The-* the common cause of *Greece*, and with that view marched im- *bans*, of mediately to *Thebes*. The *Thebans* soon after finding that it the *Per-* would be impossible to defend their city, capitulated, and deli- *sian* fac- vered up the chiefs of the *Median* faction, whom *Pausanias* tion, are caused to be put to death at *Corinth*. punished.

Two years after, the command of the *Peloponnesian* fleet was given to *Pausanias*, with strict orders to free all the *Greccian* cities from the *Persian* garrisons. On this design, he and *Aristides*, the *Athenian*, sailed with a great fleet to *Cyprus*, and having driven the *Persians* from that island, they proceeded to *Byzantium*, which they restored to its liberty. *Pausanias*

This seems to have been the last exploit of *Pausanias*; for enters into immediately after, he entered into a traiterous correspondence a treache- with the *Persians*, affecting, by the assistance of the great king, rous cor- to make himself sovereign of *Greece*. To convince the *Persians* respon- of his sincerity, he allowed all those prisoners he had taken at dence *Byzan-* with the *Persians*.

Byzantium to escape. He now adopted the manners of the *Persians*, affected all their state and luxury, and derided the plain customs of his country, of which he had formerly been fond. The allies, highly offended at his conduct, sent privately to accuse him at *Sparta*, and in the mean time deprived him of his command, and even besieged him in *Byzantium*. Escaping however, from thence, he fled to *Heraclea*, and afterwards returned to *Sparta*, where he was seized by the *Ephori*. As the evidence was not sufficient to convict him, they, in all probability, not caring to proceed with rigour against so eminent a person, on bare suspicions, set him at liberty. He, nevertheless, still continued his correspondence with *Artabazus*, and to prevent discovery, it was agreed, that *Artabazus* should put to death all those slaves who brought him *Pausanias's* letters.

His treason discovered.

Pausanias growing impatient, and finding that *Themistocles*, notwithstanding the injuries done him by the *Athenians*, would not enter into his measures, he wrote in peremptory terms to *Artabazus*, and confided his letters to a particular favourite. This man reflecting that none of *Pausanias's* messengers ever returned, opened his letters, and finding that he was to have met with the fate of his predecessors, he carried them to the *Ephori*. Afterwards, flying to a temple, as to a sanctuary, where some *Spartans* had concealed themselves, *Pausanias* came and expostulated with him why he had not carried his letters. Those who were concealed overheard the discourse, and became direct witnesses against the king, who suspecting that the *Ephori* intended again to seize him, fled to the temple of *Minerva*. This gave occasion to one of the most extraordinary proceedings recorded in history; for while the *Lacedæmonians* were consulting how to act, the mother of *Pausanias* came and placed a tile at the door of the temple, and then retired to her own house without speaking a word. The *Spartans* having considered her conduct, immediately blocked up the gate, and thus reduced him to the necessity of starving in the temple. When they were sure he was dead, they opened the gate again and delivered his body to his relations.

His unhappy end.

Leotychides dies.

Leotychides about this time being sent with an army to chastise the *Thessalians*, instead of doing his duty, after he had obtained a victory, began to receive bribes, and was surprised in his tent with money in both hands. Upon his return to *Sparta*, finding that the citizens were in no humour to dispense with his infidelity, he, to avoid their fury, fled to *Tegea*, and died there in exile.

Plistoanax.

Plistarchus, the son of *Leonidas*, dying young, was succeeded by *Plistoanax*, the son of *Pausanias*, the next regal heir of that line, and *Leotychides* had for his successor his grandson *Archidamas*. Both these princes were of a mild and peaceable disposition, and could not be accused of any of the misfortunes that befel the *Spartans* during their reigns. At the end of the 77th olympiad, *Sparta* was almost totally destroyed by a terrible earthquake, five houses only escaping ruin, according to *Plutarch*,

Archidamus, and 20,000 persons, according to *Diodorus*, being killed. A dreadful earthquake, in the midst of this general confusion, gave a remarkable instance of his wisdom and firmness. To preserve the lives of his citizens, who imprudently risked themselves to save *Sparta*, their effects, he caused an alarm to be sounded, as if an enemy had been just at hand, which made them arm themselves and repair into the field. This brought them double safety, for the *Helots* taking advantage of the present calamity, came in arms to *Sparta*, expecting they should find none to withstand them, but were repulsed with loss.

The *Helots* now despairing of being pardoned, determined to persist in their revolt, as the *Spartans* were not only weakened by the late calamity, but were also upon bad terms with several of their neighbours. The revolted began with seizing a port in *Messenia*, from whence they made continual inroads into *Laconia*. The *Spartans* in this distress obtained succours from the *Athenians*, under the command of *Cimon*, the son of *Miltiades*. Their other allies seeing the readiness of the *Athenians*, and considering the great services which all *Greece* had received from *Sparta*, likewise sent their quotas; so that *Archidamus* was enabled to take the field, notwithstanding the *Messenians* had joined the *Helots*, and fortified *Ithome*. This city being besieged by the *Spartans* and their confederates, the *Athenians* behaved with so great gallantry, that the *Spartans*, jealous lest they should eclipse their reputation, dismissed them, telling them their service was no longer necessary. The *Athenians* greatly resented the slight put upon their troops, and from this time began to think more earnestly of reducing the *Spartan* power.

Soon after, the *Phocians* having taken several cities from the *Dorians*, inhabiting mount *Parnassus*, the *Spartans* sent an army to the assistance of the latter, who were originally of their nation. The *Spartan* general soon obliged the *Phocians* to resign their conquests; but the *Athenians*, with the *Argives* and *Thebans*, seizing the *Isthmus* to prevent his return, he retired towards *Tanagra* in *Bœotia*, where he gained a signal victory over the *Athenians*. The year following, the *Lacedæmonians* were defeated near *Tanagra* by the *Athenians*, who were then at war with the *Thebans*. The *Messenian* war still continued, and the *Spartans* despairing of reducing *Ithome*, which they had invested ten years, at length granted the *Messenians* the following terms: that the besieged should depart the *Peloponnese*, never to return on pain of becoming slaves. The *Athenians*, who now professed their animosity to the *Spartans*, settled the *Messenian* exiles at *Naupactus*.

The *Spartans* soon after, at the desire of the *Delphians*, took the possession of the temple of *Delphi* from the *Phocians*, and conferred it on them, for which the *Delphians*, by a decree, conferred on the *Lacedæmonians* a right of first consulting the oracle. The *Athenians*, not long after, restored the temple to the *Phocians*, and from them obtained the same privilege. The island of *Eubœa* revolting from the *Athenians*, and the *Thebans*

Plistonax
banished.

at the same time renouncing their alliance, and defeating their army under *Tolmides*, the *Spartans*, who had declared for the *Thebans*, invaded *Attica*, under their king *Plistonax*, who was attended by his guardian, *Cleondrides*. *Pericles*, by bribing *Cleondrides*, prevailed on him to persuade *Plistonax* to return home; for which the *Spartans* punished the guardian with death, and drove the king into banishment.

Not long after, a truce was made for 30 years, between the *Spartans* and the *Athenians*, which was but ill observed by both. In the 14th year of the truce a great assembly of deputies, from the states of the *Peloponnese* and other parts of *Greece*, was held at *Lacedæmon*, where they unanimously accused the *Athenians* of tyranny, oppression, injustice, and, in fine, of a multitude of other crimes. Some *Athenian* ambassadors, who then happened to be in the city, defended the cause of their country with all their might. The *Spartans*, after hearing both parties, were greatly inclined immediately to declare war against the *Athenians*. *Archidamus*, the king, prudently advised them not to precipitate the rupture, which would be fatal to both parties. One of the *Ephori*, on the other hand, alledging that it was a great happiness for *Sparta*, that other states had taken umbrage at her rival, and that if she was not quickly pulled down, their united efforts would be too weak: at his motion war was immediately decreed. The allies were then desired to prepare their quotas, and ambassadors were sent to *Athens* with offers of peace, which were rejected by the *Athenians* as dishonourable.

The com-
mence-
ment of
the *Pelo-*
*ponn-
sian*
war.
Bef. Ch.
431.

The *Thebans* soon after surprising *Platæa*, both parties immediately took the field. All the *Peloponnesians*, except the *Argives* and the *Achæans*, sided with *Sparta*. Their allies, without the *Peloponnese*, were the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambracots*, *Leucadians*, and *Anastorians*. *Archidamus*, at the head of 60,000 men, advanced towards *Attica*, but being desirous to effect an accommodation, he dispatched a messenger to *Athens*, who was sent back unheard. He then marched into *Attica*, and advanced within two miles of *Athens*, destroying the country, and wasting all things in a terrible manner. The *Athenian* fleet in the mean time infested the coasts of *Laconia*, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon *Methone*. The same year the *Spartans* assigned *Thyreæ* and its district to the *Æginates*, who had been expelled their island by the *Athenians*.

In the following spring, *Archidamus* again invaded *Attica*, where he continued only 40 days, and returned to protect the *Peloponnesians* from the ravages of the *Athenian* fleet. *Archidamus* in the third year besieged *Platæa*, which making an obstinate defence, he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. In the 4th year he entered into *Attica* the third time, and destroyed all the ripe corn. The year following, the *Spartans* made themselves masters of *Platæa*, put all the garrison to death, and razed the city to the ground. About the same time *Archidamus* died in a good old age, and after a very long reign. He was one of the best kings that *Sparta* ever had, and left behind him

him two sons, *Agis* and *Agefilas*, the eldest of whom succeeded him. The following spring *Agis* invaded *Attica*; but the *Athenians* seizing *Pylus*, he hastened back to recover, if possible, that important place. The *Spartans* here were unsuccessful, so that they even solicited a general peace, which the *Athenians* would not consent to. The *Athenians* not long after seizing the island of *Cythera*, filled it with a colony of *Messenians*, who proved the bitterest enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Thyrea* was also taken, and the *Æginates*, who then inhabited it, were massacred.

The *Lacedæmonians* resolved to attack the *Athenian* settlements in *Thrace*, and sent *Brasidas* thither with a considerable force. When he was about to march, the *Ephori* caused proclamation to be made, that those *Helots* who would enter as volunteers, should be made free. Two thousand of them offering themselves, they were accordingly declared freemen; but soon after they disappeared, and were never more heard of, having been barbarously massacred. Seven hundred other *Helots*, with 1000 *Peloponnesians*, went with *Brasidas*, who being favoured by the *Thracians*, soon made himself master of several places, particularly of *Amphipolis*, notwithstanding the efforts of *Thucydides*, the historian, who commanded in those parts for the *Athenians*, but was ill supplied. These conquests of the *Spartans* brought down the haughtiness of the *Athenians*, and made them consent to a truce for one year. The truce was hardly ended, when *Brasidas* surprised the *Athenian* forces, under *Cleon*, and totally routed them; but the victory was dear to the *Spartans*, for *Brasidas* was mortally wounded. He was equally distinguished for his bravery and modesty: while he was admired by all men for his great exploits, he at the same time behaved with as much humility as the meanest citizen at *Sparta*.

After this last engagement, both parties weighing their losses, were inclined to put an end to the war. *Plistoanax*, the *Spartan* king, who had lately returned from banishment, laboured all he could to promote this disposition, hoping to be better able to deal with his mutinous subjects in time of peace. He had lived in exile 19 years, and the *Spartans* had recalled him in compliance with an oracle of *Delphi*, which, however, was supposed to have been procured by means of presents from the king. *Plistoanax* getting the *Ephori* to join with him, procured a peace to be concluded, after the war had raged ten years. Many of the *Peloponnesian* states were greatly dissatisfied with this peace, and several of them leagued themselves with *Argos*, a very powerful republic, which had never any great friendship for *Sparta*. The *Spartans* hearing that the *Argives* and their allies were negotiating at *Athens*, immediately sent ambassadors thither, offering new conferences for reconciling the differences that had occurred since the peace. These ambassadors being deceived by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who sought to revive the war, were drawn to inflame the animosities of the *Athenians*, who directly entered into the league with the *Argives*. The

A fresh rupture betwixt the *Spartans* and *Athenians*. *Ephori* who were next year elected at *Sparta*, being likewise fond of war, refused in their turn to hearken to the proposals of *Nicias*, the *Athenian*, who was very desirous of prolonging the peace. In the summer following, when the 90th olympiad was celebrated, the *Eleans*, who had the direction of the games, and had entered into the *Argive* league, publicly affronted the *Lacedæmonians*. They refused to let them sacrifice, or in any manner partake of the sacred rites, because the *Lacedæmonians*, during the celebration of former games, had violated the general truce, by seizing the castle of *Phoricus*, and had neglected to pay the fine which had been laid upon them for that trespass *.

The *Corinthians* not coming into the new league, the *Argives* the following year attempted to surprise *Epidaurus*, in hopes of securing themselves on that side against the *Corinthians*, and also opening an easy passage to their allies, the *Athenians*. The *Spartans* to secure *Epidaurus*, soon after sent a garrison of 300 men thither, and next summer their king *Agis* entered the territory of *Argos* with a very large army. The *Argives*, though they were very ill prepared, and had received no succours from *Athens*, yet resolved to fight; but at the very instant the engagement should have begun, two *Argive* captains declaring, that their citizens were willing to agree to equitable terms of peace, *Agis* consented to a truce of four months. The allies of *Sparta*, who composed the greatest part of his army, seeing nothing effected after all their preparations, were exceedingly provoked at this proceeding, and *Agis*, upon his return to *Sparta*, was condemned to pay a great fine. The *Argives* were no less dissatisfied with their captains, who had proposed the peace, and would have knocked them on the head with stones, if they had not retired into a sanctuary.

The battle of Mantinea. *Alcibiades* arriving at *Argos* with 1000 *Athenian* foot and 300 horse, the *Argives* renounced the truce, and ventured an engagement with the *Spartans* at *Mantinea*, where they were entirely defeated with the loss of 1100 men. The *Spartans*, who were commanded by *Agis*, lost 300, exclusive of their allies. After this defeat the faction in *Argos*, who were for oligarchy, declared for *Sparta*, and the democratic party for *Athens*; but the former prevailing, entered into a league with *Sparta* for 50 years. The following year, however, the *Athenian* party prevailed at *Argos*, and the year after, the *Athenians* violated the general peace lately concluded, by attacking the island of *Melos*, and making incursions into *Laconia* from *Pylus*. The *Spartans* gave leave to their subjects to make reprisals upon the *Athenians*, and being now convinced of the sad effects of their ambition, they began to use their allies with mildness and respect, and to treat the *Helots* with lenity, which soon gave a better aspect to their affairs. The *Athenians* on the other hand, by their haughtiness and insolence, began to be hated and despised

* Thucyd. l. 5. Pausan. in Eleis.

by the other *Greek* states. In the fourth year of the 92d olympiad, *Plistoanax* died, and was succeeded by his son *Pausanias*, succeeded who, during his father's exile, had been declared king, under by his son the guardianship of his uncle *Cleomenes*. After his succession to *Pausanias* the throne, *Agis* marched against the *Eleans*, to revenge the dishonour done to the *Spartans*, by forbidding them to be present at the *Olympic* games. After the war had continued three years, without any action of consequence on either side, a peace was concluded.

The *Peloponnesian* war again breaking out, the *Spartans* sent *Gylippus* with some forces to assist the *Syracusans*, then besieged by the *Athenians*, who, at the desire of the *Egestines*, had sent a large armament to *Sicily*, under the command of *Alcibiades* and *Nicias*. The *Athenians* recalling *Alcibiades*, to answer to a charge of sacrilege, he made his escape and came to *Sparta*, where being well received, he immediately adopted the *Spartan* manner of living. *Agis* was so charmed with him, that he took him home to his house; but he made him a very ill return for that favour by debauching his wife. The following spring, accompanying *Agis* in his expedition to *Attica*, he persuaded him to fortify *Decelia*, not many miles distant from *Athens*, which greatly distressed the *Athenians*. The popular favour which *Alcibiades* began to enjoy at *Sparta*, soon raised against him the envy of the nobility, which he perceiving, sought a pretence for quitting *Sparta*, and went with their troops to *Ionia*.

Timæa, the wife of *Agis*, about the same time bringing forth a son, *Agis* said publicly, that *Alcibiades* was his father; the mother also told her maids, that the boy, instead of *Leptychides*, should have been called *Alcibiades*. Mean while *Gylippus* managed the *Spartan* affairs in *Sicily* with great reputation, and so conducted the war, that the *Athenians* before *Syracuse* were totally routed, and almost wholly cut off. The *Spartans*, encouraged by the fatal blow their enemy had received in *Sicily*, exerted themselves in *Greece* and *Asia*. They sent *Astyocheus* to command the foreign troops, which were raised with *Persian* money, while *Agis* carried on the war in the heart of *Attica*.

The care of maritime affairs was committed to *Lysander*, who, though not a descendant of the royal family, yet was allowed to be of the *Herculean* race. He was bred up in his younger years under all the restrictions of the *Spartan* institutions, which rendered him bold, hardy, and patient. He was affable, modest, vigilant, and indefatigable; was naturally ambitious, and had an extensive genius. But with these great qualities he had some base ones. He could be very supple and complaisant, and was absolutely dishonest, which vice he openly professed, it being a common saying of his, *That children were cheated with play things, and men with oaths*. After taking the command of the fleet, the first thing of importance that he did, was the restoring the state of affairs at *Ephesus*, where he erected an arsenal for building of gallies, made the ports free for merchants, and gave encouragement to artificers of all kinds, which soon rendered the city

wealthy and flourishing. As *Alcibiades*, who had now abandoned the *Spartan* interest, had got the ear of *Tissaphernes*, *Lyfander* applied himself to the young *Cyrus*, accusing *Tissaphernes* to him, of betraying the *Persian* interest, by secretly favouring the *Athenians*. By his complacency and condescension, he so gained on the young *Cyrus*, who was ordered by his father to support the *Lacedæmonians*, that he obtained from him 10,000 darics, to support his soldiers and refit his fleet. *Agis* in the mean time made an attempt to surprize *Athens*, but was repulsed with considerable loss. *Athens* being then filled with tumults, the new magistrates made offers of peace, which were rejected by *Agis*. Soon after, the *Spartans* reduced *Eubæa*, which alarming the *Athenians*, rendered them more unanimous, and *Alcibiades* about the same time gaining several advantages at sea, they in their turn rejected the propositions of peace made to them by the *Spartans*. *Lyfander* not long after gained a victory over the *Athenian* fleet, while *Alcibiades* was absent with a few gallies. Though the *Athenian* commander had risked an engagement, expressly against the orders of *Alcibiades*, the *Athenians*, however, blamed *Alcibiades*, and dismissed him, from which time their affairs quickly declined.

The *Athenians* defeated at sea.

The *Spartans* soon after recalling *Lyfander*, gave the command of their fleet to *Callicratidas*, a man not more distinguished for his bravery than his integrity. *Lyfander*, who was greatly mortified with being recalled, did his successor all the ill offices in his power. He sent back what money remained in his hands to *Cyrus*, and at parting said to his successor with a sneer, *Let us see now, Callicratidas, how you can support the charge of this army.* The noble *Spartan* found it, indeed, very difficult, and having brought no money from *Sparta*, he was obliged to go to the court of *Cyrus*. His plainness was treated with contempt by the *Persians*, and he finding it impossible to gain admittance to the prince, said, *I must not be so eager for money as to do any thing unbecoming Sparta;* and returned to *Ephesus*. *Cyrus* considering better of the matter, sent him afterwards money to pay his forces, and some presents for himself, which last he sent back again. *Callicratidas*, irritated by the behaviour of the *Spartans*, cursed those who first payed this court to the barbarians, and swore that upon his return to *Sparta*, he would use his utmost endeavours to reconcile the *Greeks*. He, however, had not the good fortune ever to return to his native country.

The *Spartan* fleet defeated. Having defeated *Conon*, he besieged him in *Mitylene*; but the grand fleet of the *Athenians* coming to the relief of the besieged, he ventured an engagement off the islands of *Æginusæ*, in which he was slain, and his fleet defeated. Both *Cyrus* and the *Lacedæmonian* allies demanded that *Lyfander* should again be made admiral. This being directly opposite to the laws of *Sparta*, they appointed one *Aracus* admiral, but lodged the power with *Lyfander*, who finding his fleet inferior to that of the enemy, avoided an engagement. Having eluded the enemy for some time, he sailed to the *Hellefpont*, where he took *Lamp-
sacus*.

The *Spartan* fleet defeated. *Lyfander* again appointed commander.

facus. He was pursued thither by the fleet of the *Athenians*, He defeats who, in confidence of their superiority, allowed themselves to the *Athe-* be surprised by him, and entirely defeated, their whole fleet fal- *niens*. ling into his hands, except nine gallies that escaped with *Conon*. Chr. to *Cyprus*. 406.

This decisive victory, which put an end to the *Peloponnesian* war, and the maritime power of *Athens*, threw a great authority into the hands of *Lyfander*, who now acted rather as a universal monarch, than as a general from *Sparta*. He immediately changed the government of all the neighbouring cities, whether they would or would not, placing in each of them a *Spartan* as chief magistrate, with ten of his partizans, from *Ephesus*, where he had assembled a great number of bold enterprising men, whom he had attached to his interest, by admitting them as partners in his crimes. These new governors treated those they ruled with the utmost haughtiness and severity, so that from the very beginning, the *Lacedæmonian* government was rendered ungrateful.

Lyfander collected all the mass of wealth which his victories had brought into his hands, and destined it to be sent to *Sparta*, whither he had before dispatched a messenger with news of his victory. The *Spartans* directly sending both their kings, *Agis* and *Pausanias*, with an army against *Athens*, and *Lyfander* soon after arriving on the coast of *Attica* with an immense fleet, the *Athenians*, after defending themselves for several months, were at length obliged to capitulate. The terms granted them were contained in the following decree, preserved by *Plutarch*: *Know this is the decree of the Lacedæmonians. Pull ye down the Piræum and the long walls. Quit all the towns ye are now possessed of, and keep within your own territories. We grant you peace upon these conditions, provided you yield also to what shall be further thought reasonable, and receive again your exiles. As for the number of ships you may keep, observe the orders we shall hereafter give on that head.* *Athens taken by the Spartans.*

Lyfander left them only twelve gallies, and having caused the walls to be demolished, he committed the government to 30 persons nominated by him, and left a *Spartan* garrison in the citadel, commanded by one of his own creatures. He then sent the immense treasure he had collected to *Sparta*, under the care of *Gylippus*, who was one of his creatures, and had distinguished himself in the defence of *Syracuse*. Notwithstanding the strictness of the institutions of the *Spartans*, gold and silver began to be held in esteem by them, which introduced fraud and avarice. *Gylippus* being of a covetous disposition, ripped open the money bags at the bottom, and having taken considerable sums from them, sewed them up again. When he delivered the money at *Sparta*, he desired that particular notice might be taken of the fairness of the seals; but unluckily for him, *Lyfander* had put in each bag a ticket, expressing the sum of money contained therein. Upon comparing the contents of the bags with these notes, a deficiency was discovered, which the senate and

and *Ephori* could not account for: but the fraud was soon fixed upon *Gylippus*, who being impeached by one of his servants, was forced to leave his country, with the scandalous imputation of being a cheat and a thief.

Great disputes happened at *Sparta* about the wealth sent home by *Lysander*. Many extolled him greatly, and exceedingly rejoiced at this good fortune, as they called it. Others, who were better acquainted with the nature of things, and with their constitution, looked upon the receipt of the treasure as an open violation of the laws of *Lycurgus*, and expressed their apprehensions loudly, that in process of time they might, by a change in their manners, pay infinitely more for riches than they were worth. They at last consented to the following decree, that the state might make use of gold and silver, but that private men should possess neither, on pain of capital punishments, a strange and ineffectual expedient, as *Plutarch* observes, because declaring money to be useful to the state, evidently justified private men in their inclination to be possessed of it, and left their hearts open to avarice and the admiration of riches.

Lysander's
arbitrary
conduct.

Lysander mean while returning to the *Hellespont*, acted in his usual arbitrary manner. Even while he remained in *Greece*, he did many presumptuous acts, and particularly he set up his own statue, and the statues of such of his commanders as were in his good graces, in brass. In *Asia* he still set less bounds to his ambition, and not only made the *Greek* cities dependant on him, but struck terror into the *Persian* governors, and particularly maltreated *Pharnabazus*. This *Persian* grandee resolved, if possible, to humble the insolence and haughtiness of *Lysander*, and for this purpose dispatched some of his emissaries to *Sparta*, where they exposed his ambitious views, charging him with an intention to render himself general for life, and independant of his constituents, and alledged such probable reasons for what they said, that the senate and *Ephori* immediately dispatched a scytale to recall him. This scytale was a narrow slip of parchment, which was rolled in a spiral manner, round a small stick, and then wrote upon. Being unloosed, the writing could not be read, till the parchment was again rolled up upon a stick of the same dimensions, which the general carried with him when he went upon any expedition.

He is re-
called,

The surprise of *Lysander* was inexpressible when he received the scytale, of which he had no previous intelligence. Hearing also that some of his friends had been put to death at home, particularly *Thorax*, one of his principal commanders, in whose house a large quantity of silver had been found, he began to suspect that his recall was owing to the intrigues of *Pharnabazus*, who had taken that method of resenting the injuries he had received from him. He therefore resolved, according to his maxim, *to cek out the lion's skin with that of the fox**, and

* *Plut. in Apophthegm.*

procuring a conference with *Pharnabazus*, used all his art to soften the *Persian*, and to engage him by a letter under his hand, to deny what might have been suggested in his name to the *Ephori* and senate. *Pharnabazus* seemed to make some difficulty of complying, but at length wrote a letter in *Lyfander's* presence, and in terms suitable to his wish. Having, however, before prepared a letter of quite a different nature, he substituted it while he pretended to fold the other, so that *Lyfander*, with all his policy, was outwitted.

Upon his arrival at *Sparta*, being informed of the contents of the letter of *Pharnabazus*, he was greatly disturbed, and fearing that he should be called to an account, he pretended that *Jupiter Ammon* had commanded him in a vision to come immediately and consult his oracle. The *Ephori* and senate with some reluctance allowed him to depart, but he was no sooner gone, than the kings began to contrive the destruction of his friends, thereby to ruin his interest. The *Athenians* at this time taking arms against their tyrants, *Lyfander* suddenly returned to *Sparta*, and pressed the government to support those whom he had established at *Athens*, and desired to have the command in the expedition. This the kings opposed; and *Pausanias* procured the command of the army to be vested in him, and marching to *Athens*, instead of assisting the tyrants, entered in a private negotiation with the *Athenians*, and procured for them a peace with *Sparta* on very honourable terms. This proceeding was highly resented by *Lyfander*, who, not long after, had an opportunity of venting his spleen, and of reconciling himself to the people; for the *Athenians* a few years after him, favouring the *Persians* against the *Lacedæmonians*, *Pausanias* was highly blamed by his countrymen, and *Lyfander* extolled for a man of integrity, and true public spirit. While things were in this situation, *Agis* died at *Sparta*, having in his last moments owned *Leotychides* for his son in a public manner.

Notwithstanding the solemn declaration of *Agis* in favour of *Agefilaus Leotychides*, *Agefilaus*, the brother of the deceased, claimed the crown, and his great capacity and exemplary virtues having procured him many friends, and *Lyfander* espousing his interest, he was declared king, and *Leotychides* was excluded as illegitimate, both from the kingdom and the private estate of his father. As *Agefilaus* had one leg shorter than the other, his enemies urged against him an ancient oracle, that advised *Sparta* to beware of a lame reign. *Lyfander* made a jest of this oracle, and turned its sense against *Leotychides* himself, who, as a bastard, he said, could have no title to the throne, therefore that it was such a lame reign against which the oracle warned them, *Agefilaus* being born a younger brother, was educated no less severely than the children of the meanest *Lacedæmonian*, which afterwards proved a great happiness to him. He was brave, active, and of an high spirit, and at the same time, by his public education, he had acquired a good-natured, affable, and gentle behaviour, which greatly endeared him to the people. He was extremely

extremely fond of his country, and preferred her interest, not only to his own, to his peace and to his safety, but to his honour and his reputation. He thought all things fit which she commanded, and placed his utmost happiness in his capacity of serving her.

Agésilas, upon his elevation to the throne, gave half of his brother's estate to his relations by the mother's side, who, though they were persons of great merit, were till this time in very low circumstances. Instead of opposing the *Ephori*, or the senate he treated them with the utmost civility, and with the greatest confidence and affection. He was ever studious to oblige those who were of the opposite party, at the time of his election, relieving them under their misfortunes, and preferring them whenever their merit gave them a reasonable pretence thereto. The *Ephori* at last seeing no ill qualities to be offended with, took umbrage at his good ones, and laid a fine on him for a very extraordinary crime; namely, for monopolizing the affections of the people, which proceeding, however, was agreeable to the constitution of *Sparta*.

The *Per-* Before his accession, as we observed, the *Persians* had declared war against the *Spartans*, *Artaxerxes* being irritated against them and the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, on account of the part they had taken in the revolt of his brother *Cyrus*, who, when he marched to dispute the crown, had 10,000 *Greeks* in his army, commanded by *Clearchus*, the *Spartan*. The *Lacedæmonian* sent *Thymbro* to *Asia*, with 1000 *Laconian* foot, 4000 *Peloponnesian* infantry, and 300 horse. This man finding he could make no impression on the enemy, plundered the *Greek* cities that he had been sent to assist, on which account he was quickly recalled. *Dercyllidas*, who was a great politician, and a skilful engineer, succeeded him. He finding his force too small to act against *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, resolved to set them at variance with each other; in which he succeeded so well, that he prevailed upon the latter to remain inactive, while he attacked the former, over whom he gained great advantages. Afterwards when at the command of the king they both united, he opposed them without any loss, though his army did not exceed 7000 men, and the *Persians* had 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse in the field. *Tissaphernes*, who had been a witness of the bravery of those *Greeks* that had accompanied *Cyrus*, declined engaging and concluded a treaty with *Dercyllidas* on these terms, that the *Greek* cities should remain free; that the *Spartan* army should retire out of his province, and the *Lacedæmonian* governors remove out of the cities; and that the treaty should subsist till it was either ratified or disavowed by the king of *Persia* and the state of *Sparta*.

A treaty
between
Dercylli-
das and
Tissapher-
nes.

The *Persian* king, however, soon after fitting out a fleet of 300 galleys, the *Greek* cities applied to *Sparta*, and a war being looked upon as certain, *Agésilas* was declared general of *Greece*. A little before this nomination, when *Agésilas* was sacrificing for his country, the augur from the inspection of the victim declared

declared, that there was some very great conspiracy on foot against him and all the magistrates of *Sparta*. Soon after, the conspiracy was discovered by one of the persons engaged in it, who confessed that one *Cinado*, because he could not bear any one in the state greater than himself, had formed a design, with several others, to cut off the kings, the senators, and the *Ephori*. *Cinado* being apprehended, the senate took such quick measures, though with some little injury to the laws, that all the conspirators were suddenly removed out of the way.

The public being no longer in danger, *Lysander*, who burned with an impatient desire of returning again into *Asia*, which had been the scene of his triumphs, procured such an army to be decreed *Agésilas*, as would, in all probability, have left no room for *Alexander's* conquests, as *Plutarch* observes, if no cross accident had intervened. Besides the forces already in *Asia*, the *Spartans* voted 2000 manumitted *Helots*, and 6000 *Peloponnesian* foot. *Agésilas* having a council of 30 assigned him, of whom *Lysander* was the chief, went to *Aulis* while his army was assembling. Being there admonished in a dream, to imitate *Agamemnon* in sacrificing, he caused a hind to be crowned with garlands, and directed his own augur to solemnize the sacrifice. The *Bæotians*, extremely provoked, that in their territories he should employ one of his attendants, instead of the sacrificer appointed by them, sent deputies to forbid him to sacrifice in a manner contrary to their laws. The deputies finding their remonstrance not regarded, went directly to the altar, and threw the sacrifice off it on the ground, which trivial circumstance raised a great animosity betwixt the *Bæotians* and *Spartans*, and afterwards proved the occasion of a war, that subverted the *Spartan* empire over *Greece*, and had almost destroyed her state.

Agésilas was so discomposed, that he immediately hoisted sail *Agésilas* for *Asia*, where he soon found himself in a situation that he proceeds could not have foreseen. At *Sparta* he was king; but here *Ly-* with an *sander* was treated as if he had been somewhat more. All re- army to spect, all application was paid to him, and he received it rather *Asia*. with the haughtiness of a deity, than the condescension of a man. The other counsellors soon grew uneasy, at finding themselves degraded into officers, or rather servants of one of their colleagues, and complained to the king, who directly applied a very quick remedy. He denied every suit *Lysander* made to him, and countenanced all who did not apply to him, which, however, only in part had the effect intended; for the *Greeks*, though they declined any longer moving their suits by *Lysander*, yet continued to pay him as much respect as before. This nettled the king, though he was not naturally envious. He therefore appointed *Lysander* overseer of his provisions, and to insult the *Ionians*, said openly, "Let them now go and pay court to Misunder- my chief butcher." *Lysander* quickly took an opportunity standing of coming to an eclairsissement; for the first time they were betwixt alone, he addressed the king thus; "In truth, *Agésilas*, you him and
" know *Lysander*.

“ know very well how to lessen your friends.” “ Yes,” answered the king, “ when they affect to be greater than I; no “ can it be thought unjust that those should have power with “ me, who are zealous in promoting my power.” “ Sir,” replied *Lyfander*, “ you are pleased to exercise a greater liberty in “ speaking, than ever I did in acting; but I intreat you, for “ the sake of those strangers who have their eyes upon us, to “ assign me that post wherein I may be least suspected by you, “ and have it most in my power to do you service.” The king thereupon appointed him ambassador to the allies of *Sparta*, near the *Hellepont*, in which employment he retained all his resentment, without, however, neglecting any part of his duty. Some time after, he returned to *Sparta*, highly dissatisfied with his treatment, and with the government of his country, which he resolved to overturn, if it was in his power.

The latter
resolves to
overturn
the go-
vernment
of his
country.

Plutarch gives us the following account of his plot, from the historian *Ephorus*. He had many years revolved in his mind, the design of altering the form of succession, which was then confined to two families only, and to make the crown elective, in hopes that by his great interest he might be promoted himself. Having in vain endeavoured to corrupt the oracles at *Delphi*, *Dodona*, and *Jupiter Ammon*, to favour his design, he fell upon another expedient. A woman in the kingdom of *Pontus*, some years before, had given out that she was with child by *Apollo*, and being delivered of a son, named *Silenus*, the greatest persons in that nation had disputed the honour of nursing and educating him. *Lyfander* resolved to make him one of his principal instruments, and having corrupted some of the priests at *Delphi*, they affirmed, that they had some ancient oracles relating to *Sparta*, which were never to be read till they were demanded by a son of *Apollo*. *Silenus* accordingly was to claim them as *Apollo's* son, and his birth being acknowledged by the priests, he was then to publish, as an oracle, *That it would be for the honour and interest of Sparta, to elect no king for the future, but the most worthy of their citizens.* *Silenus* grew up, but the plot, which was not discovered during the life of *Lyfander*, miscarried by the cowardice of one that was an agent in it*.

Agésilas, after *Lyfander's* return to *Greece*, carried on the war with great success and reputation against *Tissaphernes*, whose bad success, joined to the calumnies of his enemies at court, brought him into disgrace with the king, who recalled him, and sent *Tithraustes* as his successor. *Tithraustes* offered *Agésilas* large sums if he would condescend to make a peace; but finding he could not corrupt him, he sent *Timocrates*, the *Rhodian*, with 50 talents into *Greece*, to corrupt the principal persons in the cities, and by their means occasion defections against *Sparta*.

* *Plut.* & *Corn. Nep.* in vit. *Lyfand.* *Diod. Sic.* l. 14.

Many people in *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and *Argos*, willingly hearkened to the proposals of *Timocrates*, who, by means of his money, soon excited a war in the heart of *Greece*, which quickly obliged the *Spartans* to recall *Agésilas*. The chiefs of the *Persian* faction at *Thebes* were most zealous against the *Spartans*, and to give some pretence for beginning hostilities, they persuaded the *Locrians* to make an incursion into a small district which lay in dispute between the *Phocians* and themselves. The *Phocians* in return invading the *Locrians*, they readily obtained succours from the *Thebans*, on which account the *Phocians* were obliged to apply to the *Spartans* for assistance.

The *Spartans* having a grudge at the *Thebans*, gladly embraced this opportunity of breaking with them, being encouraged by *Lysander*, who, though a very old man, solicited the command of the army against the *Thebans*, whom he hated, on account of the assistance they had given to *Athens*, when it expelled the 30 tyrants, whom he had established. *Lysander* marched with great dispatch into *Phocis*, while *Pausanias* followed him with another army to invade *Bœotia*, on the side of mount *Cythæron*. *Pausanias* arriving at *Platæa*, *Lysander* sent an express to him with letters, urging him to join him at *Haliartus* at a certain time, when he himself proposed to march towards thither. The *Thebans* having intercepted those letters, trusted their city with the *Athenians*, who were come to their assistance, and proceeded directly to *Haliartus*. *Lysander* came before that city in the night, but waited till day-break for *Pausanias*; but he not appearing, he resolved then to begin the assault. When he approached the walls, the *Thebans* and *Haliartans* sallied out against him, and charged him briskly both in front and rear. He himself was slain, and his troops routed, with the loss of 1000 men, the *Thebans* on their side having lost 300.

Pausanias, on the news of this defeat, immediately marched with the utmost diligence to *Haliartus*, where he sought by all means to gain the dead body of *Lysander*. Some of his officers pressed him to attack the enemy, but he considering that they were flushed with victory, and superior in number, would not risk an engagement, but on the contrary, concluded a treaty, by which he agreed to retire out of *Bœotia* on receiving *Lysander's* body. In his retreat he buried the corpse in the territory of the *Panopæans*; but on his return to *Sparta*, such a spirit of resentment appeared against him, that he was afraid to stand his trial, and retired to *Tegea*, where he led a private life. *Lysander*, on account of the mighty services he had rendered his country, was greatly regretted at *Sparta*. As he had always disdained to heap up wealth, he died very poor, which was no sooner known, than some *Spartans* of rank, who were contracted to his daughters, refused to marry them, finding they had no money, for which baseness the *Ephori* fined them severely, assigning this reason, that such men must be of a flagitious nature, who had rather take a wife out of a wealthy family than a virtuous one.

Mean

Agefilaus recalled from *Asia*. Bef. Chr. 394. Mean while *Agefilaus* having reduced many *Asiatic* province determined with himself to march into the heart of *Asia*, an to revenge the cruelties which *Xerxes* committed in *Greece*; but being recalled by a messenger from *Sparta*, he relinquished all his victories without hesitation, preferring obedience to the constitution of *Sparta*, to the prospect of subduing the whole *Persian* empire. The *Spartans* the year before had declared him admiral, as well as generalissimo of their forces, which charge he now bestowed on his wife's brother *Pisander*, leaving *Euxene* his lieutenant, with 4000 men, to secure his conquests. In his march to the *Hellepont*, with the rest of his forces, he never demanded any leave of the barbarians, but only sent to enquire of them, whether they would have him pass as an enemy or a friend.

Agefipolis succeeds *Pausanias*. When *Pausanias* fled from *Sparta*, *Agefipolis*, the eldest of his two sons, was declared king, under the guardianship of his uncle, *Aristodemus*, to whom the command of a considerable army was given, to quell the dangerous league formed against the state. This army, which consisted of 15,000 men, gained a victory near *Corinth* over the confederates, who were upwards of 20,000, with the loss of eight *Spartans* only, according to *Xenophon*, who confesses, however, that many of their allies were slain. *Agefilaus*, though he lamented these dissensions of the *Greeks*, yet, according to the directions of the *Ephori*, invaded *Bæotia*. On the very day of his entering the *Theban* territories, an eclipse of the sun happened, and he received the news of the defeat of the *Spartan* fleet, and the death of his brother-in-law, the admiral. To prevent his army from being discouraged, he gave out, that the courier had brought him advice of a victory gained by his brother over the *Persians*; on which account he wore a garland crown, and sacrificed publicly to the gods.

Agefilaus wounded in an engagement. Not long after a battle was fought at *Cheronea*, the sharpest which had happened for many years, according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, who was present. *Agefilaus* was victor where he fought, and the *Thebans* on the other hand routed that wing which they charged. The *Thebans* again returning, *Agefilaus*, with more valour than prudence, resolved to attack them in front. The *Thebans* received his charge with undaunted resolution, and where *Agefilaus* fought, the engagement was extremely bloody. Many of the *Spartans* falling, and *Agefilaus* receiving several wounds by pikes and swords, they were obliged to let the *Thebans* pass, and afterwards made a fruitless attack upon their flanks and rear. *Agefilaus*, after this victory, went to *Delphi*, where he consecrated the tenth of his spoils, and in the mean time *Gylus*, his lieutenant, led the army into *Locris*, where, while they were busy in plundering, the people rose suddenly upon them and killed *Gylus*, with many others.

Great tumults in *Corinth*. The *Corinthians* beginning to be tired of the war, which they imagined tended to bring them under the dominion of the *Argives*, the *Spartan* party took that opportunity of introducing

some *Lacedæmonians*. The other party brought succours from *Athens*, so that the city was in the utmost danger of being ruined by both parties. *Agésilas*, after invading the territory of *Argos*, invested *Corinth* by land, whilst his brother, *Telentias*, blocked it up by sea; but all their attempts against the place were baffled by the bravery and conduct of *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian*.

The *Achæans* afterwards demanding aid of *Sparta* against the *Acaruanians*, *Agésilas* marched to their assistance, and soon obliged the *Acaruanians* to agree to a peace. This war being ended, *Agésilas* entered the territory of the *Argives* with another army, much against his will; for the *Argives* having demanded a truce, he looked upon the invasion as a kind of injustice. His scruples being at last satisfied by the oracles, he undertook the war, but fancying he met with many prodigies, he returned without effecting much.

Mean while, the *Persian* fleet, under the command of *Conon* and *Pharnabazus*, having defeated that of the *Spartans*, and reduced several islands, the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Antalcidas* to *Tiribazus*, governor of *Sardis*, to endeavour to draw off the *Persians* from the interest of their rivals, at the same time making preparations for renewing the war in *Asia*, if his offers were rejected. *Antalcidas* was a man of great parts, and of a subtle insinuating disposition. He so won on *Tiribazus*, that he immediately assisted the *Lacedæmonians* privately with sums of money. When he went to the *Persian* court, he likewise gained the favour of *Artaxerxes*, by ridiculing the manners of his country. *Tiribazus* going also to court, his successor, *Suthras*, declared himself a friend to the *Athenians*, on which account the *Lacedæmonians* again sent *Thymbro* to *Asia*, who being soon cut off, *Diphridas* was sent as his successor, without, however, being able to perform any thing material. Mean while, at sea, the *Lacedæmonians* gained some considerable advantages, which inclined the confederates to think of a peace. The *Persian* king also wanting some *Greek* mercenaries for carrying on his wars, offered the following terms of peace to the *Greeks* in general. That the cities in *Asia*, with the islands of *Clazomene* and *Cyprus*, should remain to him; that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, and *Scyros*, which should remain as formerly, subject to the *Athenians*; that such as refused to embrace the peace, should be compelled to accept it by force of arms. The *Thebans* at first absolutely refused to comply, because the government of *Bœotia* was taken from them; but *Agésilas* making great preparations to invade them, they, in the end, were forced to accede. By this peace the sovereignty of *Greece* was, in a manner, guarantied to the *Spartans*, but upon very dishonourable terms, the *Greek* cities in *Asia* being basely abandoned to the *Persian*, though *Agésilas* himself had fought in their quarrel.

The *Spartans* having thus successfully extricated themselves from their late difficulties, began to think of punishing such

The haughty behaviour of the *Lacedæmonians*. as they imagined had injured them. The first who experienced the weight of their resentment, were the *Mantineans*, their late confederates, whom they directed to quit their city, and to retire into the five villages, which had served their ancestors. The *Mantineans* refusing to comply, *Agessipolis* besieged their city for several months, and at last, by damming up the river which run through the place, so overflowed the city, that they were obliged to surrender, and to retire to their old villages. The *Spartans* next constrained the *Phliasiens* to restore their exiles, and to do whatever else they required of them.

They next declared themselves against the *Olynthians*, who, under pretence of freeing the *Macedonian* cities from the tyranny of *Amyntas*, conquered most of them, and kept them to themselves. The *Acanthians* and *Apollonians* asking assistance from the *Spartans*, *Eudamidas* was sent to their relief with 2000 men. His brother, *Phæbidas*, followed him with other troops, the citadel who, in their march through *Bæotia*, seized the citadel of *Thebes*, of *Thebes*. called *Cadmæa*, and left a strong garrison in it. Though this

was an open violation of the peace, *Agessilaus*, nevertheless, prevailed on the *Spartans* to abett what *Phæbidas* had done, and to transfer the government of *Thebes* to *Archias* and *Leontidas*, who had put it into his hands, which proceeding greatly alarmed the *Greeks*. *Telantias* was sent to *Thrace*, with strict orders to reduce the *Olynthians* at all events. He was so eager to execute his commission, that he carelessly exposed his army, which was

Agessipolis's short reign. routed with great loss, he himself being slain on the spot. *Agessipolis* succeeding him, carried on the war more successfully; but in the midst of his conquests he was carried off by a fever, after a few days illness. As he was a prince of great worth, and of a very mild temper, his death was regretted by the *Spartans*.

Cleombrotus succeeds him. *Agessipolis* dying without children, was succeeded by his brother *Cleombrotus*; but the command of the army in *Thrace* was conferred on one *Polybiades*, who, in a short time, compelled the *Olynthians* to make a treaty with the *Spartans*, by

The *Olynthians* reduced by the *Spartans*. which they engaged to have the same friends and enemies with them, and to follow them as associates in their wars. The *Phliasiens* having given some new offence, *Agessilaus* marched against them with a great army. They resolutely defended their city for a long time, but famine, at length, obliging them to yield at discretion, commissioners were then named, part *Spartans*, part their own exiles, to determine which of the citizens should have mercy, and which should be put to death. Thus did *Sparta* govern with pride and cruelty, those whom she had most unjustly brought under her dominion.

Mean while some *Theban* exiles, who had taken refuge at *Athens*, found means of entering their city by surprise, and having stabbed some chief men of the opposite party, assumed the administration to themselves. *Cleombrotus* coming with an army from *Sparta*, in vain attempted to restore things to their former condition. Soon after, *Sphodrias*, who was left by him with some troops at *Thespiis*, attempting to seize the *Pyræum*, the *Athe-*

Athenians, who were highly irritated, complained against him at *Sparta*. The *Spartans*, by the persuasions of *Agessilaus* acquitted *Sphodrias*, upon which the *Athenians* immediately made an alliance against them with the *Thebans*. The war becoming now interesting, *Agessilaus* marched with an army into *Bæotia*, but performed nothing of consequence. Towards the end of the campaign, *Phæbidas*, with 300 *Spartan* horse were cut off. *Cleombrotus*, the following year, attempted to invade *Bæotia*, but being opposed by the *Thebans* and *Athenians*, he was constrained to return.

The *Spartans* were also beaten at sea, by *Timotheus*, and in short, all things begun to decline, notwithstanding the utmost care of *Agessilaus*. *Artaxerxes*, in the mean time, labouring earnestly to reconcile the *Greek* states, that he might have mercenaries for his war in *Egypt*, at last prevailed on the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* to agree to a peace, on condition that all cities should be free. The *Thebans*, who were now inspirited by *Pelopidas*, rejected the peace, which had but bad effects in many cities, occasioned by the tumults, on account of restoring their pretended freedom. The *Persian* monarch still continued for several years his negotiations for restoring a settled tranquility; but the *Thebans*, who had lately risen to a great degree of power, absolutely refused to restore the cities of *Bæotia* to their liberty. When the *Spartans* urged this proposition, *Epaminondas* desired them first to set *Laconia* free, and to give up *Messenia* to its ancient inhabitants. This spirited demand incensed the *Spartans*, and did not a little offend the *Athenians*, who could not bear to see the *Thebans* act independantly, who had heretofore either followed their banners, or those of *Sparta*. *Cleombrotus*, the following year, entered *Bæotia* with 12000 men, and encamped on the plains of *Leuctra*. *Epaminondas*, who commanded the *Thebans*, prevailed with them, though they were not a little dispirited, to resolve to engage the enemy. Soon after *Jason*, a prince of *Thessaly*, joined them with 1000 horse and 1500 foot, but being desirous of preventing hostilities, he prevailed on both parties to conclude a truce. *Cleombrotus*, upon his return from *Bæotia*, meeting *Archidamus* with some *Spartan* reinforcements, marched back to *Leuctra*, without any regard to the truce. *Epaminondas*, though his troops were inferior in number, risked an engagement, in which the *Spartans* were totally routed with great slaughter, *Cleombrotus*, with 4000 men, being slain, while the loss of the *Thebans* amounted only to 300. The *Spartans* by this defeat lost the empire of *Greece*, which they had now held near 400 years.

When the *Ephori* had the news of this dreadful defeat, they were superintending the *Gymnic* solemnities. Though they evidently saw its fatal consequences, they did not interrupt the games, but contented themselves with sending to every family the names of their relations who had fallen in the battle. On this occasion the *Spartan* virtue shone with the greatest lustre; for next morning the fathers, mothers, and relations of those

who were slain, assembled in the public place, shook each other by the hand, and applauded the courage of the deceased, while the relations of those who had fled from the battle kept themselves in their houses, or if they were obliged to go abroad, appeared in tattered cloaths, with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on the ground.

The wise
conduct
of Agesi-
laus.

The *Spartans* were at a loss how to act, in regard to those who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, were of the most powerful families, and were greatly needed by the state, it was not safe nor prudent to inflict upon them the infamous punishments assigned by the laws. In this difficulty they unanimously chose *Agesilaus* legislator, with full power to make such alterations in the laws as he should think fit. *Agesilaus* on this occasion gave such a proof of his wisdom, as shewed he was worthy of the trust reposed in him. Without altering any thing in the constitution, he found means, by one short sentence, to save the fugitives without prejudice to the state. He decreed, *That for the present day the laws should be suspended; but ever after remain in full force and authority.* He then, though old and lame, assembled an army, which he led against the *Arcadians*, with whom, after taking one or two of their towns, he concluded a peace. The *Mantineans* in the mean time rebuilding their city, were soon after besieged by the *Lacedaemonians*, who took some of their towns and wasted their territory.

The The-
bans and
their al-
lies invade
Laconia.

The *Arcadians* about the same time building the city of *Megalopolis*, again gave offence to the *Spartans*, who invaded *Arcadia*, and slew their general, *Lycomedes*, with 200 men. Upon this they solicited the assistance of the *Thebans*, and *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* came with a great army to their assistance. Being joined by the *Arcadians*, *Eleans*, and *Argives*, the *Thebans* generals found themselves at the head of 50,000 men, and having no enemy to oppose them, they invaded *Laconia*, a thing hitherto unattempted, and they even appeared before *Sparta*. In this desperate situation of things, *Agesilaus* disposed the citizens with such skill, and opposed the enemy with such numbers, wherever they attempted to enter, that *Epaminondas* found it impossible to carry the place, and was obliged to retire.

A danger-
ous con-
spiracy at
Sparta.

While *Agesilaus* was giving different orders in the city, he was informed that 200 mutineers had seized an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. *Agesilaus* ran immediately thither, and without seeming to know their design, called out to them, *Comrades, it is not there I sent you*, at the same time ordering some of them to go to one place, and some to another. They supposing their design was not discovered, obeyed his orders, and being afterwards seized when separated, were put to death that same night.

Messene
rebuilt by
Epaminon-
das,

Epaminondas, before he quitted the *Spartan* territories, generally rebuilt the city of *Messene*, and restored the descendants of the *Messenians* to their ancient patrimony, after they had lost it 300 years. These *Messenians*, notwithstanding their dispersion, retained the old *Doric* dialect, which continued to be
spoken

spoke amongst them to the time of *Pausanias*, the geographer and historian. *Epaminondas* having rebuilt *Messene*, offered the *Lacedæmonians* peace, on condition that they quitted all pretensions to *Messenia*, and left *Laconia* free; which terms were rejected with scorn. The *Spartans*, in their distress, soliciting the assistance of the *Athenians*, obtained a reinforcement from thence, under the command of *Iphicrates*. The year following, the war continued with as great warmth as ever, *Epaminondas* being sent with a great army to join the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Elans*. The *Lacedæmonians* in the mean time took all methods they could devise for re-establishing their affairs. They prevailed on several *Greek* states to form a league against the *Thebans*; they manumitted such of the *Helots* as were willing to take arms, and even solicited the assistance of *Dionysius*, tyrant of *Sicily*. To oppose *Epaminondas*, the *Lacedæmonian* army, consisting of 20,000 men, entrenched themselves at the *Isthmus*. The *Theban* general, nevertheless, attacking the *Spartan* post, who again quickly after reduced *Sicyon* and some other cities. He then attacked *Corinth*, but the place being garrisoned by the *Athenians*, *Peloponnesus* under *Chabrias*, and by 2000 *Gauls* and *Spaniards* from *Sicily*, he was obliged to retire. The *Lacedæmonians* trusted the chief command of their forces to *Archidamus*, the son of *Agésilas*, who, in the first year of the 103d olympiad, being joined by *Dionysius's* forces, under *Cissidas*, marched into *Arcadia*, where he gained several advantages, and at length defeated the *Arcadians*, with the slaughter of no less than 10,000 men, without so much as one *Spartan* being slain. Soon after this, *Epaminondas* broke again into the *Peloponnesus*, without, however, doing any great mischief, the endeavours of the *Persian* king having disposed almost all *Greece* to think of peace, which was at length effected, after the *Laconic* or *Bæotic* war had lasted five years after the battle of *Leuctra*. Two years before the conclusion of the peace, *Cleomenes* succeeded his brother *Agésilas*, who died after reigning one year. The peace was of very short continuance; for, four years after, new commotions broke out in the *Peloponnesus*. The *Tegeans* making war on the *Mantineans*, the former solicited the aid of the *Thebans*, and the latter of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*. *Epaminondas* marched at the head of a great army to the assistance of his allies, but hearing that *Agésilas*, with the whole power of *Sparta*, was marching to join the *Mantineans*, he proceeded directly for *Sparta*, in hopes of surprising that city. *Agésilas* hearing by accident of his march, immediately dispatched a courier with the intelligence to *Sparta*. *Archidamus*, with the utmost diligence, made all proper dispositions for the defence of the place, by posting such as were capable of bearing arms, in the avenues of the cities, and placing the old men and boys on the tops of the houses, to annoy the enemy with stones. *Epaminondas*, tho' he saw the *Spartans* were on their guard, attacked the city, but was so warmly received, that he was forced to retire. In his retreat,

retreat, however, he cut off a great many *Spartans* who had presumed to march out after him. He next marched directly to surprise *Mantineia*, which he rightly conjectured would be abandoned by *Agésilas*. Here again his scheme was disconcerted, for 6000 *Athenians* had landed in the *Peloponnese*, and entered *Mantineia* the very day that he attacked it. Being thus twice disappointed, he the more earnestly sought an opportunity for an engagement. Accordingly hearing that *Agésilas* and his allies, to the number of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, were arrived in the neighbourhood of *Mantineia*, he drew up his army in battalia, and pretended to march off towards the hills of *Tegea*, but on a sudden, giving his line the form of a wedge, he marched back and fell upon the allies, whom he quickly threw into the utmost confusion. When he had almost driven them from the field, which was strewn with their dead, he exposed his person too adventurously, which encouraged the enemy to renew the charge. Knowing that the whole power of *Thebes* was centered in him, they rushed upon him and covered him with their darts, many of which he pulled out of his flesh, and returned upon those who discharged them. At length having received a mortal wound in the breast by a javelin, he was carried off the field speechless, and died soon after, having the happiness, however, to know that his troops were victorious. Upon the death of *Epaminondas*, all the *Grecian* states agreed upon a general peace, except the *Lacedæmonians*, who refused their assent, because the *Messenians* were comprehended in the treaty. They acted in this manner, by the advice of *Agésilas*, who soon after advised them to send a body of troops to the assistance of *Tachos*, king of *Egypt*, against the *Persians*. *Tachos* having offered *Agésilas* the command in chief, he sailed over with the *Grecian* troops to *Egypt*, though he was then upwards of 80 years of age. His mean appearance rendered him at first the scorn of the *Egyptians*, and *Tachos* also conceiving a slight opinion of his abilities, gave him only the command of the mercenaries, which treatment *Agésilas* soon after resented in a very base manner, by going over to *Nectanebis*, who, during the absence of *Tachos* in *Phœnicia*, declared himself king of *Egypt*. Having established *Nectanebis* on the throne, and received a large sum of money for his good services, he embarked in order to return home. Being by contrary winds forced on the *African* shore, he died after a short illness, rather of age and fatigue than of any distemper, in the 84th year of his age and 41st of his reign, leaving behind him the character of a wise prince, a great captain, and a passionate lover of his country*.

Agésilas
dies, and

is succeeded
by *Archidamus*.

Bef. Chr.

361.

* Xenoph. Hellen. l. 8. & in orat. in laud. Ages. Diod. Sic. l. 15. Plut.

ained

ained over the *Arcadians*. The *Phocian*, or sacred war, breaking out in the beginning of his reign, he sided with the *Phocians*, at the persuasion, some say, of his wife. Others relate, that not only his wife and himself were wrought on by the bribes of the *Phocians*, but even the *Ephori*, the senate, and the whole republic of *Sparta*. When *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, began to interest himself much in the affairs of *Greece*, and to take upon him highly, in consequence of the many victories he had gained; *Archidamus*, 'tis said, sent him this message, "Sir, if you will be pleased to measure your shadow, you will not find it a whit longer than it was before." He had no great liking to the customs of his country, but looked upon them as burdensome and grievous, affecting to live freely and without restraint, supposing that it did not at all affect a man's honesty, if he eat a good dinner. On this account he was glad of an opportunity to leave *Sparta*, and when the *Lacedæmonians* decreed forces to be sent to the assistance of the *Tarentines*, he readily offered to command them. Accordingly, passing over into *Italy*, he was there slain near the city of *Mandonium*, after he had reigned 15 years. He is slain in *Italy*, and

Agis, a prince of great virtue and magnanimity, succeeded his son his father *Archidamus*. In his youth he had been sent as ambassador to *Philip* of *Macedon*, who seeing him alone without any colleagues, said with an air of contempt, "What, from *Sparta* but one?" "Why, Sir," said *Agis*, "I was sent but to one." Though he hated the *Macedonians*, yet, during the reign of *Alexander*, he did not think fit to expose his country to ruin by opposing them. After the battle of *Iffus*, however, he enlisted about 8000 mercenaries that fled out of *Persia* and declared for *Darius*, and having received money from him, and a fleet, he sailed over into *Crete*, part of which he subdued. Upon the news of the battle of *Arbela*, he stirred up all *Greece* to revolt, and his remonstrances had such an effect, that an army of 20,000 foot, and 2000 horse, was immediately raised. *Antipater*, who commanded in *Macedonia*, marched directly into the *Peloponnese* with 40,000 men, and attacked the confederates, who, after a glorious resistance, were routed with the loss of 5300 men, *Antipater* himself losing 3500. *Agis* fell in this action, in a manner greatly to his honour; for seeing his soldiers who were carrying him, greatly wounded, out of the battle, were on the point of being surrounded, he commanded them to set him down, and preserve themselves for the future service of their country. Remaining then alone with his sword in his hand, he defended himself upon his knees, killing several of the *Macedonians*, till at last he was shot through the body with a dart, and expired gloriously in the defence of liberty and of his country, after a reign of nine years. When *Alexander* heard of this engagement, he was vain enough to say, "While we are fighting *Darius* in *Asia*, there has been, it seems, a battle of mice in *Arcadia*." He stirs up the *Anti-Greeks* against *Alexander*. His glorious death.

Eudamidas was succeeded by his son *Eudamidas*, a prince of great wisdom, moderation, and gentleness, who governed all his days in peace. He and his three predecessors had for their colleague *Cleomenes*, who reigned 61 years, without distinguishing himself by any remarkable action.

Archidamus and Arcus, kings of Sparta. *Eudamidas* had for his successor his son *Archidamus*, in the 22d year of whose reign, *Arcus* succeeded his grandfather *Cleomenes*, though his right to the throne was at first disputed by his uncle *Cleonymus*. The uncle retiring to *Epire*, brought *Pyrrhus* to aid his cause, although the *Ephori* and senate would have granted him any reasonable terms he would have asked.

Cleonymus, who claims the crown, is supported by Pyrrhus. When *Pyrrhus* was advancing towards their frontiers with his army, the Spartans sent *Dercyllidas* to expostulate with him on the imminence of his invasion. *Pyrrhus*, by one of his courtiers, bid him carry this message to *Sparta*, that they should receive their king *Cleonymus*, or he would make them know, that they were no better than other men. *Dercyllidas* replied, Sir, if your master is a god, we do not fear him, because we have done no wrong, and if he is a man, we do not fear him, because we are as good as he. *Pyrrhus* had with him 20,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 24 elephants. *Arcus* in the mean time being absent in *Crete*, the city was chiefly entrusted to the care of his son *Acrotatus*, whose faults had, in a great measure, occasioned the war; for he had seduced the wife of *Cleonymus*, who, in resentment, had fled to *Pyrrhus*. When *Pyrrhus* arrived in the neighbourhood of *Sparta*, he was informed that the city was in the greatest confusion, and that he might easily make himself master of the place, the citizens having neglected to provide for a defence, from the persuasion that their ambassadors would have obtained a peace. *Cleonymus* pressed him to begin the assault that evening; but he, fearing that his soldiers in the night would possess themselves of all the plunder of *Sparta*, delayed the attack till next morning, and encamped close by the city, a thing so little expected by the Spartans, that in *Cleonymus's* house the *Helots* were preparing a supper for *Pyrrhus*. The Spartans observing the conduct of *Pyrrhus*, immediately consulted about the means of their preservation. The senate resolved to send the women immediately over into *Crete*; but they hearing of this design, deputed *Archidamia* to carry their sentiments to the assembly. She entering the room with a sword in her hand, addressed the senate in these words, "Do not, my lords, entertain so mean an opinion of the Spartan women, as to fancy they will ever outlive *Sparta*. Instead of considering whither we are to fly, consider what we are to do, and be assured we will undertake any thing for the service of our country." It being then resolved to sink a trench six cubits broad, four deep, and 800 feet in length, directly opposite to the enemy's camp, the women took a third part of the work, and engaged to finish it before morning, not allowing the young men to work, that they might be fresh to sustain the enemy's charge. When the day began to break, and the troops of *Pyrrhus* were in motion,

motion, the *Lacedæmonian* women armed their men for the *Pyrrhus* fight, representing to them at the same time, what a glorious attack opportunity they had of conquering the enemies of their country in the fight of their mothers, wives, and daughters, or of vain falling in its cause. *Pyrrhus*, though he now perceived the error he had committed, led his troops in person to the assault, which continued with the utmost fury during the whole day, the *Spartans* every where making a most desperate resistance.

In the evening *Pyrrhus* withdrew his forces, and being extremely fatigued, he retired to his tent, where he slept very soundly, but in the morning dreamed that he threw lightning on *Sparta*, which set it all on fire. He interpreted this dream favourably; but some of his officers alledged, that it meant that *Sparta* would be as sacred and inviolable as a place struck with lightning. At day-break the assault was again renewed, when the *Spartans* defended themselves with no less bravery than the day before; the women remaining all day at the trench, supplying the soldiers with arms, ammunition, meat, drink, and whatever else they wanted, binding up their wounds, and carrying them off in case they were disabled. *Pyrrhus* at length, with a body of horse, forcing a passage by the end of the trench, where it was barricaded with waggons, the *Spartans* in vain crowded thither to oppose them, for as they advanced, they were trampled under feet by his horses. While he was on the point of entering the city, his horse was mortally wounded by an arrow, and threw him to the ground. His troops not knowing at first but that he himself might be slain, gave back, upon which the *Spartans* pressed upon them so eagerly, and distributed their darts with such success, that *Pyrrhus*, when he remounted, thought it best to retire, hoping that on the morrow the wounded *Spartans* would be able to make but a weak defence. Fresh supplies, however, before that time entered the city. One of *Antigonus's* captains hearing of the distress of the city, threw himself into the place with a body of troops, and immediately after, *Arcus* himself entered with 2000 fresh men. *Pyrrhus*, nevertheless, assaulted the place the third time, but with little success; whereupon he embraced an invitation given him to march to *Argos*. His rear as he marched off being insulted by the *Spartans*, he ordered his son *Ptolemy*, with some squadrons, to repulse them, in which action the young prince was slain. *Pyrrhus*, on hearing this news, charged the *Spartans* from his with great fury, and slew their commander in chief and many others with his own hands. He is obliged to desist

Though *Arcus* was blamed for needlessly exposing the *Spartans*, yet he no sooner heard that *Pyrrhus* had marched to *Argos*, than he directly followed him with 1000 choice foot. Before his arrival, *Pyrrhus* had entered one of the gates of the city, which had been perfidiously opened to him; but was nevertheless vigorously opposed in the streets by the inhabitants, who had run to arms. During this contest *Arcus* arrived. *Pyrrhus* about the same time was beat from his horse by a woman, who

He is kill- standing on the top of a house, and perceiving him about to
ed in Ar- push his horse upon her son, threw a tile at his head, which
gos. striking him on his temples, took away his senses, and before
he could recover them, an officer of *Antigonus's* army struck off
his head *.

Concerning this *Areus*, we know nothing further than that
he was a zealous defender of the liberties of *Greece*; for when
he understood that *Athens* was in danger of being oppressed by
Areus slain *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*, he generously armed in its
in the bat- defence, and was slain valiantly fighting at the battle of Co-
tle of Co- rinth †. To this prince the best critics have referred that letter
rinth. to *Onias*, the *Jewish* high-priest, recorded in the following
terms, in the book of the *Maccabees*. *Areus, king of the La-*
cedæmonians, to Onias, the high-priest, greeting: It is found in
writing, that the Lacedæmonians and Jews are brethren, and
that they are of the stock of Abraham: Now, therefore, since this
is come to our knowledge, you shall do well to write to us of your
peace ‡.

Acrotatus. *Areus* was succeeded by his son *Acrotatus*, who had so valiantly
defended *Sparta*, when attacked by *Pyrrhus*. The king of the
other house was *Archidamus* IV. the son of *Eudamidas*. He go-
verned with great reputation, and was desirous to maintain all
Greece in freedom, and to repress, if it had been possible, the
mighty power of the *Macedonian* kings, who, whenever they
were not diverted by other affairs, were sure to seek such an au-
thority in *Greece* as suited not with her liberty. *Archidamus*
Archida- struggled in the defence of the liberties of his country against
mus IV. *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, who defeated him twice in the field, and
would, in all probability, have taken *Sparta*, if the declension
of his affairs in *Asia* had not constrained him for a time to aban-
don all thoughts of *Greece*. How long *Archidamus* reigned is
uncertain. His son and successor, *Eudamidas*, was the colleague
of *Acrotatus*, who was killed in the first year of his reign, fight-
ing against *Aristodemus*, then in possession of *Megalopolis*. He
was succeeded by his young son, *Areus*, who dying after a short
Eudami- reign, left the crown to *Leonidas*, the son of *Cleonymus*, who
das. had been his tutor. *Eudamidas* was colleague to these three prin-
ces, and at his death, which happened in the 14th year of the
reign of *Leonidas*, left the crown to his eldest son, *Agis*.

Agis. *Leonidas* having lived long in the court of *Seleucus*, became
extremely fond of that pomp and grandeur which he saw af-
fected there, and at *Sparta* he now had great opportunities of
indulging his passion for luxury, the *Lycurgic* institutes being
grown, not only into disuetude, but contempt. One of the
Ephori, named *Opytadeus*, having conceived a hatred against
his own son, procured a law, whereby all men were left at li-

* Justin. l. 25. Pausan. in Argol. Plut. in vit. Pyr. † Plut. in
vit. Demetr. ‡ Maccab. xii. 20. see also Joseph. ant. l. 12. Prid
Connect. part. 2. book 2.

erty to dispose of their lands by gift or sale, or by testament, at the time of their decease. This subverted the very foundations of the state; for by degrees the lands were most of them transferred from the ancient *Spartan* families; so that though they were now reduced to about 700, not above 100 of these had any lands.

Agis was of a disposition very opposite to that of *Leonidas*. He attempted to breed very tenderly, and in abundance of all things, yet before the age of 20, he so far overcame himself, as to renounce effeminate pleasures. In his diet, bathings, and in all his exercises, he chose to imitate the old *Laconic* frugality and temperance, and was often heard to say, *He would not desire the kingdom, if he did not hope by means of that authority to restore their ancient laws and discipline.* When he came to the crown, he endeavoured, with a heroic constancy, to accomplish this great undertaking. He began with opening his design to several men of great capacity and interest, and having prevailed with his mother, *Agessistrata*, to adopt his sentiments, she brought over most of the ladies in *Sparta* to her opinion, who, though they foresaw that the new regulations would deprive them of their finery and trinkets, yet unanimously declared for them, in hopes that they would restore the credit of *Sparta*, and give her new lustre in the world. They having prevailed with their husbands to relish the proposal, the bulk of the people began likewise to approve it; but the few in whose hands the money was centered grew very uneasy. Applying themselves to *Leonidas*, they told him, that as he was an older and wiser man than his colleague, he ought to interpose, and not suffer the constitution to be destroyed, to gratify the ambition of a young man. *Leonidas* hearkened to them with pleasure, but, afraid to meddle with the people, whom he saw evidently inclined to favour his colleague, he applied to the principal magistrates, and formed a very considerable party, by suggesting that *Agis*, intending to establish an independant power in his own person, proposed to secure the favour of the people, by a remission of debts, and then by an equal division of land. *Agis* still persevering in his patriot design, when his friend, *Lyfander*, was chosen one of the *Ephori*, presented his rhetra or decree to the senate, the chief articles of which were these; *That every one should be free from his debts; that all the lands should be divided into 19,000 equal portions, some of which should be allotted to persons chosen out of the adjacent countries, men able and fit to bear arms, well educated, and ingenious. All these to be divided into 15 companies, some of 400, some of 200, with a diet and discipline, agreeable to the laws of Lycurgus.* The matter being hotly debated in the senate, *Lyfander* began to doubt the event, and therefore convoked a general assembly of the people. In this assembly the kings, the *Ephori*, and other considerable persons, fought by long orations to shew the conveniency or inconveniency of the scheme. In the senate it was rejected by a majority of only one voice. The richer citizens

tizens, and those who had placed their money out at interest, now paying their court to *Leonidas*, *Lyfander* contrived a method for removing him out of the way. He caused an accusation to be preferred against him for the breach of two old laws, the one forbidding the kings of *Sparta* to marry a stranger, the other prohibiting travel to foreign countries. Practising at the same time on the superstitious temper of the people, he so terrified *Leonidas*, that he fled to the temple of *Minerva*. *Cleombrotus*, who was of the royal house, and had married the daughter of *Leonidas*, immediately claiming the kingdom, *Leonidas* withdrew from *Sparta*, taking his daughter with him, who chose rather to fly with her father, than to reign with her husband.

Leonidas
obliged to
fly from
Sparta.

Leonidas
restored.

Cleombrotus concurred with *Agis* in all his designs; but the next year the *Ephori* being chosen out of the opposite faction, they cited *Lyfander* and his friends to appear before them, and answer for what they done. *Lyfander* applied to the kings for protection, suggesting at the same time, that the *Ephori* were created only to take care of the state, in case any difference happened between the kings; but that while they agreed, these magistrates had no right to call in question any acts they thought fit to authorise. *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* being persuaded of this, went directly to the place where the *Ephori* were sitting, removed them from their seats, and placed others in their room, the first of whom was *Agésilas*, the uncle of *Agis*. The kings would then have proceeded both to the cancelling of debts, and to the equal division of lands. *Agésilas*, however, who had a good estate and was greatly in debt, pretended that it would be safest first to cancel the debts, and afterwards to make a division of the lands. The kings, and even *Lyfander* also, being deceived by his specious pretences, came readily into his schemes, causing all obligations to be brought in and burnt immediately, without proposing a division of the lands, which greatly displeased the people. *Agis* perceiving this, sought immediately to repair his error, but *Agésilas* still found means to put off the intended division, till the king was obliged to go with a body of *Spartan* troops to the assistance of the *Achæans*. During his absence, *Agésilas* so disgusted the people by his tyrannical behaviour, that they entered into a conspiracy for restoring *Leonidas*, which accordingly took effect after the return of *Agis*, who thereupon fled to the temple of *Minerva*, while *Cleombrotus* took sanctuary in that of *Neptune*. *Leonidas* expressed his resentment chiefly against *Cleombrotus*, and threatened to put him to death, but by the intercession of his daughter, *Chelonis*, he was prevailed upon to condemn him only to perpetual banishment, in which she accompanied him, notwithstanding all the entreaties of her father; which extraordinary transaction hath drawn this reflection from *Plutarch*, that *Cleombrotus* was happier in being banished with such a wife, than he could be in the possession of a kingdom without her.

Agis

Agis was daily visited in his sanctuary by many of his friends, who, after a time, had confidence to carry him to the baths, and guard him back again. *Leonidas* being desirous of having *Agis* in his power, corrupted some of his friends, who one day basely seized him as he was returning from the bath, and dragged him to the prison where the new *Ephori*, constituted by *Leonidas*, sat ready to judge him, some senators, but of their own party, being present, to give the greater colour of justice to their proceedings. As soon as the king came in, they asked him how he durst attempt to alter the government, at which he smiled, without affording them an answer. One of the *Ephori*, provoked at this, told him, "That he ought rather to weep; for they would now make him sensible of his presumption." Another asked him, "Whether he was not constrained to do what he did by *Agessilaus* and *Lysander*?" The king answered with a composed countenance, "I was constrained by no man. The design was mine, and my intent was to have restored the laws of *Lycurgus*, and to have governed by them." "But do you not, said one of the *Ephori*, repent of your rashness?" "No, replied the king, though I see my death inevitable, I can never repent of so just and honourable an intention." The *Ephori* then ordered him to be strangled; but the officers of justice refused to obey, and even the mercenary soldiers declined so unworthy an action. *Demochares*, one of the treacherous friends, reviling them for cowards, forced the king into the room where the execution was to be performed. *Agis* observing one of the serjeants bitterly bewailing his misfortune, said to him, "Friend, weep not for me, who die innocently, but to but grieve for those who are guilty of this wicked act; my death condition is much better than theirs." He then submitted to his fate with a heroic constancy.

The mother and grandmother of *Agis* were also put to death; but *Archidamus*, his brother, saved himself by flight, being constrained, however, to leave his wife, who had just lain in, behind him. She being the heiress of a great estate, *Leonidas* compelled her to marry his son *Cleomenes*, who was but a boy, to which the young lady, with the utmost reluctance, consented, force only making her yield. *Cleomenes* treating her with the utmost tenderness, she was soon reconciled to her marriage, but nevertheless continued to hate her father-in-law. Her new husband delighting in her conversation, she, at his desire, often repeated to him the story of *Agis's* murder, at which he wept. By degrees he began privately to follow his example, but though he was of a bold impetuous disposition, he was, nevertheless, constrained to conceal his intentions during the life of his father, well knowing that both he and the nobles were too much dissolved in luxury and ease, ever to suffer any reformation to take place.

Leonidas survived the murder of *Agis* six years, during which *Cleomenes* time he reigned alone, and at his death left the kingdom, as a succeeds monarchy, to his son *Cleomenes*. In the beginning of his reign *Leonidas*.
Aratus,

Aratus the *Achæan*, having formed a league among many of the *Peloponnesian* states, invaded the *Arcadians*, the neighbours and allies of the *Spartans*. The *Ephori*, alarmed by these hostilities, ordered *Cleomenes* to seize a pass on the frontiers, then in the hands of the *Achæan* allies. This he performed, and afterwards disappointed *Aratus* in a scheme he had formed for seizing *Tegæa* and *Orchomenium*, and then sent a message full of sneer to him. *Aratus* deriding his youth, asked a *Spartan* exile who lived with him, what sort of a person *Cleomenes* was, "Why my friend," replied the *Spartan*, "I will answer you in a few words. If you have any thing to do against the *Lacedæmonians*, let me advise you to begin before this young eagle's talons are grown." *Aratus*, in the course of the war which followed, gained some advantages over the *Spartans* by his great military skill; but *Cleomenes* gave such shining instances of his abilities and courage, that the *Achæan* chief grew apprehensive, while the *Spartans* seemed to take new spirit from their king.

He resolves to suppress the *Ephori*.

The *Ephori* were desirous of putting an end to the war, lest *Cleomenes* might thereby raise his power and credit, which they dreaded, more than the strength of their enemies. *Cleomenes*, who had great penetration, perceived that he must either reduce the power of the *Ephori*, or the authority of *Sparta* would sink daily, and nothing would be left to himself but the bare title of king. He and his friends, therefore, formed the design of ridding themselves of the *Ephori* at once, and began with recalling *Archidamus*, who, on his approach to *Sparta*, was murdered by his brother's enemies, not without some suspicion that *Cleomenes* consented thereto, though this seems not consistent with his character. It being found that a revolution could not be effected without an army, *Cleomenes*, by money, prevailed on the *Ephori* to engage in a war, and to give him the command. His mother perceiving the difficulties her son had to struggle with, married again, that she might fix a nobleman of great interest to his party.

Kills four of them.

Cleomenes carrying such as he most suspected into the field with him, did many things worthy of a *Spartan* prince; but withal he took care so to harass his army, by quick and almost continued marches, that many desired to be left behind in *Arcadia*, while he with the rest advanced towards *Lacedæmon*. When he approached the city, he sent some of his confidents, at the head of a small party, who surprised the *Ephori* at supper, killed four of them upon the spot, and had killed the fifth if he had not counterfeited himself dead, and thereby gained an opportunity of retiring to a sanctuary. *Cleomenes* on the morrow came into the forum, and ordering all the chairs of the *Ephori* to be removed, except one for himself, he made a most artful apology to the people for what he had done. Having represented the necessity of restoring the *Lycurgic* institutions, he assured them, that though the situation of things had obliged him to make use of violence, yet for the future he would pay a strict regard to the laws, though for his own safety he then banished eighty

eighty citizens. He was the first who delivered up his whole substance to the public stock, wherein he was followed by his father-in-law and other friends. In assigning the lands, he gave constitutions to all whom he had banished, promising to recall them as soon as was consistent with the public safety. He then restored the old *Laconic* way of educating of youth, of eating in public, and of doing their exercises together. He also raised a considerable body of troops, and disciplined and armed them in a new manner. That the *Spartans* might not imagine that he intended to transmit a monarchy to his posterity, he associated his brother, *Euclidas*, in the kingdom, and declared that for the future there should be always two kings in *Sparta*. But what served chiefly to establish his power and character, was the course of his own life, which was equally plain and simple with that of the meanest citizen. When any offered petitions, he stepped forward to receive them; he talked graciously to every body; redressed all the injuries that were done by others, and did none himself; yet had his virtue nothing in it of austerity or affectation. He was naturally of a pleasant temper, which he indulged. His plain way of living.

Being informed that the *Achæans*, under *Aratus*, were preparing to give him some disturbances, from a persuasion that he durst not now leave the city, he immediately marched with a body of troops into their territories, and kept them employed at home. Those cities which fell into his power, he restored to their liberty; and having gained several considerable advantages over the *Achæans*, they were so alarmed, that they offered to hearken to any terms of peace. *Cleomenes* declared, that he sought only to be acknowledged general of the *Greeks*, and *Lerna* being appointed for the place of treaty, he marched thither with great dispatch. Having heated himself by the journey, he in the midst of his heat drank some cold water, which threw him into a dangerous fever, so that he was obliged to delay the conferences. This accident ruined him and *Greece*; for *Aratus*, from a jealousy, lest the great authority which he had so long enjoyed, should be transferred to *Cleomenes*, privately sent for the *Macedonians*, whom, in his youth, he had expelled from the *Peloponnese*. *Cleomenes* upon his recovery, offered again to treat, but finding himself tricked by the *Achæans* and their allies, he renewed the war. This occasioned a great ferment among the *Achæan* allies, many of whom, weary of the power of *Aratus*, and provoked against him for calling in the *Macedonians*, were ready to break the league. *Cleomenes*, encouraged by their misunderstandings, invaded *Achæa*, and took *Pellene*, *Phæneon*, and *Pentelon*. Not long after, he surpris'd *Argos*, and in a very short time raised himself to greater power than any of his predecessors, and his city to greater pre-eminence than she had ever held in *Greece*. He gains advantages over the *Achæans*.

He in the mean time wanted to prevail with *Aratus* to agree to a treaty; but he was immoveable in his resolution of destroying the *Spartan* greatness. With this view he delivered the

who call the castle of *Corinth*, which was the key of the *Peloponnese* in the into the hands of *Antigonus*, who came to his assistance with a *Macedoni-* army of 28,000 *Macedonian* infantry, and 1200 horse. *Cleo-* *ans* to (*menes*, though he was much inferior to the enemy, yet defended their as- the far greater part of the *Peloponnese* till *Argos* was betrayed sistance. from whence he made a most glorious retreat. He received about this time the news of his wife's death, which greatly afflicted him; for though the *Spartans* were remarkable for being fond husbands, yet *Cleomenes* was distinguished for his fondness even among them. He was at the same time not a little troubled with a demand of *Ptolemy*, king of *Egypt*, who offered him his friendship, in case he would send him his mother and son as hostages. *Cleomenes* attempted several times in vain to break the matter to his parent. Having at length mentioned the proposal, his mother burst out a laughing, "Well, said she, was it this " you was afraid of telling? Why do you not put me on ship- " board, and send this carcase where it may be serviceable to " *Sparta*, before age wastes it unprofitably here."

Cleomenes enters into an alliance with the king of *Egypt*.

Cleomenes, though he had to do with a numerous army, composed of veterans, well armed and paid, and his own troops were most of them new raised, and many of them only half armed; yet kept the war out of *Laconia*, and took the city of *Megalopolis*, which was larger than *Sparta*, in the midst of king *Antigonus's* armies. When he had taken it, he generously offered to restore it untouched to its citizens, but they rejecting his offer, he allowed his soldiers to pillage the place. After this he harassed the territory of *Argos*, raising mighty contributions, though *Antigonus* and his forces were in that very city. This was then looked upon as rashness and imprudence, but the reflection of *Polybius* has set it in a different light; for *Cleomenes* not having a fund to carry on the war for any length of time, wanted to provoke *Antigonus* to an engagement.

Antigonus on the other hand, gave a proof of his consummate skill in military affairs; for despising the outcries of the *Greeks* and the murmurs of his own troops, he refused to engage *Cleomenes* till his strength was greatly weakened. He then gave him battle at *Sellasia*, where, partly through the superiority of the *Macedonians*, partly through the treachery of *Demoteles*, the *Lacedæmonians* were defeated with a vast slaughter of their mercenary troops, and with almost the utter destruction of their own; for of 6000 *Spartans* only 200 escaped. This misfortune of *Cleomenes* deserves the more to be pitied, since, if he could have avoided fighting but two days, he would have had no enemy to cope with but the *Achæans*; for within that space after the battle, *Antigonus* received such news from *Macedonia* as obliged him immediately to march home, to quell some disturbances.

He flies to *Egypt*.

Cleomenes, after the battle, retired to *Sparta*, where he continued only a few hours and gave some directions. He then went directly with some friends to *Gythium*, where they embarked on board a few galleys, and passed over to *Ptolemy Euergetes*. This prince

prince entertained *Cleomenes* honourably; but his son and successor growing suspicious of him, confined him, which *Cleomenes* at length resenting, he, with 12 friends, forced the place where He puts they were confined; but finding it afterwards impracticable to an end to escape, they slew each other. The *Egyptian* king in resentment, caused the body of *Cleomenes* to be exposed on a cross, butchered his mother, the rest of his family, and all her attendants. In *Cleomenes* ended the *Herculean* race of *Spartan* kings, if we except the short reign of *Ageſipolis*.

We have chiefly followed *Plutarch* in the above account*. *Polybius*, indeed, represents *Cleomenes* as a tyrant, and says, that he ruined the republic of *Lacedæmon*, and converted a lawful authority into a tyrannic power; in which opinion he is followed by *Livy* and *Pausanias*†. But we may well allow *Polybius* to be greatly prejudiced; for he was by birth of the city of *Megalopolis*, which *Cleomenes* destroyed. He was an *Achæan* statesman, a professed and zealous friend of *Aratus*, in whose opinion, no doubt, *Cleomenes* was reckoned an ambitious tyrant, though his schemes tended only to preserve *Greece* free; and *Greece* lost her freedom because he failed in his designs.

After the fatal battle of *Sellasia*, *Sparta* falling into the hands of king *Antigonus*, he, out of regard to the merits of their ancestors, treated the inhabitants with great kindness and indulgence. They in return behaved very quietly, and acted in such a manner, as might give the least offence to *Aratus* and the *Achæans*, who were the king's friends. As soon as the certain news of the death of *Cleomenes* arrived at *Sparta*, new disturbances arose, in which *Adimias*, one of the *Ephori*, endeavoured all he could to moderate the people. When his colleagues had summoned them to meet in arms, he had the courage to represent to them, how little their behaviour corresponded with their circumstances, and how unreasonable it was for them to involve themselves in a new war with the *Macedonians*. His colleagues observing that the people were inclined to listen to him, gathered about him and stabbed him, after which they acted as they pleased without opposition. *Philip*, thenephew and successor of *Antigonus*, soon after, arriving with a great army on their frontiers, the *Spartans* sent deputies to make their submission, which, when the king had heard, he suffered them to withdraw, and caused the matter to be debated in his council. Most of the counsellors were of opinion, that the king ought to treat the *Spartans*, as *Alexander* heretofore had treated the *Thebans*; but the king, though only 17 years old, differed from them. He contented himself with telling the deputies, that he should have his eye upon the *Spartans* for the future, and therefore advised them to be quiet, after which he dismissed them.

The state
of *Sparta*
after the
flight of
Cleomenes.

* Plut. in vit. Cleom. Arat. & Philopæm. † Polyb. l. ii. 4.
Liv. l. 34. Pausan. in Corinth.

Two

kingscho-
sen by the
Ephori.

The *Ætolians* making new disturbances in *Greece*, were very desirous of engaging the *Lacedæmonians* in their interest, and sent an ambassador to *Sparta*, to persuade the *Ephori* to chuse two kings, and to unite themselves strictly with them. The ambassador procured a great party to declare for him; but both his propositions were rejected by the *Ephori*. After his departure, the party that had favoured him, found means to stir up the people so effectually against the *Ephori*, that at a solemn festival they murdered them, and chose others, whom they directed to elect kings. These new *Ephori*, accordingly, chose *Ageſipolis*, a boy, the grandson of *Cleombrotus*, whom *Leonidas* had banished, and appointed *Cleomenes*, the child's uncle, his tutor. For the other they set up *Lycurgus*, who, by giving each of them a talent, was declared of the *Herculean* race, and lawful king of *Sparta*. *Lycurgus*, after some time, drove *Ageſipolis*, into banishment, involved his country in several wars, which he waged with various success. At last *Chilo*, who conceived he had some right to the *Spartan* throne, conspired against him, and having murdered the *Ephori*, surrounded his house, but by the fidelity of some of his servants, he made his escape. *Chilo* finding the *Spartans* little affected him, fled to the *Macedonians*, whom he endeavoured to irritate against his country. *Lycurgus* soon after was recalled, and reigned in *Sparta* many years.

The *Eph-*
ri mur-
dered.*Lycurgus*
invades
Messenia.

Mean while, *Philip* entering the *Peloponnese* a second time, and having some difference with *Aratus*, *Lycurgus* and the *Lacedæmonians* began to take heart, and to think once more of contending with the power of *Macedon*. They were not deterred from their design, even when they heard that the king was again become a friend to *Aratus* and his son. As soon as the season of the year permitted, they invaded *Messenia*, which immediately drawing *Philip* that way, *Lycurgus* thought proper to retire, that he might put his country in a condition to sustain the invasion, which he plainly perceived was intended. *Philip* advanced with his army as far as *Amyclæ*, from whence he spoiled all the country round about, while the *Messenians* invaded *Laconia* on the other side, and endeavoured to penetrate to him. *Lycurgus* suddenly attacking them, routed them and took from them the greatest part of their horses and baggage. Upon his return to *Sparta*, he made the necessary dispositions for the defence of the city. *Philip* having observed, that he had fortified several posts on the mountains, began with attacking these, which, with much difficulty, he made himself master of. However, *Lycurgus* retiring into the city, *Philip* did not think fit to assault the place, his own army being full of sedition, but immediately withdrew. The *Ephori* some time after, pretending that *Lycurgus* intended to make himself absolute, attempted to surprize and murder him in his house, but he escaped into *Ætolia*, from whence he was soon after recalled. His following transactions are entirely unknown, neither is there any mention of the steps taken by the *Spartans* upon his death.

Machanidas

Machanidas was the successor of *Lycurgus*, but when he attained the sovereignty is very uncertain. He appears to have been a person of great abilities; but by what right he held his dignity is not known. At home he ejected the *Ephori*, that his authority might be more absolute, and abroad he made all the *Peloponnesse* tremble, which he would probably have totally reduced, if *Philopæmen*, the chief of the *Achæans*, had not opposed him. *Philopæmen* prevailed on all the cities of the league to unite against the *Spartans*, and having drawn the confederate army together, he marched to *Mantineæ*, where a desperate battle ensued between him and *Machanidas*. In the beginning of the action *Machanidas* had the advantage; but pursuing the enemy too far, *Philopæmen* attacked the *Spartans* in the rear. As *Machanidas* returned to the relief of his troops, *Philopæmen* left the troops that were charging to the command of *Polybius*, the *Megalopolitan*, and went to oppose the *Spartan* prince, who, as he was leaping a ditch on horseback, was run through the breast by *Philopæmen's* spear. His death was no sooner known, than his army fled. The *Spartans* having lost 4000 men in this engagement, were not able to oppose the *Achæans*, who wasted all the provinces lately reduced by them.

Not long after the death of *Machanidas*, *Sparta* was governed by one *Nabis*, who is reported to have exceeded all tyrants, and to have left the epithets of gracious and merciful to *Phalaris* and *Dionysius*, on a comparison of their actions with his. He is described as an open enemy; murdering those he could lay his hands on, and banishing those who were not immediately in his power; and afterwards sending *Cretan* assassins to hunt after them to put them to death. At home he reigned with great dissimulation, he kept up the state of a prince, wore purple, was attended by guards, kept an equal countenance, made use of smooth speeches, entertained numbers of spies and sycophants, and struck such terror into all others, that they durst not express their thoughts or their fears. The distressed and dejected state of all *Greece*, which was now mightily divided, and without strength, gave *Nabis* vast opportunities of increasing his dominions, and exalting his power. Having seized on *Argos*, under pretence of assisting some of its exiled citizens, the *Achæans*, who began to be alarmed, immediately applied to the *Romans*, and *Titus Quintius*, the *Roman* general, arriving in *Greece*, they represented to him the great mischiefs that would follow if the power of *Nabis* was not checked. *Quintius* marched immediately into the neighbourhood of *Argos*, where, on his approach, a rising was attempted, which issued in the destruction of those who desired to be free. The *Romans* afterwards marching towards *Lacedæmon*, *Nabis* in great confusion, ordered a general assembly of the people to be held without the city, whither, as soon as the citizens were come, he surrounded them with his troops. He then, in a short speech, represented the services he had done the state, and as the public danger was now very great, he thought it necessary, he

he said, to seize and imprison some persons whom he suspected. He then caused 80 persons of worth and honour to be arrested, and that same night ordered them all to be murdered in prison. A little afterwards growing jealous of the *Helots*, he seized a great number of them, caused them to be scourged in the streets, till the kennels were discoloured with their blood, and then put them to death without mercy.

His inter- Having prevailed on the *Roman* general to grant him an inter-
view with view, he so represented matters to *Quintius*, that he promised
the *Roman* to send him articles for an accommodation in writing. Ac-
general. cordingly, soon after he sent him the following proposals: That

Nabis should withdraw all his garrisons from *Argos* and its territories; that he should deliver up all the ships of war he had taken, and retain no more vessels than two galliots; that he should deliver up such as had fled to him from the *Roman* allies, and make restitution to the *Messenians* for plundering their territories; that he should restore to the *Lacedæmonian* exiles their wives and children; that he should give such hostages as the general would chuse; that he should pay down 100 talents, and that he should pay fifty talents a year for eight years together. These conditions were equally disagreeable to *Nabis* and the *Lacedæmonians*, who rejected them, and prepared for an obstinate defence. *Quintius*, who was at the head of 50,000 men, attacked the city, but was several times repulsed. He at last penetrated into one of the long streets, when *Nabis* gave all over for lost; but *Pythagoras*, his son-in-law, a man of great abilities, setting fire to the end of the street, forced the *Romans* to abandon their post, and to retire. *Nabis* was so thoroughly frightened, that he renewed the negotiation, and with much ado procured peace on the terms before specified.

When *Nabis* was freed from the neighbourhood of the *Romans*, he employed his thoughts about contriving means for recovering his former power and authority. He therefore began to treat privately with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, with a design of creating new disturbances in the *Peloponnese*, and having received from them great promises, he began to act offensively against the *Achæans*. He recovered *Gythium*, the sea-port of *Sparta*, and obtained a small advantage at sea. But he was afterwards routed at land by *Philopæmen*, rather for want of abilities, as a general, in himself, than any fault in his soldiers. *Philopæmen*, by using a stratagem, made him abandon a very strong camp, and cut off a considerable part of his forces. Then seizing the camp which the *Spartans* had abandoned, he placed part of his forces in the avenues that led to *Sparta*, by which means he intercepted and cut off many of the troops of *Nabis*, whose army was greatly broke before he reached *Sparta*. *Philopæmen* then ravaged *Laconia* for 30 days, *Nabis* not daring in the least to oppose him.

The enemy being masters of the whole country, his communication with *Gythium* was cut off. He had every day advice that the *Romans* intended suddenly to send a new army into

Greece.

Greece. The *Lacedæmonians* themselves appeared dissatisfied, so that he was afraid of leading his soldiers without the city. In the midst of these distresses he placed all his hopes in the *Ætoli-ans*, who had been strongly instrumental in drawing him into the war. He solicited their assistance in the most earnest and pressing manner; but they shewed themselves very proper allies for a tyrant. Having dispatched his messengers with large assurances of ready assistance, they then consulted how to act; and the result of their consultation was, that *Nabis*, when he had a strong army of *Spartans* and mercenaries at his command, was their good ally, and deserved all possible regard; but in the present situation of things, when his forces were in a manner cut off, and he scarce able to maintain himself in *Sparta*, it would best serve their purposes to remove him out of the way, and take the city to themselves. This counsel being approved, *Alexamenus* was sent to *Lacedæmon* with 1000 foot and 30 horse, who were ordered to obey him alone, and not to assist *Nabis* to make war on the *Achæans*. He asks the assistance of the *Ætoli-ans*.

Nabis was greatly dissatisfied with this small reinforcement; but *Alexamenus*, to encourage him, told him, that the *Ætoli-ans*, if his necessities required it, would march with all their forces to his relief; that *Antiochus* was resolved to make war on the *Romans*, and that many of the *Greek* states were inclined to his party. *Nabis*, encouraged by these assurances, began to exercise his troops without the city, by the advice of *Alexamenus*, who assisted on these occasions, and having gained the confidence of the tyrant, persuaded him to post his *Spartan* guards phalanx ways behind the rest of his troops. Having thus lulled the tyrant into great security, he took the opportunity of a review of the troops to execute his purpose. While the guards were posted behind, he and his small body of horse suddenly attacked *Nabis*, and instantly slew him. He is murdered by the *Ætolian* general,

The *Lacedæmonians* who were present looked on with a mixture of joy and terror; joy that the tyrant was dead, terror at beholding so strange an accident, the reasons of which they knew not. *Alexamenus* and the *Ætoli-ans* taking advantage of their amazement, marched directly into the city, which they plundered, the chief breaking into the tyrant's palace, and rifling all his treasures. The *Spartans* beginning now to look on the murder of *Nabis* as their misfortune, and considering how little it became them to look on and see themselves spoiled by foreigners, took a child, whose name was *Laconicus*, descended of the royal family, and for that reason bred up by *Nabis*, and setting him on horseback, gathered round him and attacked many of the *Ætoli-ans*, whom they put to the sword. After a while they broke into the palace, where they slew *Alexamenus* and those that were with him, and also put many other *Ætoli-ans* to death, who had fled into a temple of *Diana*. Mean while *Philopæmen*, who, by an express, had been informed of the death of *Nabis*, arrived with a few troops at *Sparta*, but instead of treacherously taking advantage of their confusions, he

who unite he represented to the citizens the imprudence of their conduct, them- and engaged them, since they had so happily recovered their selves to freedom, to unite themselves to the *Achæans*, reaping thus by the *Achæ-* his virtue, all the fruits the *Ætolians* expected from their per-
ans. fidy.



CHAP. IV.

The History of the THEBANS,

*From the time of their becoming a commonwealth, to their reduction,
by PHILIP of Macedon.*

Democra-
cy pre-
vails at
Thebes,

The cha-
racter of
the *The-
bans*.

They ap-
ply to
Sparta for
protection
against
Athens.

WHAT kind of a commonwealth was first established by the *Thebans*, immediately after the death of *Xanthus*, does not appear. This only we know, that in process of time, when the *Thebans* came to their flourishing age, and in their turn put in for the sovereignty of *Greece*, their government was in the nature of a democracy, but it was not till after a long time, and by slow degrees, that they arrived to this height of power. Notwithstanding their great antiquity, their foreign and domestic wars, and gallant defence of their city against the *Argives* and the *Epigoni*; yet their progress in the martial discipline, or in the improvement of their government, laws, and commerce, was, for a long time, but inconsiderable, and they made but a very obscure and contemptible figure in the world, in comparison of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, being justly accounted a slothful stupid people even by *Pindar* and *Plutarch*, their own countrymen. In all likelihood they might have so continued to the end, had it not been for their two great generals, *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*, who raised them to their height of power and reputation. Their stupidity and slowness was not so great an obstacle to their advancement in glory and fame, as their baseness and treachery, of which they gave many instances, but more especially in their betraying the common cause of *Greece*, and going over to *Xerxes*, king of *Persia*; a treachery which was attended with a double disgrace, as they were the first that were gained over to that interest, and their perfidy was attended with ill success.

Their treacherous conduct made them apprehensive of the resentment of their powerful neighbours, the *Athenians*, on which account they sought the friendship and protection of the *Lacedæmonians*, which they easily obtained, the *Spartans* being then more inclined to forgive the partisans of the king of *Persia*, than to suffer the *Athenians* to raise their greatness at the expense of their neighbours. The *Thebans* for a time expressed an uncommon gratitude to their protectors, insomuch, that they adhered to the *Spartans* with the utmost fidelity, during
the

the whole *Peloponnesian* war, by which means they not only recovered the government of *Bæotia*, of which, on account of their defection, they had been deprived by the *Amphietyons*, but their city was also restored to its ancient lustre. That ruinous war turned out greatly to their advantage, and at the peace of *Antalcidas* they were become so powerful and headstrong, that they refused to agree to that treaty, which stripped them of their dominion over *Bæotia*, and were, with no small difficulty, overawed and forced into it by the other states.

The *Spartans* now ambitiously aiming at the dominion of *Greece*, seized upon their citadel, and brought them under the yoke, the place having been betrayed by *Leontides*, into the hands of *Phæbidas*, the *Spartan* general. About four years after the *Theban* exiles, who, upon this occasion, had taken refuge in *Athens*, formed a scheme for delivering their city from the *Spartan* yoke, and had concerted the design with the popular faction in *Thebes*. The chief promoter of the enterprise was *Pelopidas*, a young daring nobleman, of great abilities and great generosity, who employed his large fortune in supporting the distressed citizens, and had acquired so great a reputation, that *Jason*, tyrant of *Thessaly*, came to *Thebes* to enter into an alliance with him. The enterprise was also favoured by *Epaminondas*, another noble *Theban*, who, though extremely poor, would not accept of the presents of *Pelopidas*, his most intimate friend. Notwithstanding his poverty, he rendered himself greatly distinguished by his virtues. He was modest, prudent, and grave, easy and complaisant in the commerce of the world, uniting with the ardour for military exercises, a wonderful taste for study and the sciences, and so great a lover of truth and sincerity, that he scrupled to tell a lie even in jest or for diversion. Tho' he would not have any share in the desperate plot of the exiles, which he suspected would be too bloody, yet by his discourses he had endeavoured to inspire the *Thebans* with a passionate desire to throw off the *Spartan* yoke.

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, the exiles came to a small town near *Thebes*, and twelve of them, among whom was *Pelopidas*, entered the city, dressed in mean habits, with dogs and nets, that they might pass for hunters. They went immediately to the house of *Charon*, a principal citizen, who was privy to their design, where they were soon after joined by 36 more of their confederates. *Phillidas*, secretary to *Archias* and *Philip*, the *Spartan* governors, who was also in the plot, that very day invited them and their companions to a grand entertainment, and to make it the more complete, he engaged to provide some of the finest women in the town. When the guests were almost drunk, a whisper arose, that the exiles were in the city, upon which *Archias* sent an officer to *Charon*, who was ordered to come immediately to the governor. This message greatly alarmed *Charon* and the conspirators, who now imagined that their plot was discovered. *Charon*, however, encouraging them, left his only son in their hands, as a hostage for

his fidelity, and went to *Archias*, whom he easily satisfied, with regard to the report, by promising to go directly and enquire into the truth of it. Returning with joy to the conspirators, he informed them of what had passed, when it was resolved instantly to put their design in execution.

Mean while a courier arrived in great haste from *Athens*, with a packet, containing an account of the whole conspiracy, which, when he delivered to *Archias*, he said to him, "My lord, the person who writes you these letters, conjures you to read them immediately, as they are about business of consequence." *Archias* being in the height of jollity, laid the packet by unopened, and answered with a smile, "Business to-morrow," which words were afterwards used by the *Greeks* as a proverb.

The conspirators were at that time divided into two parties, one of which, under *Pelopidas*, went against *Leontides*, who was not at the feast, the other, led by *Charon* and *Melon*, was to fall on *Archias* and his company. These, who had dressed themselves in women's apparel, to cover their armour, were no sooner introduced to the drunken guests, than they put them all to the sword. *Pelopidas* met with more resistance. *Leontides*, who was asleep in bed, awaked at the noise that was made, snatched his sword, and slew one of the conspirators, but was himself slain by *Pelopidas*. The conspirators then dispatched an express to their associates without the city. The doors of the prisons were broke open by them, and 500 prisoners let out. The *Thebans* were called upon to resume their liberty; and to furnish them with arms, the spoils were taken down from the porticoes, and the armourers shops were broke open.

Liberty
proclaim-
ed to the
Thebans
by *Pelopi-
das* and
*Epaminon-
das*.

The citizens in the mean time were in the utmost consternation, and crowded into the streets, while the houses were all illuminated with torches. The garrison in the citadel, however, did not stir, though they consisted of 1500 men, and 3000 citizens had taken refuge with them. Probably they imagined that the power of the conspirators was much greater than it was. *Epaminondas* now joined the exiles, to dispel the fears of the *Thebans*, and to prevent any further massacre. Being accompanied by a crowd of the best citizens and priests, the latter with garlands and crowns in their hands, he assured the affrighted people that their tyrants and oppressors only had been put to death, and that no others should be slain. A general assembly of the *Thebans* being then summoned by *Pelopidas*, he proclaimed liberty to them, and exhorted them to fight for their gods and their country. *Pelopidas*, *Melon*, and *Charon*, were the same day elected *Bæotarchs*, or governors of *Bæotia*, and the management of the war against *Sparta* was committed to *Pelopidas*.

The cita-
del retai-
ned.

It was then resolved to besiege the citadel, for which purpose troops were brought from several cities of *Bæotia*, and a reinforcement of 5000 foot and 500 horse arriving from *Athens*, an army of 12,000 men was composed, with which *Pelopidas* invested the

the place, which in a few days surrendered, some say, for want of provisions, but according to others, not without some kind of treachery in the commanders.

The *Lacedæmonians*, upon hearing of the conspiracy, immediately sent their king, *Cleombrotus*, though in the depth of winter, into *Bæotia*, to the relief of the citadel, but at *Megara* he was met by the garrison, who had been allowed to march off. Finding it impossible to perform any action of consequence, he left *Sphodrias*, with some troops, at *Thespia*, and returned to *Sparta*. *Sphodrias*, at the instigation of *Pelopidas*, as some affirm, made an attempt to surprise the *Piræum*, or harbour of *Athens*, which so exasperated the *Athenians*, especially when they heard that he was acquitted at *Sparta*, that they entered heartily into the war against the *Spartans*, though they had before withdrawn their succours from *Thebes*, with the resolution of not interfering in the quarrel. Many other cities that were weary of the *Spartan* yoke, then joining with the *Thebans*, the following summer they were enabled successfully to oppose both *Agésilas* and *Cleombrotus*, who invaded their territories. The following year the *Spartans* had no success at land, and their fleet was defeated by *Conon*, the *Athenian*. The vain efforts of the *Spartans* against them.

Soon after, the *Thebans* having recovered all the cities in *Bæotia*, made a powerful diversion in *Phocis*. Beginning at length to despise the *Spartans*, they ventured to act offensively, and had many sharp encounters with them, which failed not to raise their courage, and gain them experience. Their successes were chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of *Pelopidas*, who signalized himself at the battle of *Tanagra*, against the *Spartans*, killing their general with his own hand. Soon after he formed the design of surprising *Orchomenos*, one of the largest and most considerable cities in all *Bæotia*, and which was still garrisoned by the *Lacedæmonians*. As he was marching towards it, at the head of some horse, and a chosen body of 300 foot, which, from their fidelity to each other, were called *the sacred battalion*, he was informed that a numerous body of *Spartans* were on their march to reinforce the garrison, which made him retire. In his retreat, meeting this detachment near *Tegyra*, he attacked them so furiously, that he entirely routed them with great slaughter; by which he acquired more glory, than if he had succeeded in his original design against *Orchomenos*, this being the greatest disgrace the *Spartans* had hitherto met with, it never having been known before that in any of their wars they had been beaten by an equal number, much less when the enemy was greatly inferior. The superiority was now so evident in favour of the *Thebans*, that the *Athenians* began to be alarmed, and looking upon them as more dangerous rivals than the *Spartans*, agreed soon after to a peace with the latter. The *Thebans*, however, rejected with scorn the terms of accommodation, because they were required to restore the cities of *Bæotia* to their liberty. Not long after, taking offence at the *Platæans*, on account of their singular fidelity to the *Athenians*, and looking upon

upon their city as a continual thorn in their sides, they came to a resolution to surprize it. The *Platæans* suspecting their design, obtained some succours from the *Athenians*. The *Thebans*, nevertheless, holding a secret correspondence with some of the citizens, sent 300 men thither, who were admitted by their party into the city, which they soon after razed; in which manner they also treated *Thespia*.

The *Thebans* grow ambitious. The *Thebans* hitherto had only striven to secure their regained liberty, by allying either with *Athens* or *Sparta*, it being their constant custom when they were in danger from, or deserted by the one, to have recourse to the other, being readily succoured by either party, because whatever side they inclined to, they were of weight sufficient to turn the scale. Now seeing both *Athens* and *Sparta* on the decline, and having acquired great knowledge in military affairs, they began to form ambitious projects, and to think of enlarging their territories, by encroachments on their neighbours.

This new spirit of superiority is said to have been raised by *Pelopidas*, and his friend *Epaminondas*, who had hitherto preferred a private life, and from his attachment to philosophy, had seldom appeared in public, but to get himself excused from state employments. The public services would not suffer him to continue longer in his beloved retirement, so that the command of the army was at last conferred upon him, and both he and *Pelopidas* came to be considered in the same light, as generals in the field, as governors at home, and as complete statesmen in the council. It was *Epaminondas*, who, at the conferences in *Sparta*, justified the right of the *Thebans* to *Bœotia*, which so irritated *Agésilæus*, that he excluded them from the general pacification that was then concluded among the other Greek states. The *Thebans* being now threatened with the whole power of *Sparta*, without any ally, pitched upon *Epaminondas* to justify their right in the field, and assigned him, at his own request, six counsellors or assistants. Being informed that the *Spartans* were advancing with an army of about 18000 men, he raised what troops he could, which did not exceed 6000. He, however, made proclamation, that all who desired to depart might do so, which permission the *Thespians* and some others embraced. *Cleombrotus* arriving with the *Spartans* at *Leuctra*, in breach of a truce that had been lately concluded, *Epaminondas* resolved to give him battle. He placed his chief strength in his left wing, and drew up his line fifty men deep, whereas that of the *Spartans* was but twelve men deep. He ordered his right wing to fall back in a slanting line, as if they declined to fight, that they might not be too much exposed to the enemy, and might serve for a body of reserve in case of need. The cavalry on both sides were posted on the front, and began the attack. The *Lacedæmonian* horse were instantly put in great disorder, and falling back upon their infantry, threw them into the greatest confusion. *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* in the mean time advancing close upon their horse, made a furious attack upon

Epaminondas declared general.

He gains a victory over the *Spartans* at *Leuctra*.

upon the *Lacedæmonian* phalanx, which they broke with great slaughter, *Cleombrotus* and several officers of note being slain. The dispute continued on both sides with great fury about the body of the dead king, which the *Spartans* regained; *Epaminondas* drawing off some of his troops for the attack of the other wing of the enemy, which consisted of such auxiliaries and allies as had not heartily engaged in the *Spartan* interest, who, after a slight resistance, betook themselves to flight. They were, however, closely pursued by the *Thebans*, with great slaughter, and *Epaminondas* remaining master of the field, erected a trophy in memory of his victory. The *Thebans* in this battle lost but 300 men, but the loss of the *Spartans* amounted to 4000; a loss which struck them with the greatest consternation, as it presaged the downfall of their power. *Epaminondas* sent a herald, crowned with garlands, to communicate the news of his victory to the *Athenians*, in hopes that it would be an effectual means to reunite them to the *Theban* interest. It proved, however, quite otherwise, for the *Athenians* received the courier with great coldness, and ordered him immediately to depart, without allowing him time for refreshment, not being able to dissemble their jealousy of the rising greatness of the *Thebans*. The *Athenians* jealous of the *Thebans*,

Notwithstanding the bad reception the *Theban* herald met with at *Athens*, several other states expressed great joy upon receiving the news of the victory, and several of them entered into alliances with the *Thebans*. Though some, indeed, were compelled to enter into their alliance, yet, the far greater part did it either from inclination or interest, as they found they were most likely to be protected by them. Several of these new allies objected to the terms of the general pacification, for granting liberty to some towns, over which they claimed a jurisdiction. Amongst these allies, the *Mantineans*, by the help of the *Eleans* and *Arcadians*, took upon them to rebuild and fortify their city; and according to *Pausanias*, the *Arcadians*, by the persuasions of *Epaminondas*, built one common city, which they called *Megalopolis*, though *Diodorus* places it two years later. who procure allies in the *Peloponnese*.

Jason, tyrant of *Thessaly*, being about this time murdered, the *Thebans* strengthened themselves by new alliances. Besides the *Arcadians* and *Eleans*, in the *Peloponnese*, the *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubians*, and other states, declared themselves their allies, that is, their dependants, which encouraged them to carry the war into the enemy's territories. Accordingly *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, who had been elected joint governors of *Bœotia*, entered the *Peloponnese* with a powerful army, which, by the junction of the *Peloponnesian* allies, amounted to 50,000 men, besides 20,000 more who followed the camp, rather for plunder than fighting. This army entered the territories of *Laconia* in four bodies, which, after ravaging the country through which they passed, united again at *Sellasia*, from whence they proceeded to *Sparta*, but being repulsed from thence by the brave *Agésilæus*, they marched back into *Arcadia*, ravaging *Laconia* as they passed, and carrying off an immense booty. and attack *Sparta*.

The *Mef-* booty. *Epaminondas*, before he left the *Spartan* territories, re-
senians re- stored the posterity of the *Messenians* to their ancient dominions,
 established out of which they had been banished near 300 years, rebuilt
 by *Epami-* their capital, and left a strong garrison for its defence. This
nondas. generous action redounded as much to his glory, as to the mor-
 tification and disgrace of the *Spartans*, who were highly exas-
 perated at being deprived of a province as large as their own,
 and one of the most fertile of all *Greece*. Upon his return from
 the *Peloponnese*, *Epaminondas* was like to have been stopped by
Iphicrates, whom the *Athenians* had sent with 12000 men to in-
 tercept him. *Iphicrates*, however, whether by private instructions
 from the *Athenians*, neglected to seize the most important pass,
 which put it out of his power to do great injury to the *The-*
bans, who, though the roads were choaked up with trees, rocks,
 stones, and every thing that could render them impassible, ad-
 vanced resolutely to *Corinth*. The *Corinthians* had fortified their
 city with many strong outworks; but upon the first attack of
 the *Thebans* they abandoned them, and were pursued into their

The *The-* city with great slaughter. It being then the depth of winter,
bans try *Epaminondas* did not chuse to besiege *Corinth*, but marched di-
 rectly home, where he and *Pelopidas* met with a very ungrateful
 their two generals return for their great services. As they had been forced in their
 for breach late expedition to prolong their command four months longer
 of orders, than the time limited by law, they were both arrested as state
 prisoners, and soon after tried capitally. Their enemies neg-
 lected no art nor pains to incense the people against them; but
Epaminondas taking the whole fault on himself, addressed his
 judges to the following effect: "I was in hopes that my suc-
 cesses, and the advantages you derived from them, would have
 been sufficient motives to induce you to acquit me; but since
 they are not, I only wait for your sentence, I am ready both
 to accuse and condemn myself: only let posterity know, that
 I am put to death for having so successfully led your troops
 into *Laconia*, where no enemy had penetrated before; that I
 die for having restored the *Messenians* to their antient patri-
 mony; for having re-united the *Arcadians*, and ruined the
Lacedæmonians; for having increased your strength, enlarged
 your conquests, and raised you to this present height of power
 and glory. All I farther beg is, that it may be engraved upon
 my monument, that he who hath done you all these services
 had such an effect on his judges, that they immediately acquitted
 both him and his colleague. Though this prosecution was chiefly
 raised by the envy of their enemies, and particularly by *Mene-*
clides, who had been one of the conspirators against the *Spar-*
tans, yet, as it was a most dangerous precedent that the generals
 had set, it was most reasonable that they should undergo a trial.
Meneclides, after they were acquitted, so far prevailed on the
Thebans, that they deprived *Epaminondas* of the government of
Bœotia for a whole year. He was not, however, able by his
 artifices to rob *Pelopidas* of the people's favour.

Mean while the *Spartans* endeavoured with the utmost diligence to retrieve their affairs, and by the reinforcements of the *Athenians*, and of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* from *Sicily*, and by setting at liberty many of their *Helots*, they raised an army of the *Peloponnesians*, 20,000 men, with which their generals marched to the *Isthmus*, which they fortified. *Epaminondas*, however, broke through with 7000 *Theban* foot and 500 horse, to the assistance of the *Peloponnesian* allies. He made himself master of some places, and in his return attacked *Corinth*, which was most gallantly defended by *Chabrias*, the *Athenian*, who repulsed the *Bæotians* even after they had entered the city. This bad success gave fresh occasion to the enemies of *Epaminondas* to blame his conduct in the highest terms. By accusing him of being a secret friend to the *Spartans*, and a traitor to his country, they so far prevailed on the people, that he was deprived of his command, and reduced to the condition of a private man. The state, however, was soon obliged to have recourse to him again, which gave him an opportunity of retrieving his fame, and wiping off the stain which his enemies had thrown upon him.

Mean while the *Arcadians* were become so elated with the victories lately gained over the *Lacedæmonians*, that they now thought themselves able to cope with them alone, and accordingly began to act independantly of the *Thebans*. Their general, *Lycomedes*, a man of birth and fortune, and of an ambitious spirit, represented to them that the whole *Peloponnesians* did properly belong to them, as the original inhabitants; that they were the most populous nation in all *Greece*, and had been always most considered and esteemed by the rest for their singular stoutness and bravery; that as they had formerly promoted the interest of the *Spartans*, so they were now advancing that of the *Thebans*; and that if they did not now insist upon an equal share of the command with them, they would in the end find them *Spartans* too. By this speech he made such an impression on the *Arcadians*, that they declared they were ready to undertake the most difficult enterprizes. A few months after, however, they were sadly convinced of their ill-timed folly and pride; for they were defeated with the loss of 10,000 men, by the *Spartans*, under *Archidamus*, the son of *Agésilas*, who lost and are not so much as one man, from which circumstance it was stiled by the *Spartans*, *The tearless victory*. The *Arcadians* after this defeat were involved in several misfortunes, which their allies, the *Thebans* and *Eleans*, suffered them to share alone, the first taking pleasure in seeing their ambition checked, and the latter being offended with them for keeping some of their towns.

The *Thebans* had not only struck a terror into the southern states of *Greece*, but were also respected by their northern neighbours. The *Thebessians* soliciting their assistance against *Alexander*, the tyrant of *Pheræ*, *Pelopidas* marched thither with an army, while *Epaminondas* was engaged in the second invasion of the *Peloponnesians*, and having reduced *Larissa*, obliged *Pheræ* to surrender. Though the tyrant made his escape from

from *Pelopidas*, yet, he having left the *Theffalians* in a state of defence, proceeded to *Macedonia*, to decide the dispute between *Alexander* and his bastard brother *Ptolemy*, who contended for the crown, but from an opinion of his justice, chose him for arbitrator. *Pelopidas* having established *Alexander* on the throne brought with him *Philip*, the king's younger brother, and 3 *Macedonian* youths as hostages to *Thebes*.

The following year, upon a complaint of the *Theffalians* *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias* were sent ambassadors to them. After they had entered *Theffaly*, finding the different parties very violent, they were obliged to raise *Theffalian* mercenaries to assist their friends. Mean while *Alexander*, king of *Macedon*, being murdered by his brother *Ptolemy*, who had seized the throne, *Pelopidas* was invited thither by the friends of the deceased king. Upon his arrival in that kingdom, *Ptolemy* corrupted the *Theffalian* mercenaries that he carried with him; but, nevertheless, came and submitted to him, asked pardon, and promised to keep the kingdom in trust only, and to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the *Thebans*. For his security he gave his son and 50 of his companions as hostages, whom *Pelopidas* sent to *Thebes*. He then resolved to punish the treachery of the mercenaries, and assembling some *Theffalian* troops, he marched to *Pharsalus*, where he was informed the deserters had left their wives and children with their best effects. He was no sooner arrived there, but *Alexander* the tyrant appeared before the place with a powerful army. *Pelopidas* thinking *Alexander* came thither to justify himself, went to him unarmed, with his colleague *Ismenias*. The tyrant immediately caused them to be seized, and sent prisoners to *Pheræ*. In hopes of breaking the spirit of the brave *Pelopidas*, he ordered that every one that had a mind should be admitted to see them; but this had a quite contrary effect upon him, and only served as a means of sending the tyrant several severe messages. He particularly sent to tell him, "That it was absurd in him to cause so many innocent and worthy citizens to be tortured and butchered, and to spare him, who he knew, if ever he escaped out of his hands, would not fail to make him suffer the punishment due to his crimes." The tyrant, surprised at this boldness and magnanimity, sent this answer, "Why is *Pelopidas* in such haste to die?" and received this reply, "It is that thou mayest perish the sooner, by becoming still more hateful to God and man." This last message had such an effect upon him, that instead of making a spectacle of him any longer, he caused him to be more closely confined, and forbade any but his wife *Thebe* to see him. This lady had heard so much of his intrepid bravery and good sense, that she had several interviews with him, and he encouraged her visits, probably to consult with her on the proper means of revenging herself and him on her bloody husband.

When the *Thebans* heard the news of the outrage done to *Pelopidas*, they immediately sent an army into *Theffaly*; but whether

whether through ill fortune, or ill conduct, the generals were Theban repulsed with great loss by the *Pheræan* usurper. They would *bans* send probably have been wholly cut off, had not the soldiers com- an army pelled *Epaminondas*, who was there only as a volunteer, to take to his ref- the command. He soon gave a different turn to their affairs; cue. for placing himself at the head of the horse and light-armed *Epaminon-* foot, he charged the enemy with such vigour and bravery, that *das*, by he obliged them to desist from their pursuit. As the army, his con- however, had suffered greatly, he was forced to return to *Thebes*, duct, saves where the pusillanimous generals were fined 12000 drachms the army, each. *Epaminondas* was declared general, and sent with a new and army against the tyrant, who was full of apprehension on the news, which had occasioned many insurrections among the *Thessalians*. The new *Theban* general forbore pushing hostili- ties to extremes, for fear of provoking the enemy to wreak all his fury on his prisoner. He, however, so harassed him by fre- obliges quent skirmishes, that he, seeing his great superiority, and fear- the tyrant ing a general revolt of the *Thessalians*, offered to treat. *Epa-* to set *Pe-* *minondas* granted him a truce, on condition of his restoring *Pe-* *lopidas* at *lopidas* and *Ismenias*, and having received the two ambassadors liberty. returned with his army to *Thebes*.

The *Thebans* now were raised to such a height of reputation and glory, for their strength and valour, for the conduct and bravery of their generals, and for their integrity and justice, that they seemed on the point of assuming the sovereignty of *Greece*. The other principal states were become extremely jealous of the *Thebans*, and conscious of their own weakness, sent deputies to *Persia*, to draw the king into their alliance. The *Pelopidas* *Thebans* and their allies also sent a deputation thither, at the sent to the head of which was *Pelopidas*, whose fame had been spread into *Persian* the remotest provinces of *Asia*. *Pelopidas*, upon his arrival at court. *Susa*, became the object of the admiration of the nobles and great officers of the court. He was received by the king with the most manifest marks of esteem, particularly at his audience, and by a plain and nervous discourse, he inclined the *Persian* monarch to the *Theban* interest. *Artaxerxes* did not dissemble He pre- his preference of him to all the rest of the *Grecian* deputies; vals with he sent him the richest and most magnificent presents, and the king granted all he asked; namely, *That all the Greeks should be free to declare and independant; that Messenia should continue free and exempt in favour from the yoke of Sparta, that the Athenians should lay up their fleet, of the and that the Thebans should be reckoned the hereditary friends of Thebans.* *Persia*.

Pelopidas, on his return, was extremely applauded by his countrymen, who, by his successful negotiation, now saw themselves, unrivalled, at the head of *Greece*. They immedi- ately began to make the best advantage of their superiority, and sent orders to all the deputies of the other states to assemble at *Thebes*, in order to ratify the treaty, concluded at the *Persian* court. They came accordingly, but when the oath was tender- ed to them, they expressed an uncommon surprise, and abso- lutely

The other states re- ject the *Persian* treaty. lutely declined it, alledging, that they were not sent by their principals to swear to the observance of the articles, but to hear them read; so that the congress broke up without any other effect than an universal discontent, notwithstanding the pains which the *Thebans* took by private conferences, to court some, and awe other states into a ratification. The *Corinthians* declared, they saw no occasion for the treaty, and the other states agreeing to their opinion, resolved from thenceforth to oppose with all their might, the growing power of the *Thebans*. *Artaxerxes* stiffly refused to concern himself farther about his new ally, as he could not interfere without bringing all the other *Grecian* states upon him, who were by this time universally disposed to unite against them and him, and to make it a common cause.

The *Thebans* were not hindered by these discouragements from the farther prosecution of their designs, even though their old allies, the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and other *Peloponnesian* states, refused to act any longer in concert with them. Being desirous of retaining their influence in the *Peloponnese*, they sent *Epaminondas* thither with an army, and he having prevailed on the *Achæans* to enter into an alliance with him, the *Arcadians* were also obliged to renew their league, to protect themselves from the *Spartans*.

Epaminondas again enters the *Peloponnese*. Not long after, however, the *Arcadians* again renounced their alliance with *Thebes*, and entered into a league with the *Athenians*, the chief promoter of which was *Lycomedes*, the *Arcadian* general, who was soon after murdered upon his return from *Athens*, by a party of exiles, or, according to some, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who invaded *Arcadia* on account of that alliance, and slew him and zoo of his men. The *Corinthians* about the same time having been threatened with a surprise from the *Athenians*, concluded a peace with the *Thebans*, to which agreed the *Phlians* and some other states, upon these terms, that every one should enjoy their own. The *Spartans*, seemingly, at least, were induced to come into this peace, by the mediation of the king of *Persia*, who had sent a plenipotentiary, to settle once more the tranquillity of *Greece*. Though the *Spartans* still insisted that *Messenia* belonged to them, yet they, as well as all the other contending parties, agreed to be quiet for the present; and this patched up peace was called the putting an end to the *Laconic* or *Bæotian* war, after it had continued about five years, from the battle of *Leuctra* (P).

(P) There is no small disagreement between ancient historians about the dates of several of the above-mentioned transactions, subsequent to the battle of *Leuctra*; and there is also some difference between their accounts of the facts themselves, both which latter writers have in vain endeavoured to reconcile*.

* Plut. & Corn. Nep. in vit. Agesil. & Epaminond. Diod. Sic. l. 15. Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6. & orat. in laud. Agesil. Pausan. in Lacon Justin. l. 6. Athen. Deipnos. See also Gedoign. not. in Pausan. Palmer Ant. Græc. Meurs. Briet. La Tour, &c. The

The distracted state of *Greece* gave but little hopes that this peace would be of any continuance. The principal states seemed to have still the war in view; and to have agreed to the accommodation only to gain time and opportunity to consult the best means of suppressing the growing power of the *Thebans*. Such being the disposition of the *Grecian* states, the very next year the old contests broke out with as much vehemence as ever. The *Arcadians* and *Eleans* began with reviving their respective rights to *Triphilia*, a small maritime territory between *Elis* and *Messenia*. The *Eleans* being routed in an engagement, applied for assistance to the *Spartans*, while the *Arcadians*, who were supported by the *Athenians*, made an incursion into *Elis*, where they seized several towns.

The following year proved more disgraceful to the *Eleans*, for their neighbours, the *Pisæans*, encouraged by the *Arcadians* and *Argives*, claimed the direction of the *Olympic* games, and when the *Eleans* had appointed them, came upon them with all their forces, upon which a very sharp encounter ensued. The *Grecians*, who were then come together to the solemnity, stood as spectators of the contest, and at every brave action of either party, set up great shouts. The *Pisæans*, at length, being conquerors, directed the games. The *Eleans*, however, protested against the legality of this olympiad, and never registered it in their annals.

During these transactions, *Epaminondas*, by a studied speech, stirred up the *Thebans* to make a bold effort to obtain the dominion at sea, encouraging them, by the example of the *Lacedæmonians*, who, in the time of *Xerxes*, with ten ships only, had gained the superiority at sea over the *Athenians*, who had no fewer than 200. The people forthwith decreed, that 100 galleys should be built, and that application should be made to the *Rhodians*, *Chians*, and *Byzantines*, for their assistance, appointing him as their ambassador. *Epaminondas* had all the success that could be wished for, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the *Athenians*, and of their admiral, *Laches*, who was sent with a squadron against him. What more effectually thwarted all his measures, was the work which they found out by the quarrels that then reigned among their neighbours.

During the absence of *Epaminondas*, and of his colleague, *Orchomenos* razed. *Pelopidas*, the *Thebans* seized an opportunity of destroying the city of *Orchomenos*, against which they bore an ancient grudge, because in the heroic times the *Orchomenians* had made them tributary. Three hundred of the *Orchomenian* horsemen, at the persuasion of some *Theban* exiles, had engaged to assist them in surprising *Thebes*, and changing the government into an aristocracy. One of the conspirators, however, discovering the plot, the 300 horsemen were put to death by the senate, and the inhabitants of *Orchomenos* being sold for slaves, the city was razed to the ground.

The

Pelopidas marches to the assistance of the *Thebans*. The *Thebans* about the same time being solicited by the *Thebans*, to assist them against *Alexander* of *Pheræ*, who cruelly oppressed them, they ordered *Pelopidas* to march thither at the head of 7000 men. That general earnestly desired to humble the tyrant; but an eclipse of the sun happening when he began his march, his troops were struck with a superstitious terror, and scrupled to advance. He scorned to desire them to march against their inclination, but proceeded to *Thessaly*, accompanied with 300 volunteers, and joined the *Thessalians*, though the soothsayers had entreated him to stay, looking upon him as chiefly concerned in the sinister omen. He was personally incensed against *Alexander*, in resentment of the injuries he had received from him. He also hoped from the conversation he formerly had with *Thebe*, the tyrant's wife, to find great disorders and divisions in his court. But what excited and urged him most was the glory of the action itself; for his whole desire and ambition was to shew all *Greece*, that while the *Spartans* on one hand were making their servile court to *Dionysius*, tyrant of *Sicily*, and supplying him with officers, and the *Athenians* on the other, were kept in pay, as it were, by *Alexander*, and had erected a brazen statue in honour of him as a benefactor, the *Thebans* were the only people who stood up in defence of liberty, and waged wars against all tyrants and oppressors. Having assembled his forces at *Pharsalus*, he marched against the tyrant, who being informed that he had brought but few *Thebans* with him, and that his own infantry was more than double the number of the *Thessalians*, fought to give him battle. *Pelopidas* as eagerly fought to meet his enemy, and when it was told him that he was advancing with a prodigious army, he said, *So much the better, we shall beat so many the more.* The engagement happened at a place named *Cynocephalea*, or *Dogs Heads*, so called from two steep eminences in the midst of a plain, near *Scotussa*. Both sides strove to get possession of those hills with their foot, and in the mean time *Pelopidas* ordered his cavalry to charge those of the enemy, which they presently routed. *Alexander*, however, first gained the hills, and attacked the *Thessalians* with such impetuosity, and to such advantage, that they were forced to retire. *Pelopidas* seeing this, recalled his cavalry from the pursuit, and taking his shield, advanced to the head of his infantry, who were then filled with such courage and alacrity, that the enemy imagined they came with other spirits and other bodies to the onset, and quickly gave back.

He defeats the tyrant. The ascents being now in the possession of *Pelopidas*, he began to look every way for *Alexander*, and perceiving him in the right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenaries, he could no longer contain himself, but advanced to him with great precipitation, challenging him to decide the battle by single combat. The tyrant not daring to wait his coming up, retired, and hid himself among his guards. These *Pelopidas* charged with great fury, trying in vain to cut his way to *Alexander*, killing many of those who came forward to oppose him. Others, however,

however, fighting at a distance, pierced his armour and wounded him with their darts and javelins, after which some spear-men advancing, stabbed him in the breast. The *Thebans* But is seeing his danger, hastened to his assistance, but before their arrival he was fallen dead. Their grief and despair so exasperated them against the enemy, that they fell upon them with the greatest fury, and quickly routed and dispersed them with great slaughter, more than 300 of them being left dead upon the field.

After the battle the *Thebans* and *Thebessians* vied with each other in lamenting their beloved general. The former stiled him their father, saviour, and instructor in every thing that was great and honourable. The whole army, both officers and soldiers, without putting off their armour, unbridling their horses, or dressing their wounds, ran all to his body, and heaped round it the spoils of the enemy. They cut off their own hair, and the manes of their horses; and those that retired to their tents, neither kindled a fire, nor took any kind of refreshment. Such a silence and consternation reigned throughout the whole army, that they seemed not to have gained a glorious victory, but to have been defeated and enslaved by the tyrant. In all the cities through which his body was carried, the magistrates, young men, children, and priests, came out to meet it with trophies, crowns, and golden armour, and when the time of his interment was come, the *Thebessians* begged to have the honour of burying him; one of them addressing the *Thebans* in the following terms: "Illustrious friends and allies, we ask a favour of you, which will be a very singular honour, and at the same time administer consolation to us, in this great and inexpressible misfortune. 'Tis not *Pelopidas* alive the dishonour of our fire to attend. 'Tis not to *Pelopidas*, sensible of what is done to him, they desire to pay the honours due to his merit. No. *Pelopidas* dead is their present concern. Permit us to wash, adorn, and pay the last honours to his body, which will convince us that you believe our share in this common calamity greater than your own. You, 'tis true, have lost an excellent general; but we, with the loss of a general, have lost all hopes of liberty; for how shall we dare to desire another of you, since we cannot restore *Pelopidas*." The *Thebans* not only granted their request, but sent an army of 7000 foot and 700 horse, under the command of *Malcitus* and *Diogiton*, who coming unexpectedly upon *Alexander*, defeated him, and reduced him to such straits, that they compelled him to restore those cities he had taken from the *Thebessians*, to withdraw his garrisons from the *Magnesian*, *Pythian*, and *Achaean*, and to swear perpetual obedience to the *Thebans*.

A little time before the death of *Pelopidas*, the *Persian* king sent an ambassador to *Thebes* with orders, sealed with the royal seal, to receive the oaths of the alliance that was then renewed with the *Greek* states, into which he insisted that the *Thebans* should now be admitted. The deputies of the other states

assembled at *Thebes*, absolutely refusing to include the *Thebans* in the treaty on the same foot with *Sparta*, which the ambassador peremptorily insisted on, the congress broke up, every one choosing to return to their respective homes rather than sign any such treaty.

Epaminondas again enters the *Peloponnese*. The year after the death of *Pelopidas*, a war breaking out between the *Tegeans* and *Mantineans*, the former called in the *Thebans* to their aid, and the latter solicited the assistance of the *Spartans* and *Athenians*. The *Mantineans* and their allies were so terrified with the apprehension of a fresh descent of the *Thebans* into the *Peloponnese*, that they agreed that each state should have the command in its own territories; which was a point that the *Athenians* and *Spartans* had never granted to the *Arcadians* till now. *Epaminondas* was then in full march at the head of his *Boeotian* troops, with some *Eubæan* auxiliaries, and a body of stout *Thessalian* horse, and was moreover to be joined by the *Messenians*, *Argives*, and several others, as soon as he had entered the *Peloponnese*. The confederate army against him had ordered their rendezvous at *Mantineia*, the place which they concluded would be first attacked. While they were securing themselves on that side, *Epaminondas*, concluding that *Sparta* would be left defenceless, broke up privately from *Nemea*, where he had lain for some time encamped, and marched all that night in hopes of surprizing *Sparta*; but *Agésilas*, who by chance heard of his design, sent intelligence of it to the *Spartans*, so that his attempt was frustrated. *Epaminondas* next endeavoured to surprize *Mantineia*, which he conjectured would be left naked by the march of *Agésilas* to the relief of *Sparta*: and in this he judged rightly; for the place was not only drained of its troops, but of its inhabitants, who were scattered all over the country gathering in their harvest. Six thousand *Athenian* succours however entering the place the very day that he arrived before it, he was again disappointed.

His designs being thus twice frustrated, he became more ardent to retrieve his reputation by some action of importance. Considering that his command was on the point of expiring, and that he would be greatly blamed if he did nothing for the security of the *Theban* allies, after his departure he gave orders for his troops to hold themselves in readiness for a battle, which was soon after fought near *Mantineia*. The *Thebans* and their allies were superior in number to the enemy; and *Epaminondas*, on the day of the engagement, amused his adversaries by marches and countermarches, till he had disposed his troops in the most proper order. He then began the attack at the head of his left wing, which he had placed opposite to the *Lacedæmonian* phalanx. The *Thebans* and *Spartans* fought with incredible ardor, each being resolved to perish rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. The bravery of the *Thebans*, however, at length prevailed, they being animated by the example of *Epaminondas*, who charged at their head, and wounded the *Lacedæmonian* general with the first javelin he threw. *Epaminondas*,

He gains
a glorious
victory at
Mantineia,
Bes Ch.

minondas, by thus exposing his own person, received many but is wounds ; and one of them being mortal, he sunk to the ground, mortally and was carried off speechless ; the *Thebans*, upon his fall, having redoubled their ardour, routed the enemy. *Epaminondas*, as soon as he recovered himself, asked his friends that were about him what became of his shield ; and being told that it was safe, he beckoned to have it brought to him, and kissed it. He next enquired which side had gained the victory, and being answered the *Thebans*, he replied, then all is well. His friends lamenting his untimely death, and his leaving no children behind him, he said, *I die not without issue, but have left two fair daughters, the victory of Leuctra, and this of Mantinea, to perpetuate my memory.* Soon after, upon drawing out of his body the head of the javelin that had given him the mortal wound, he expired, as it were, in the arms of victory.

It may be truly said, that the power of *Thebes* expired with this great man, whom *Cicero* seems to rank above all the illustrious men *Greece* ever produced. *Justin* is of the same opinion, when he says, that as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point is broke off, so *Thebes*, after having lost *Epaminondas*, was no longer formidable to its enemies. It has been doubted whether he was a more excellent captain, or good man. He was so far from affecting popularity or applause, that all his great offices were in a manner forced upon him. Next to the love of his country, his prevailing passion was study, to which he was strongly bent from his early years. He was very learned, and was also esteemed a fine speaker ; but was so far from valuing himself upon this qualification, or making ostentation of it, that it was said of him, that nobody knew more, or spake less, than he.

After the battle of *Mantineia*, *Xenophon* and *Plutarch* tell us, A general that both parties at first claimed the victory, the *Athenians* having thrown the right wing of the *Thebans* into disorder and repulsed it. The *Spartans*, however, after some time, asked leave to bury their dead, which decided the victory in favour of the *Thebans*, who on account of the death of *Epaminondas*, had no great reason to boast of it. All parties being now weary of the war, a general peace was soon after concluded, to which the *Spartans*, however, refused to accede, because the *Messenians* were included in it.

The death of *Epaminondas* proved in a manner fatal to all *Greece* ; for peace being now concluded, and the *Thebans* being no longer looked upon as formidable, they, and the other *Grecian* states, sunk into a shameful degree of remissness, and gave themselves, in some measure, up to luxury and idleness, to shows, sports, and festivals ; which encouraged the *Macedonians*, hitherto a barbarous and obscure nation, to make a bold and successful attempt on the *Grecian* liberties.

Before the *Thebans* sunk in their reputation, they were applied to by one of the factions in *Eubæa*, whom they very readily succoured, and by that means got some footing in that island.

island. The other part applied to the *Athenians*, whose interest it was not to allow any other state to form a settlement there, as they themselves, besides many other advantages, drew a considerable revenue from thence. The *Athenians* having almost enough to do to maintain their jurisdiction in other parts, did not at first exert themselves so vigorously as the case required. *Timotheus*, their brave general, at last roused them with his usual eloquence. *What*, said he, *the Thebans in Eubæa, and you still here! They in action, and you stand deliberating! You have not yet covered the sea with your vessels! You are not running down to the Piræum! You are not yet under sail!* By these short speeches he so shamed the *Athenians*, that they made all the necessary preparations in five days, and soon after drove the *Thebans* out of *Eubæa*.

Their decline. This is probably one of the last instances of an application being made to the *Thebans* for protection, or of their making any figure in *Greece*. They scarcely bore any share in the so-

The *Phocian* war. They declared against the *Phocians* in the sacred war, and joining their quota of troops with the *Locrians*, were defeated by *Philomelus* the *Phocian* general. They, in conjunction with the *Thessalians*, were again defeated by him; but afterwards, having increased their troops to 13,000 men, they advanced against the *Phocian* general, and not only for a time stopped his progress, but soon after gained a considerable advantage over him in a woody country, where he and many of his forces were slain. The *Thebans* now looking upon the *Phocian* war as finished, withdrew their forces: but *Onomarchus*, the brother of *Philomelus*, who had also been fined by the *Amphietyons*, put himself at the head of the *Phocians*, and having obliged the *Thessalians* to remain neuter, renewed hostilities against the *Thebans* and *Locrians*, and took several places from them.

The *Thebans* having sent 5000 of their forces to assist *Artabazus* in *Asia*, with difficulty could raise troops to oppose *Onomarchus*. This general met afterwards with a more formidable enemy in *Philip* of *Macedon*, who having defeated and taken him prisoner, with several others, caused them all to be put to death as guilty of sacrilege. *Phyllus*, the brother of *Onomarchus*, put himself soon after at the head of the *Phocian* troops, and having hired several thousand auxiliaries, renewed the war with fresh vigour in *Bæotia*; but he was so effectually worsted in three engagements against the *Thebans*, that he thought fit to abandon the country, and turn his forces against the *Locrians*. He being carried off by sickness, was succeeded by *Phalecus* the son of *Onomarchus*, whose guardian, *Mascas*, was killed in the first engagement he had with the *Locrians*. The war, from this time, was turned into mutual skirmishes and depredations, which in the end so far exhausted the *Thebans*, that they were reduced to great straits, and forced to have recourse to the king of *Persia*, from whom they easily obtained the sum of 300 talents.

All *Greece* likewise exclaiming against the *Phocians* for their having infringed on the sacred treasure to support the war, they pretended to make an enquiry into the affair, and punished those who appeared most guilty. No less than 10,000 talents was computed to have been rifled out of the *Delphic* treasury during this war in presents, bribes, and other exigencies. *Phalaris* being accused of having intermeddled with the sacred treasure, was turned out of his generalship, but was nevertheless soon after restored to his command. One *Philo*, who had been entrusted with the bulk of the wealth, having embezzled part of it, was condemned to be racked to death; and he having impeached many of his accomplices, they also were put to death, tho' they had restored all that was left of the money in their hands. The *Thebans* having no such fund to support the war, were at last obliged to have recourse to king *Philip*, who had till now affected a kind of neutrality in their quarrels. This false step of the *Thebans* exactly answered the ambitious views of *Philip*, who ever since his accession to the throne, having a great party among the *Thessalians*, easily prevailed on them also to enter into this new confederacy. The example of the *Thebans* was afterwards imitated by several other *Grecian* states, who when they found themselves oppressed by their neighbours, applied themselves to *Philip* for protection; which was of fatal consequence to the liberties of *Greece*.

The *Thebans* have recourse to *Philip* of *Macedon*.

The first attempt of *Philip* to pass the straits of *Thermopylae*, gave a great alarm to the *Greek* states. The *Athenians*, nevertheless, could not be roused by *Demosthenes* to be on their guard against that aspiring monarch, but imprudently concluded a peace with him on dishonourable terms; which, however, he delayed to fulfil. *Philip* taking the advantage of this peace, pursued his own ambitious measures, seized on the straits of *Thermopylae*, and in conjunction with the *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, poured his numerous forces into *Phocis*, where he soon put an end to the war.

The great superiority of *Philip* soon after appeared so evident and so dangerous to the *Greek* states, especially to the *Athenians*, that a confederacy was proposed to be formed against him. The *Thebans* were looked upon as the most considerable of his allies, and were therefore thought worthy to be first invited into the new alliance, *Demosthenes*, at his own desire, being sent to *Thebes* by the *Athenians* as their chief deputy. Deputies likewise arrived at *Thebes* from *Philip*, who was ever watchful to support his interest. The deputies of the king being allowed to speak first, recapitulated to the *Thebans* the singular advantages which had accrued to their state by their alliance with him, reminding them at the same time of the frequent provocations and injuries they had received from the *Athenians*. They then represented to them, that if they presumed to ally with the *Athenians*, their own country would become the scene of a bloody war; whereas, if they remained

The *Thebans* afterwards ally with the *Athenians* against *Philip*.

the king's friends, they would be enriched by the plunder of *Attica*.

The *Thebans* easily felt the weight of these arguments, and foresaw the danger to which their declaring on either side was like to expose them, they being but poorly prepared for a defence, especially as the wounds they had received in the *Phocian* war were yet fresh upon them. They shewed, therefore, so little inclination to concur with either party, that nothing less than the eloquence of *Demosthenes* could have determined them to lay aside all fear, gratitude, and other prudential motives, and expose themselves, in the condition they were in, to the danger of a new war. When the *Athenian* orator came to display his talents, when he set *Philip's* ambitious views in true light, represented to them the necessity of acting against him as the common enemy of *Greece*, and from the instance of *Philip's* late seizing the city of *Platæa*, shewed them how it was likely to fare with *Thebes* and *Bœotia*, should the king so far succeed as to subdue *Attica*, which would only be his first step to the reducing of all *Greece*, the *Thebans* were so effectually alarmed at their own and the public danger, that they could scarcely contain themselves. The force of his discourse raised in them such an enthusiasm, that they immediately declared themselves against their late ally and protector, and readily entered into the proposed confederacy at all adventures. In consequence of this alliance, *Philip* entered *Greece* with a powerful army, and gained a complete victory over the *Thebans* and *Athenians* at *Cheronæa*. In this action the *Thebans* who were in the right wing, behaved with their usual bravery, till *Alexander*, king *Philip's* son, fell desperately upon their sacred legion and cut them all to pieces ; after which the rest of the wing was entirely routed by that young prince.

who defeated them at *Cheronæa*.

Philip's revenge on the *Thebans*.

Philip, after the victory, treated the *Athenians* with great moderation, but shewed such resentment against the *Thebans* for renouncing his alliance, that he treated them like traitors and criminals, it being usual with him to assume the same arbitrary authority over his allies as over his subjects. Tho' the league was on the point of being renewed betwixt him and the *Thebans*, he nevertheless not only made them pay dear for the ransom of their prisoners, but even for leave to bury their dead. Soon after he is said to have found a way, either by the sword, banishment, heavy fines, or other severities, to clear the city and state of *Thebes* of the principal men who had been most zealous in opposing his interest, and to seize upon most of their estates ; by which means he so intimidated the rest that the greatest part of them became entirely his creatures. He next recalled those who had been banished for sacrificing their country to his interest ; and these he promoted to the highest posts in the government and magistracy, granting them large gratuities, and the power of life and death over those who had been the chief promoters of their banishment. Having then

then put a *Macedonian* garrison into their citadel, he ratified the peace with them and the *Athenians*.

Two years afterwards *Philip* being murdered, the *Thebans* On *Philip's* death gladly embraced that opportunity of throwing off the grievous yoke of the *Macedonians*. They surprized the two commanders of the garrison, and put them to death; and while they were making preparations for besieging the citadel, they openly excited the rest of *Greece* to throw off the yoke. The sudden approach of *Alexander*, however, ruined all their designs. He unexpectedly came before their walls with 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, so that the states of *Greece* were terrified from declaring themselves. The *Thebans* nevertheless absolutely refused any terms of accommodation with *Alexander*, who taking the city by storm, razed it to the ground, and sold the inhabitants for slaves.

Their city taken and razed by *Alexander* the Great.

C H A P. V.

The history of the several states of GREECE from the beginning of the Achæan league to its dissolution.

ALL *Greece*, in the ages we are now to write of, may be reduced to three states; namely, *Achaia*, *Ætolia*, and *Athens*. Tho' there were, indeed, during this period, several other republics in *Greece*, yet as these only acted an under part in conjunction sometimes with one and sometimes with another of the three more powerful states above-mentioned, their histories are so interwoven with those of the greater republics, that to deliver them separately, would be only swelling the work with needless repetitions. We shall begin with the history of *Achaia*, which was by far the most considerable republic in *Greece* in its declining times. In the early ages, the name *Achaia* was given to all the provinces which the geographers, strictly speaking, call *Greece*. In after ages, it was confined to that country in the *Peloponnese*, which was possessed by the *Achæans*, and extended along the bay of *Corinth* and the *Ionian* sea, from the confines of *Sicyon* to the territory of *Elis*. In the *Roman* times, all *Greece* was divided into two provinces; namely, *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, and *Achaia*, which took in all the other states of *Greece*.

The different acceptations of the name of *Achaia*.

Achaia, according to the second acceptation of the name, The first was a state originally of small account, but rose afterwards to insupportable height of reputation and authority, as to rival, and even of the eclipse, the most powerful states of *Greece*. This great encrease of power, was solely owing to its wholesome laws and happy republic constitution, and to the reputation the *Achæans* acquired for the virtues of probity, justice, and love of liberty. The *Crotonites*,

tonites, *Sybarites*, and *Caulonites*, adopted the *Achæan* laws and customs for the re-establishment of good order in their cities. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* had such an esteem for their virtue, that they chose them, after the celebrated battle of *Leuctra*, to arbitrate the differences which subsisted between them.

This republic, the government of which was democratical, was composed of the twelve following cities, *Patræ*, *Dyna*, *Phuræ*, *Tritæa*, *Leontium*, *Aegira*, *Pellene*, *Aegium*, *Bura*, *Ceraunia*, *Olenus*, *Helice*, all in the *Peloponnese*, but together not equal to a single city of considerable rank. These cities were not only joined together by a firm alliance, and governed by the same laws, but moreover had the same money, weights and measures, the same magistrates, council and judges; but were nevertheless quite independant of each other. Many of the *Peloponnesians* were prevailed on to embrace their form of government; but no sooner did any city receive their laws, but it was admitted to the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges with the rest.

The kings of Macedon break the league of the Achæans. This form of government continued from the expulsion of Gyges, the last king of *Achaia*, to the time of *Alexander* the Great; upon whose death a spirit of dissension and discord prevailed among the cities of the union. The dissensions were artificially sown, and carefully fomented, by the *Macedonian* princes, who seized some of the cities. Besides the being held in subjection by the *Macedonian* kings, they were moreover enslaved by tyrants of their own, who espoused the interest of the *Macedonians*, and were supported by them.

The Achæan league revived. Bes. Christi 280. Towards the beginning of the 24th Olympiad, which was co-incident with the expedition of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, the *Achæans* began to revive their antient union*. The inhabitants of *Patræ* and *Dyna*, laid the foundations of this happy change, and a few years after *Aegium*, *Bura*, and *Ceraunia* joined in the league. About 25 years after other cities acceded to the alliance, and among the first was *Sicyon*, which had been long oppressed by domestic tyrants, but was at last rescued from tyranny by *Aratus*, whose father *Clinias*, who was invested with the supreme authority, had been killed by *Abantidas*, who had seized the sovereignty. *Aratus*, tho' only seven years of age, escaped the massacre of his family; and after he had been an exile about fourteen years, restored his native city to its freedom, by surprizing it in the night, and obliging the tyrant to fly. Seeds of dissension, however, being soon after sown in the city by *Antigonus* king of *Macedon*, who protected the tyrant, *Aratus* prevailed on the *Sicyonians* to accede to the *Achæan* league, which he strengthened with all the forces of his country†. Eight years after he took by surprize the city and citadel of *Corinth*, and also the city of *Megara*, from the *Macedonians*, and united them both to the *Achæans*: where-

* Polyb. l. ii. Pau. r. in Achaic.

† Plut. in Arat.

upon he restored to the *Corinthians* the keys of their city, which till then had never been in their power since the time of *Philip of Macedon*. The cities of *Træzene*, *Epidaurus*, and *Megalopolis*, were likewise prevailed upon by him to join in the alliance, the tyrants making a voluntary resignation of their usurped authority; and this example was followed by the tyrants of the *Argives*, of the *Hermionians*, and the *Phliasians*, who were also received into the alliance.

Those states that did not aspire to be principals, made no difficulty of acceding to the league, on account of its happy constitution. All the cities of the alliance were governed by *Achæan* a great council or general assembly, composed of deputies chosen in each of the cities by a plurality of voices. By this means no resolutions were taken but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy, and the interests of each particular city so consulted, as to leave no room for complaints. This assembly was constantly convened twice a year, in the spring and autumn; but seldom out of those stated times, unless upon some very urgent occasion. In these meetings they enacted laws, disposed of vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, &c. If any city of the league did not acquiesce in the decrees of the diet, or refused to furnish their quotas in time of war, they were compelled to it by dint of arms. The chief magistrate of the whole league, called by the *Greeks* *Strategos*, was chosen in the general assembly by a majority of votes, and his office was both civil and military. The *strategos* or prætor, and other magistrates, were appointed in the spring assemblies, and seldom continued two years successively in the same employment. Tho' the prætor was vested with great power, especially in time of war, he was nevertheless liable to be called to an account by the general assembly, and punished without any regard to his dignity, if convicted of misdemeanour or any other crime. The *demiurgi* were next in power to the prætor, and therefore stiled by *Polybius* and *Livy*, the supreme magistrates of the *Achæans*. They were ten in number, chosen by the general assembly from among the most eminent men of the whole league for prudence, equity, and experience, and in the prætor's absence.

Few of their laws have reached our times. The five following to be found in the writings of the antients, were religiously observed while the republic continued in a flourishing condition. 1. That an extraordinary assembly was not to be summoned at the request of foreign ambassadors, unless they first notified in writing to the prætor and *demiurgi* the subject of their embassy. 2. That no city subject to the league, should send an embassy to a foreign prince or state, without the consent and approbation of the general diet. 3. That no member of the assembly should accept of presents from foreign princes under any pretence whatsoever. 4. That no prince, state, or city, should be admitted into the league, without the consent

consent of the whole alliance. 5. That the general assembly should never sit above three days.

The Cleo- *Aratus* had exerted himself for many ages in strengthening
menic war. the alliance, by procuring the accession of several cities ; and
Bef. Chr. he vigorously opposed the enterprizes of the *Macedonians*, not
233. only during the reign of *Antigonus*, but also during that of his
predecessor *Demetrius*, who having declared war against the
Ætolians, the *Achæans* marched to their assistance. The *Ætolians*
nevertheless jealous of the growing power of the *Achæans*, op-
posed to their utmost all their designs ; and tho' they did not
openly declare war against them, yet they prevailed on *Cleo-*
menes king of *Sparta* to make a rupture with them, by build-
ing a fortress in the territory of the *Megalopolitans*. Accord-
ing to *Plutarch*, however, *Aratus* was the aggressor, and *Cleo-*
menes only took up arms in defence of the *Arcadians*, who had
been invaded by the *Achæans*, because they would not enter
into their league.

Both parties taking the field, *Cleomenes* offered the *Achæans*
battle near *Pallantium* ; but they, by the persuasion of *Aratus*,
who was afterwards greatly censured, retreated, tho' they were
four times the number of the enemy. Not long after the two
armies met again, and an engagement ensuing, the *Achæans*
were defeated ; but *Aratus* having rallied in the flight what
troops he could, marched strait to *Mantineæ*, and surprized that
city. This advantage was soon counterbalanced by the loss
of another battle, wherein great numbers of the *Achæans* were
slain.

Cleomenes soon after reduced the *Achæans* to the last extre-
mity, so that they being apprehensive of being enslaved by the
Lacedæmonians, especially if they should be joined by the *Æto-*
lians, who at that time were making great preparations for
war, began to entertain thoughts of concluding a peace upon
any terms. *Aratus* dreading the consequences of a treaty set
on foot between his dispirited countrymen and a victorious
enemy, used his utmost efforts to divert them from it. He
even had recourse to an expedient that reflected a great dis-
honour on him ; for he called in the *Macedonians* to his assist-
ance, tho' it had been the business of his youth to expell them
from the *Peloponnese*. He did not, however, openly solicit the
assistance of the *Macedonian* king, which he knew would have
greatly alarmed the *Achæans* ; but as the *Megalopolitans* were
great friends to *Macedon*, and were most exposed to the incur-
sions of the *Lacedæmonians*, he gained over to his scheme two
of their principal citizens, and by their means brought it so
about, that the *Megalopolitans* decreed to send ambassadors to
the assembly of the *Achæans*, begging leave to solicit succours
from *Antigonus*.

Having obtained the leave of the assembly, the *Megalopolitans*
dispatched the two citizens who were in the interest of *Aratus*
to *Antigonus*, who was easily persuaded to hearken to their pro-
posals, being earnestly desirous of an opportunity of engaging
in

in the affairs of *Greece*. He wrote an obliging letter to the *The Megalopolitans*, assuring them of his assistance whenever the *Achæans* should think fit to call for it. The *Megalopolitans* invite *Antigonus* acquainted the *Achæans* with the kind reception their deputies had met with at the court of *Macedon*, and sent the letter of *Antigonus* to be read in the general assembly. Most of the deputies were for inviting *Antigonus* immediately into the *Peloponnese*; but *Aratus*, that he might avoid all suspicion of being the author of such a measure, exhorted the deputies, in a long speech, to try whether they could support themselves with their own forces; adding, that if fortune still declared against them, they might at last have recourse to their friends; which advice was agreed to.

Bef. Chr.
227.

The *Achæans* soon found themselves not a match for *Cleomenes*, who after driving them from the field, took, in one campaign, the cities of *Caphyes*, *Pellene*, *Pheneus*, *Phlionte*, *Cleonæ*, *Epidaurus*, *Hermione*, and *Corinth* itself. These successes allowed the *Achæans* no further time to deliberate, and accordingly *Aratus* sent his son to *Antigonus*, inviting the king to come with all speed to their assistance. *Antigonus* immediately began his march towards the *Peloponnese*, at the head of 20,000 foot and 1400 horse. *Cleomenes* having fortified the *Isthmus* with a ditch and rampart, *Antigonus* did not think it safe to force his passage, but proposed to decamp from thence, and to transport his troops by sea to *Sicyon*. In the mean time a messenger arrived at his camp, and acquainted *Aratus*, who was then with *Antigonus*, that the inhabitants of *Argos* had revolted from *Cleomenes*. *Aratus*, on this intelligence, immediately put to sea with 1500 men, and arriving at *Epidaurus*, marched from thence to *Argos*, and made himself master both of the city and castle.

Antigonus
enters the
Peloponnese.

This success proved of great consequence to the *Achæans*; for *Cleomenes* hearing that *Argos* was taken, and being apprehensive that the enemy would surround him, abandoned his lines, and retired with great precipitation. *Antigonus* having then entered the *Peloponnese* without the loss of one single man, advanced to *Corinth*, which immediately surrendered, and afterwards he reduced *Tegea*, *Mantineia*, *Orchomenos*, *Hærea*, and *Telphussa*. On the approach of winter he sent home his troops, and going himself to the general assembly of the *Achæans* at *Aegium*, he was chosen general of the confederate army, and the important castle of *Acro* in *Corinth* was made over to him.

Reduces
several
places.

Cleomenes, in the mean time, hearing that the *Macedonians* had returned home, surprized *Megalopolis*, and made himself master of the place without opposition. He offered to the inhabitants, many of whom had retired to *Messene*, to restore them to the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the *Achæan* league, and join the *Lacedæmonians*; but they refusing his offer, he gave up the town to be plundered, and it was so effectually razed, that there was scarce any appearance afterwards of its ever having been a peopled place.

Early

Cleomenes
endea-
vours to
bring *Antigonus* to
a battle.

Early the following spring, *Cleomenes* assembled his troop with the design of executing a project, which, in the opinion of the vulgar, proceeded from temerity and despair; but according to the judicious *Polybius*, was the result of great prudence and sagacity. He made an irruption into the territories of *Argos*, which he ravaged to the very gates of the city, in hopes of bringing *Antigonus* to hazard a battle on unequal terms or to lessen his reputation among the *Achæans*, and raise complaints against him in *Argos* if he should decline an engagement. He in some measure succeeded; for the *Argians* seeing their country ravaged under the king's eyes while he continued inactive, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gates, and with threats pressed him either to take the field and protect his friends, or to resign the command to another less timorous than himself.

Antigonus knowing that he was not then able to force the *Spartans*, was deaf to all the reproaches and remonstrances of the allies; but in the beginning of summer, being desirous to retrieve the reputation he had undeservedly lost, he took the field with an army of 28,000 foot and 1200 horse, and advanced into *Laconia*.

Cleomenes suspecting the enemy would carry the war into his territories, had taken great precautions to interrupt their march; and judging they would pass by a certain place called *Sellasia*, he marched thither with 20,000 men, who entrenched themselves partly in the plain and partly on the eminencies on both sides. After *Antigonus* had come up, and continued in view of the *Spartans* for several days, both parties agreed upon a decisive battle. According to *Polybius*, *Cleomenes* had received a letter from *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, who declared that he was not in a condition to send him the assistance which he promised, and probably on that account he put all to the issue of a battle, tho' he was greatly inferior to the enemy. The battle was long and obstinate, both on the hills and in the plain; but at length the *Spartans* were defeated with great loss, and *Cleomenes* fled with a few horse to *Sparta*, and from thence to *Gythium*, where he embarked with a few friends and sailed for *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.

He is de-
feated at
Sellasia.
Bef. Ch.
223.

Philopæ-
men distin-
guishes
himself in
this ac-
tion.

The first advantage gained by the *Achæans* in the battle, was owing to the bravery of *Philopæmen* the *Megalopolitan*, who while one of the wings was pressed by the enemy, relieved them by attacking the cavalry with a small body of *Megalopolitans*, his advice having been slighted by some older officers because he was then but a youth. *Antigonus*, however, acknowledged his merit; for after the battle, having asked the officer that engaged the enemy's horse how he came to fall upon them before the signal, and he excusing himself by saying a young man of *Megalopolis* had done it without his direction; the king replied, that the young man had behaved like an experienced commander, and gained the victory, but that he had acted like a raw soldier. *Philopæmen* also distinguished himself above the rest

rest in the plain ; for his horse being killed under him, he afterwards fought among the foot, killing with his own hands great numbers of the enemy, till he was with a javelin struck thro' both thighs at one stroke.

Cleomenes had scarce set sail from *Gythium*, when *Antigonus* ^{Antigonus} arrived at *Sparta*, and made himself master of it without resistance. He treated the inhabitants in a very friendly manner, ^{takes possession of} declaring that he had only made war against *Cleomenes*. He ^{Sparta,} restored them to the full enjoyment of their antient privileges, and shewed an inclination to continue some time among them ; ^{and leaves} it free. but was obliged to leave the city three days after he had entered it, on receiving intelligence that the *Illyrians* had invaded *Macedonia*. From *Sparta* he marched to *Tegea*, which city he also declared free, and from thence to *Argos*, where the general assembly of the *Achæans* was then sitting. After receiving the thanks of the deputies, he was by a decree of the diet declared the protector of *Achaia*. From *Argos* he proceeded to *Macedon*, where after having repulsed the *Illyrians*, he soon after died. Thus ended the *Cleomenic* war, leaving all *Greece* in a profound tranquillity.

The *Ætolians*, however, were soon weary of peace, which ^{The war} prevented them from exercising their usual trade of rapine and of the plunder. They therefore no sooner heard of the death of *Antigonus*, ^{confederates.} than they returned to their old manner of life, entering the territories of the *Messenians*, and carrying off their cattle and whatever else they could meet with. The chief author of these robberies and disorders was one *Dorimachus* of *Trichoniæ*, a turbulent young man, and, as *Polybius* expresses it, every way an *Ætolian*, who being sent to a city in the *Peloponnese* of the *Ætolian* confederacy to be a spy on the *Achæans*, encouraged some profligate fellows to plunder the *Achæan* allies, with a view of enriching himself. The *Messenians* demanded from him reparation of the damages they had suffered, and begged he would not give countenance to the disturbers of the public tranquillity. He promised to redress their grievances at *Messene* ; but when he came thither, he treated the chief sufferers with reproachful language and menaces ; nay, while he remained in the city, a band of *Ætolian* robbers plundered a country house, killed all who made resistance, and carried off the rest, with the cattle and furniture. The *Messenians*, irritated by this insult, imprisoned *Dorimachus* ; but upon his promising to make full reparation for all their injuries, they allowed him to depart. Upon his return to *Ætolia*, however, he persuaded his countrymen to declare war against the *Messenians*. They accordingly committed several hostilities at sea, and soon after invaded *Messenia*, plundering the cities of *Patræ* and *Pharæ*, which were of the *Achæan* league, and laying waste all the countries thro' which they passed till they came to *Phigalia*, where they established their head quarters.

The *Achæan* deputies, in the mean time, assembling, heard the complaints of the *Patræans* and *Pharæans*, and decreed to send

The
Achæans
resolve to
assist the
Messenians
against
the *Ætoli-*
ans.

Aratus de-
feated by
the *Ætoli-*
ans at
Capbys.
Bef. Chr.
221.

Aratus ac-
cused be-
fore the
assembly
of the
Achæans.

Philip of
Macedon
assists the
Achæans

send succours to the *Messenians* against the *Ætoli-ans*, who had broke the peace. *Timoxenus*, the *Achæan* prætor, had no inclination to command the army, therefore delayed raising the quotas of troops till the time of his office should be near expired. *Aratus*, who was to succeed him, on the other hand, was eager to repress the insults of the *Ætoli-ans*, and five days before he entered on his charge, sent orders for assembling his troops. Having formed his army, he sent a messenger to the *Ætoli-ans*, requiring them to depart from the territories of the *Achæans* and *Ætoli-ans* on pain of being treated as enemies. The *Ætoli-ans* complying with his demand, he dismissed all his troops, except 3000 foot and 300 horse, with which he followed the enemy, to prevent them from plundering the country. Observing them, however, marching off with an immense booty, he was so provoked, that he could not forbear attacking them under all the disadvantages imaginable, and after an obstinate dispute, was overpowered with numbers and obliged to retire, some saving themselves in *Orchomenos*, others in *Capbys*. The *Ætoli-ans* having, contrary to their expectation, gained a complete victory, now marched without fear or danger quite cross the *Peloponnese*, made an unsuccessful attempt upon *Pelene*, plundered the territories of *Sicyon*, and encamped on the *Isthmus*.

The *Achæans*, in the mean time, charged *Aratus* in their general assembly with being the cause of their late defeat; and not without some foundation. He endeavoured to prove, that the loss of the battle was not his fault; adding, that if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon, and hoped, that in regard of his past services they would not censure him with more rigour than humanity. His submission on this occasion changed the minds of the whole assembly, and the people began to vent their rage upon his accusers, he himself rising in their esteem, they gave themselves entirely up to his counsel and conduct, and reinstated him in the command of the allied army. The remembrance of his defeat, however, having exceedingly damped his courage, he now behaved as a prudent magistrate rather than an able warrior, suffering the parties of the *Ætoli-ans* to lay waste the country, when he might, without much hazard, have repressed them.

The *Achæans*, therefore, applied to *Philip*, the young king of *Macedonia*, who in his youth had been sent by his father *Demetrius* to learn the art of government under the eye of *Aratus*. *Philip* promised to assist the *Achæans* with the whole strength of his kingdom, and accordingly soon after marched at the head of an army to *Corinth*, where he concerted with the deputies of the confederates what measures should be taken with regard to the *Ætoli-ans*. It was unanimously agreed to declare war against them, and that all who had been sufferers by them since the death of the king's father, should be received into the confederacy. The *Ætoli-ans*, on the other side, prepared for

for war, and chose for their prætor one *Scopas*, who had been the chief author of all the violences they had committed.

Philip marching back his army to *Macedon*, employed all the winter in making the requisite military preparations, and prevailed on *Scerdilaidas*, a petty king of *Illyria*, to renounce his alliance with the *Ætoli*ans, and to furnish him with 30 ships for 20 talents yearly. The *Acarnanians*, tho' they were not exposed to the insults of the *Ætoli*ans, yet at the request of the *Achæans* declared war against them without any hesitation. The *Epirots* refused to engage in the war till *Philip* should first proclaim it, and the *Messenians*, for whose sake the war was undertaken, remained neuter, till *Phigalia*, which commanded their frontiers, should be taken from the *Ætoli*ans. Several states declare against the *Ætoli*ans.

The *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, in the mean time, declaring for the *Ætoli*ans, they attacked the *Achæans* on all sides, and gained very considerable advantages. *Philip* hearing of the danger of his allies, marched with 15,000 foot and 800 horse into *Epirus*; but instead of proceeding directly to *Etolia*, which *Philip* would in all likelihood have put an end to the war, he was persuaded by the *Epirots* to besiege *Ambracia*, which after a siege of forty days he reduced. The *Ætoli*ans, in the meantime, not only provided for the safety of their own territories, but made an incursion into *Macedonia*, which they ravaged without opposition. *Philip*, after reducing *Ambracia*, entered *Ætolia*, and seized on a great many important places; but was soon after obliged to return to *Macedon*, to defend his own country from an invasion of the *Dardenians*. Having forced them to retire, and to dismiss their forces, he came immediately back into *Thessaly*. marches to the assistance of the *Achæans*.

Mean while *Dorimachus*, the new prætor of the *Ætoli*ans, invaded Upper *Epirus*, which he ravaged, not even sparing the temple of *Dodona*; but having laid it in ashes, he carried home all the ornaments and rich furniture of that stately edifice. *Philip* having notice of these ravages, left *Thessaly* in the depth of winter, and proceeded to *Corinth* with 5700 men, 300 of whom were *Cretans*, and about 400 horse. On his arrival he sent for *Aratus*, and dispatched letters to his son, who bore the same name, and was that year prætor of the *Achæans*, requiring him to assemble the troops as soon as possible. *Caphya* being appointed for the place of rendezvous, *Philip*, on his march thither, fell in with 2000 *Eleans*, whom he routed, taking about 1200 of them prisoners. Having, a few days after, joined *Aratus* the younger with 10,000 *Achæans*, they marched to *Osophis*, a very strong city of *Arcadia*, which they besieged. This city was looked upon as almost impregnable, being strongly fortified, and being surrounded with three rivers, and at this time it was furnished with a strong garrison. The approach of the *Achæans* greatly alarmed the inhabitants, who never dreamed of being besieged at that season. On seeing *Philip* boldly advance to the very foot of their walls, they at first imagined he had a secret intelligence with some of the garrison; but

Philip
takes several
places,
which he
gives up
to the
Achéans.

but the whole garrison and inhabitants appearing zealous for the defence of the place, they prepared for a vigorous defence. The king ordered three different attacks to be made at the same time, and by the perseverance and bravery of his troops, took the place by escalade. The inhabitants and garrison took sanctuary in the citadel, but quickly after surrendered to *Philip*, who very generously gave it to the *Achéans*, assuring them at the same time, that he would let no occasion pass of shewing them the strongest proofs of affection to their nation, and zeal for their interest. From thence, after possessing himself of some other cities, which he also gave to his allies, he marched to *Elis*, in order to lay it waste. Formerly this territory had been accounted sacred, in regard of the Olympic games which were solemnized there every fourth year. The *Eleans*, however, by engaging in the wars of *Greece*, had now forfeited this privilege. As their country was one of the best peopled of *Greece*, and was well cultivated, the allied army found in it more booty than they could carry off. They were even embarrassed with their many prisoners and numerous herds of cattle, so that *Philip* found it necessary to retire out of the *Elean* territory and re-incamp at *Olympia*.

Distur-
bances
raised by
Apelles the
king's go-
vernor.

While *Philip* was thus employing his arms in defence of the *Achéan* liberties, *Apelles*, one of his courtiers, formed a project of reducing them to a state of slavery. He had formerly been one of the king's governors, and still preserved a powerful influence over the young prince; but he abused his power by employing it wholly in oppressing particular persons and states. Having resolved to reduce the *Achéans*, if possible, to a state of dependance upon the kings of *Macedon*, he began with insulting the *Achéan* troops, whom the *Macedonians*, by his orders, often dislodged, taking possession of their quarters, and depriving them of their plunder. When they complained of this hard usage, he caused them to be put under arrest, and severely punished by the common executioner, thinking by this means to accustom them to the yoke. *Aratus* complaining of this injurious treatment to the king, and laying the blame on *Apelles*, *Philip* assured him that care should be taken for the future to prevent any such injuries; and accordingly he ordered *Apelles* never to lay any commands on the *Achéans* without the concurrence of their prætor. The *Achéans*, overjoyed at the favour the king shewed them, were ever bestowing the highest encomiums on his equity and other excellent qualities. He was, indeed, according to *Polybius*, possessed of all those virtues which can endear a king to his people; such as a lively genius, an uncommon understanding, an happy memory, an easy elocution, and an unaffected grace in all his actions, a beautiful aspect heightened by a majestic air, which bespoke the greatness of his soul, a sweetness of temper, affability, and a great desire to please and content all who lived under his government; to finish the picture, a valour, an intrepidity and experience in war which far exceeded his years; so that one can hardly

Philip's
good qua-
lities.

hardly conceive the strange alteration that afterwards appeared in his morals and behaviour.

The king having thus settled matters between the *Macedonians* and *Achæans*, caused a bridge to be laid over the *Alpheus*, and entered the territory of *Triphylia*, which lies on the sea-coast between the *Eleans* and *Messenians*. He reduced *Aliphera*, a very strong city, and by the rapidity of his conquests so terrified the neighbouring states, that most of them voluntarily submitted, and the rest, after a faint resistance, were obliged to receive the yoke.

Philip afterwards returning to *Argos*, where he wintered, *Apelles*, who still retained his design of reducing the *Achæans* to a servile subjection, now resolved, if possible, to bring *Aratus* and his son into disgrace with the king. For this purpose he sent privately for all those who were the secret enemies of *Aratus*, and used his utmost endeavours to gain them the king's favour. He then represented to *Philip*, that if he continued to treat *Aratus* with so much deference, he would not gain any thing on the *Achæans* further than was stipulated by the articles of the confederacy; whereas were he to raise to the chief administration of affairs some person who might be entirely dependant on him, he then might act as sovereign in the *Peloponnese*. The new friends enforcing these reflections, *Philip* began to be pleased with the idea of despotic power, and by the persuasion of *Apelles*, interested himself at the next election of *Achæan* prætor, when *Eperatus*, a declared enemy to *Aratus*, was chosen. As *Aratus* intermeddled no longer in public affairs, nothing was well done, and all things were hastening to their ruin; which being observed by *Philip*, he again had recourse to *Aratus*, who shared in his confidence as formerly.

Apelles, however, again found means to alienate the king from him; for the *Eleans* having refused the advantageous conditions which *Philip* offered them by *Amphidamus*, an *Elean* chief, who had been taken prisoner, *Apelles* charged *Aratus* as being the cause of the obstinacy of the *Eleans*, and invented a long story against him. The king immediately sent for *Aratus*, and insisted upon *Apelles*'s charging him to his face with what he had brought against him in private. This *Apelles* did not scruple to do, and with such an assurance as might have disconcerted innocence itself; adding, that the king should lay the affair before the council of the *Achæans*, and leave to them the decision of it. This was what he wanted, not doubting but that he would have interest to get him condemned there. *Aratus*, however, required that *Apelles* should first produce those who were witnesses to the conference, and likewise the person who had given *Apelles* the information; which just and reasonable demand the king promised should be complied with. Not long after *Amphidamus* being suspected by the *Eleans* to favour the king's party, was obliged to fly his country, and retiring to *Dymas*, where the king was come to settle some affairs, *Aratus* prevailed

Aratus prevailed on *Philip* to examine *Amphidamus*, since the secret was said to have been imparted to him. *Philip*, after a strict examination, finding that there was not the least ground for the charge, pronounced *Aratus* innocent, and restored him to his favour and confidence. No punishment, however, being inflicted on the calumniator, he was emboldened to continue his the king's intrigues.

Aratus found innocent, and restored to the king's favour.

Philip beginning to want both money and provisions for his army, *Aratus* prevailed on the *Achæan* magistrates to convene a general assembly at *Sicyon*; where it was decreed, that the instant the king's troops should set out on their march, 50 talents should be advanced to the king, with 10,000 measures of wheat; and that afterwards, so long as he should carry on the war in person in the *Peloponnese*, he should receive 15 talents a month. The armies beginning now to move from their winter quarters, it was resolved to prosecute the war likewise by sea, in order to divide the enemy's forces.

Treason-
able prac-
tices of
Apelles.

Philip, pursuant to this resolution, returning to *Corinth*, to train up the *Macedonians* for naval expeditions, *Apelles*, in the mean time, took secret measures to defeat all the king's designs. He agreed with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*, two chief officers about the king, that they should secretly thwart and obstruct all his measures, while he, making his abode at *Chalcis*, should retard his supplies, so that he should be obliged to pass the whole summer in a state of inactivity. These three traitors acting in concert, reduced the king to such difficulties, that he was obliged to pawn all his plate to supply his wants.

Paleis be-
sieged.

The king having put to sea with 6000 *Macedonians*, and 4200 mercenaries, arrived the second day at *Patræ*, and sailing from thence to *Cephalenia*, besieged *Paleis*, a strong city in that island. He had appointed the confederates to meet him at this place, and was mighty desirous to become master of it before their arrival. The *Macedonians* began the siege with vigour, and in a short time undermined the wall, propping and supporting it with great wooden stakes. The king then summoned the town to surrender; but the garrison refusing, fire was set to the posts that sustained the walls, and a breach made 600

Treache-
ry of *Leon-
tius*.

fathoms wide. *Leontius* was ordered to command the troops during the assault; but he attacked the enemy so faintly, that he was repulsed with loss, when he had the fairest opportunity of taking the town. This obliged the king to raise the siege, tho' he was joined by the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, *Messenians*, and by 15 vessels sent him by *Scardelaidas*.

As the *Lacedæmonians*, in the mean time, invaded the territories of the *Messenians*, and the *Ætolians* ravaged *Thessaly*, the king was solicited by each of the sufferers to come to their relief. *Leontius* proposed the sailing to *Messenia*, foreseeing that if the king followed his advice, he would be obliged to spend the whole summer there, while the *Ætolians* would be at liberty to put all to fire and sword in *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, and the *Etesian* winds would prevent him from returning. *Aratus*

on the other hand, declared for assisting the *Acar-nanians*; and the king now beginning to suspect *Leontius*, followed this advice. Having ordered *Eperatus* the *Achæan* prætor to march to the relief of the *Messenians*, he left *Cephalenia*, and arriving the next day at *Leucadia*, there landed his forces, and causing his vessels to be carried over the isthmus of *Dioryctus*, he passed into the gulph of *Ambracia*, and came before day-break to *Lemnæa*. He was here joined by great numbers of the *Acar-nanians* under *Aristophontes*, who eagerly desired to have an opportunity of repaying the injuries they had received from the *Ætolians*. The *Epirots*, incited by the like motives, were not less forward. Being thus reinforced, the king departed from *Lemnæa* in the evening, leaving the baggage under a strong guard, and arrived by day-break at the river *Achelous*, intending to surprize the important town of *Thermæ*. *Leontius* advised the king to give some respite to his troops; but *Aratus*, on the contrary, conjuring him to seize the favourable moment, he followed the last advice, and marched directly for *Thermæ*, thro' a very rugged and almost impassible road cut between two steep rocks. This city was the capital of *Ætolia*, and as it was reckoned impregnable by reason of its situation, and no enemy had ever before dared to approach it, the *Ætolians* had lodged in it all their most valuable effects. So great was their surprize, that they had not even presence of mind to shut the gates, or make the least resistance. The army having plundered the town, the next morning chose out of the booty what was most valuable and easy to be carried away, and making an heap of the rest, they burned it before the camp. They likewise saved the best arms which were found in the galleries of their temple, burning the rest to the number of 15,000 setts.

Thermæ
the me-
tropolis of
Ætolia
surprized
and plun-
dered by
Philip.

The *Macedonians* did not stop here, but calling to mind what the *Ætolians* had done at *Dium* and *Dodona*, they set fire to the porticoes of the temple, and leveled that magnificent structure to the ground, throwing down, defacing, and breaking in pieces to the number of 2000 statues of excellent workmanship, those only being spared which were known by their form or inscriptions to represent gods. The desolation was such as to strike the king himself and those about him with a kind of terror, tho' at the same time they believed they had not overacted their revenge for the sacrilegious impieties of the *Ætolians* at *Dium*.

The tem-
ple level-
ed with
the
ground.

Philip marched back the same way he came, and was twice attacked by the *Ætolians*; but having repulsed them each time with great courage and resolution, he arrived safe at *Lemnæa*, where he had left his baggage and vessels. Here he sacrificed to the gods by way of thanksgiving for the success that had attended his arms, and at the same time, to express his joy, gave his officers a royal entertainment. *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were present; but every one soon perceived by their behaviour that they looked with an evil eye on the good fortune of their so-

Aratus ill-veigned. During the whole entertainment, they could not be treated by help throwing out against *Aratus* the most injurious and shocking ralleries. But words were not all; for at their rising from the banquet, being heated with wine and fired with anger, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* they pursued him with stones till he got into his tent. The whole army was in an uproar, and the *Achæans* and *Macedonians* running from all parts to the assistance of *Aratus*, the noise reached the king, who after a strict enquiry into the whole affair, condemned *Megaleas* in a fine of 20 talents, and put him under arrest. *Leontius* hearing how the king had proceeded with *Megaleas*, came boldly with a crowd of soldiers to the royal tent, thinking to awe the king into another resolution touching the offenders. Being come into the king's presence, *Who has been so bold*, said he, *as to lay hands on Megaleas?* *It was I*, replied the king, in a majestic tone. *Leontius*, terrified at the king's resolution, immediately retired. *Philip* then calling a council to hear and examine what was alleged against *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and their accomplices, *Aratus* found guilty, but charged them with all those criminal practices we have already pardoned taken notice of, and proving his accusations by competent witnesses, they were all found guilty. The king, however, by an unseasonable clemency, pardoned them, and even set *Megaleas* at liberty, *Leontius* binding himself for the payment of the fine the king had laid on him.

They are
found
guilty, but
pardoned
by the
king.

During *Philip's* expedition into *Ætolia*, *Lycurgus* king of *Sparta* made a fruitless attempt against the *Messenians*. *Dorimachus* also found the *Thessalians* ready to oppose him, and hastened from thence to the relief of *Ætolia*; but came too late.

Laconia
invaded
by the
confederates.
Bef. Ch.
219.

Philip having laid up his ships at *Lechæum*, proceeded from *Corinth* to *Tegea*, which he had fixed for the rendezvous with his allies. Being there joined by some *Achæans*, he entered the territories of *Sparta*, and after four days march thro' a desert country, gained the top of those hills that command the city of *Sparta*. This sudden irruption greatly terrified the *Spartans*, who were but ill prepared for a resistance; and it proved no less glorious to the king's arms than the invasion of *Ætolia*, for he was victorious in several skirmishes, he laid waste the enemy's country far and near, took and destroyed several towns and returned with an immense booty to *Corinth*. Here he found ambassadors from *Rhodes* and *Chios*, who came to offer the mediation of their states for a peace. The king professed his willingness to conclude a peace with the *Ætolians* on reasonable terms; and having dismissed the ambassadors, he proceeded to *Lechæum*, with the intention of sailing from thence to *Phocis*.

Leontius,
Megaleas,
and *Pto-*
lemy raise
a tumult

He was scarce gone when *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolemy*, who was also one of *Philip's* chief officers, began to sow dissension among the troops at *Corinth*, and to draw them over to their own interest. The young soldiers were so inflamed by their seditious discourses, that assembling in parties, they planned

dered the houses of the king's chief favourites, and carried their insolence to that height, as to force the gates of the king's own troops. palace. *Philip* receiving timely notice of the tumult, flew to *Corinth*, and assembling the *Macedonians*, made them sensible of their fault in a long harangue intermixed with gentleness and severity. He, however, for many reasons, thought proper to dissemble his resentment against the authors of the sedition, who had long enjoyed the greatest posts in the kingdom, and governed it during his minority. After exhorting his troops to union and concord, he returned to *Lechæum*; but it was now too late to undertake any thing against the *Phocians*.

Leontius being now well apprised that the king only dissembled his resentment against him, had recourse to *Apelles*, giving him notice of the danger he was in, and pressing him to leave *Chalcis*, and hasten to court. *Philip* had been informed by *Aratus* of the whole conduct of *Apelles*, who during his residence at *Chalcis*, governed all things with an arbitrary sway, scarce any mention being made of the king. *Apelles* no sooner heard of the danger his client was in but he left *Chalcis*, not doubting but he should be received at court after the usual manner, and change the king's mind at pleasure. As he drew near to *Corinth*, *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolemy* prevailed on the flower of the king's troops to meet him, and attend him by way of guard into the town; so that he made his entry with a pompous train, and went directly to wait on the king. However, the officer who was on duty at the gate stopped him, and told him, that he must wait, for the king was not then at leisure. *Apelles* was thunder-struck at so unexpected a reception, and the shining train that had followed him vanishing in an instant, he retired to his lodgings, attended only by his own domestics.

Apelles refused admittance to the king.

Megaleas seeing the prime minister, on whose protection he relied, fallen into disgrace, made his escape to *Athens*, leaving *Leontius* to shift for himself. The king soon after caused *Leontius* to be arrested, having, upon some pretence, sent away the troops that he had the chief command of to *Triballia*. These troops hearing that their officer was arrested, sent a petition to the king, offering to raise the sum of 20 talents if *Leontius* was arrested on that account; and requesting, that if he was imprisoned for any other cause, he might not be tried till their return.

Leontius arrested.

During this interval, the ambassadors returned from *Ætolia*, bringing with them proposals of a truce for thirty days; which were agreed to by *Philip*: and as the *Ætolians* also declared their readiness to enter into a negotiation for peace, he required the confederates to send their respective deputies to *Patræ*, whither he went himself to be present at the congress. There letters were delivered to him, directed by *Megaleas* to the *Ætolians*, encouraging them to pursue the war against *Philip* and the *Achæans*, as the king was in the utmost distress for want of money and provisions. *Philip* thought proper immediately

Megaleas diately to proceed against the traitors, and caused *Apelles*, and kills him- his son, and his favourite to be instantly seized, writing to the self. *Thebans* to prosecute *Megaleas*, who had retired thither from *Leontius* *Athens*. *Megaleas* prevented his trial by laying violent hands and *Apelles* on himself, and soon after *Leontius* was put to death with *Apelles* put to death. and his son and favourite. History can scarce furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of his sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition.

As to the *Ætolians*, they were sincerely disposed to peace, being grown weary of a war in which all their projects had succeeded quite otherwise than they expected. However, when they came to hear of the mutiny of the troops, and conspiracy of *Apelles*, they postponed the day on which they were to meet, in hopes that some sedition would break out at court. *Philip* and the confederates gladly laid hold of this opportunity for resolve to breaking off the negociation; and he allowing the *Macedonians* pursue the to retire to winter quarters in their own country, went to *Demetrius* in *Thessaly*, where *Ptolemy*, another of the chief conspirators, was put to death.

The *Achæans* in the mean time had suffered considerably from the incursions of the *Eleans* and *Ætolians*, their prætor, *Eparatus*, to whose insufficiency the bad state of their affairs was owing, being universally despised by them. Happily for them *Aratus* again chosen prætor. *Aratus* was appointed to succeed him; he, in a general assembly, prevailed on the deputies to empower him to levy 8000 mercenary foot and 500 horse, besides 3000 foot and 300 horse which were to be raised at home.

Philip in the mean time having collected large magazines in *Thebes* of *Thessaly*, began the campaign with the siege of *Thebes* of *Phthiotis* *Phthiotis* *otis*, on the frontiers of *Magnesia*, from whence the *Ætolians* taken by used to make continual excursions. *Philip* attacking the place the confederates. with 150 catapults, and other engines, for throwing of stones and darts, obliged the inhabitants in a short time to surrender at discretion, when he sold them for slaves, and re-peopling the place with a colony of *Macedonians*, gave it the name of *Philippopolis*.

Not long after, the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, and *Byzantines*, sent ambassadors to him with offers of their mediation, which *Philip* accepted, and desired them to apply to the *Ætolians*, declaring, however, that he would, in the mean time, pursue his enterprises, being, in reality, not much inclined to a peace, though he did not care to declare himself.

Philip He afterwards set out with his favourites for *Argos*, to be prehears of sent at the *Nemæan* games. Being there informed that the *Romans* had lost a great battle, near the lake *Thrasymene*, in *Tuscany*, the defeat of the *Romans* and that *Hannibal* was master of all the open country, he communicated the news to *Demetrius* of *Pharos*, enjoining him all *Hannibal*. possible secrecy. *Demetrius* took this opportunity to represent to him, that he ought to put a period, as soon as possible, to the *Ætolian* war, in order to invade *Illyricum*, where *Scerdilaidus* now

now acted in a hostile manner, and afterwards to cross over into *Italy*. He added, that in such a design the whole *Greek* nation would probably assist him, and that such an expedition would be his first step to universal monarchy, which none had a better claim to than himself. Such counsel as this could not but charm a king, who was in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising, and of a race which had always grasped at universal empire.

Philip now earnestly desired a peace however; as he had the He is inclined to rare quality of concealing his real intentions, he expressed no ardour for finishing the war, but only desired the confederates to send their deputies to the congress, to be held at *Naupactus*. a peace. All parties readily sent their deputies thither, and the king, to give a more expeditious issue to the conferences, came and encamped with his army within a league of the place. The confederate deputies, at the king's desire, first proposed to the *Ætolians*, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests, which article being agreed to, the rest met with no difficulty, so that the treaty was soon concluded, and ratified by both parties.

At the first opening of the assembly, *Agelas*, of *Naupactus*, addressed the king and the confederates, exhorting them to a strict union, as the only means of preserving their liberties, and to have a watchful eye on the danger that threatened them from the barbarians, it being evident that the conquerors, whether *Carthaginians* or *Romans*, would not confine themselves to the empire of *Italy* or *Sicily*, but would extend their conquests even to *Greece* itself. He pressed *Philip* to fight for the whole *Greek* nation, as if *Greece* was his inheritance, and that he should watch the event of the *Italian* war, and improve it to his advantage; for if once he suffered the storm that was gathering in the west to reach *Greece*, it might justly be feared that it would then no longer be in their power to make war, conclude peace, or manage their affairs as they pleased. The treaty is ratified by both parties.

This is the first time that the affairs of *Italy* influenced those of *Greece*. After this, neither *Philip*, nor the other powers of *Greece*, regulated their conduct from the state of their respective neighbours, but directed all their views and attention towards *Italy*. The *Asiatics* and the inhabitants of the islands soon after acted in the same manner. The *Romans* on the other hand, awakened by the growing power and enterprising genius of *Philip*, dispatched ambassadors into *Greece*, to obviate betimes the dangers that threatened them from that quarter.

As soon as the peace was ratified, the *Achæans* raised *Timoxenus* to the prætorship, and then returned to their antient manner and custom of life, after having re-edified the walls of their cities, rebuilt their temples and altars, and repaired the public and private damages which they had sustained during the war.

This happy tranquillity, however, was soon disturbed by the very prince who had procured it. *Philip* having entered into an alliance

Philip
changes
his con-
duct.

He at-
tempts to
reduce the
Messenians

alliance with *Hannibal*, and received a most mortifying defeat from the *Romans*, on the coast of *Epire*, began to change his conduct and character. This change was ascribed to the evil councils of those about him, who fomented all his passions, and continually suggested to him, that the grandeur of a king consisted in reigning with an unlimited power. Resolving now to make himself absolute in *Greece*, he began with the *Messenians*, who being divided into two factions, referred their differences to his arbitration. *Philip* accordingly proceeded to *Messene*, where he found *Aratus* endeavouring to reconcile the differences amicably. The king, however, wanted to inflame them, and in this he succeeded, by pretending to the heads of each faction, separately, that he favoured them. By this means the popular party were provoked to fall upon the nobility, and murdered 200 of them. *Aratus*, the younger, who perceived the king's design, could not forbear reproaching him with his conduct in very bitter and offensive terms. *Philip* stifled his resentment, and taking *Aratus* the elder by the hand, asked him whether he would not attend him to a sacrifice in the castle of *Ithome*, which overlooked *Messene*, and awed the southern parts of the *Peloponnese*. The popular party who held this fortress, admitted *Philip* without the least jealousy. When the entrails of the victim, according to custom, were put into the king's hands, he shewed them to *Aratus*, and with a smile asked him, whether they prognosticated, that being now in possession of so important a place, he should part with it or not. *Aratus* made no reply; but *Demetrius Pharius* gave this officious answer: *If you are a soothsayer you must quietly be gone from hence; but if you are a king, you must not let slip so fair an opportunity, but hold the ox fast by both his horns*; alluding to *Ithome* and *Acrocorinth*, which were called the two horns of the *Peloponnese*. The king, however, urging *Aratus* to give his opinion, he told him, That if the place could be kept without breach of faith, he would do well to keep it; but if by seizing *Ithome*, he must lose the strongest castle he had, his credit, he thought it far more advisable to deliver it up to its owners. Though *Philip* for the present followed this advice, yet he ever after maintained a secret grudge against *Aratus*, who being dissatisfied with the king's conduct, retired from court, and led a private life at *Sicyon*. The intentions of the king being now suspected, the *Messenians* soon after refused to admit him into their city, upon which he declared them enemies, and laid waste their country. The *Achæans*, however, refusing to assist him in this enterprise, he turned his resentment against *Aratus*, and as he did not now scruple to commit the most heinous crimes, he ordered *Taurion*, him to be one of his officers, to dispatch him by poison. *Taurion* with reluctance obeying the wicked command, insinuated himself into the friendship of *Aratus*, and at an entertainment gave him a poison that was sure, but slow in its operation.

Aratus re-
tires from
Philip's
court.

Philip
causes
him to be
poisoned.
Bef. Chr.

216.

Aratus was not ignorant of the cause of the lingering distemper he fell into; but as it would be of no service to him to complain,

complain, he bore it patiently as a common and natural disease. One day only happening to spit blood, he said to his friend, who appeared surprised, *Behold, my dear Cephalion, the fruits of royal friendship.* He died soon after in *Ægium*, in the 57th year of his age, being then prætor of the *Achæans* for the 17th time. The *Achæans* were for burying him in the place where he died, but the *Sicyonians* claimed this honour, and having brought his corps to *Sicyon* with great pomp, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in honour of the deceased, they buried it with the utmost solemnity in the highest part of the city, which was ever after called *Aratium*. The *Achæans* decreed that divine honours should be paid him, and in *Plutarch's* time two solemn sacrifices were still offered him annually, the first on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, which sacrifice was called *Soteria*, the other on his birth day.

Aratus was certainly one of the greatest men of his time, and His character may justly be stiled one of the founders of the *Achæan* republic, he having brought it to that form and splendor, by which it became one of the most powerful states of *Greece*. In his administration he was guilty of one very great error, in calling in the kings of *Macedon* to the assistance of the republic, out of jealousy to *Cleomenes*, king of *Sparta*, who, after having reduced the *Achæans* to the last extremity, was willing to restore the prisoners and all the places he had taken, on condition that they would create him prætor of *Achaia*. The *Achæans* were inclined to accept of a peace on these terms; but *Aratus*, that he might not be supplanted by a young man, prevailed on them at last to reject the offers of peace, and to have recourse to *Philip*. He not only atoned for this with his own death, but with that of his son; for *Philip* growing compleatly wicked, as *Plutarch* expresses it, commanded a kind of poison to be given him, which deprived him of his understanding, and prompted him to commit such abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal ignominy on his name, had they been done while he was in his senses; so that though he was then in the flower of his age, his death was looked upon as the greatest blessing that could befall himself and his family.

The *Achæans* were highly incensed against *Philip* for these New disturbances inhuman and tyrannical proceedings, but at present not being in a condition to support themselves without him, they engaged in *Greece*. in a new league with him against the *Ætolians*, who had entered Bes. Chr. into an alliance with the *Romans*, the chief article of which 209. was, that the booty and slaves should belong to the *Romans*, and the conquests to the *Ætolians* and the other allies, who were the *Lacedæmonians*, *Elcans*, king *Attalus* and *Scerdelaides*. The *Ætolians* immediately invading the *Achæan* territories, *Philip* at the request of the *Achæans*, prepared to march to their assistance, but before he could join them, he was opposed by the *Ætolians*, with some *Romans* and the *Asiatic* forces, under *Attalus*, at *Lamia* in *Thessaly*. *Pyrrhus*, the *Ætolian* general, was The *Ætolian* twice defeated by *Philip*, and forced to shut himself up, with the defeated.

The gal-
lant beha-
viour of
*Philopæ-
men*.

the remains of his forces, in *Lamia*. This double defeat so disheartened the *Ætolians*, that they sent ambassadors to treat of a peace with *Philip*, who granted them a truce of 30 days, referring the conferences for a peace to the *Achæan* assembly. The proposals of the *Ætolians*, however, appeared so unreasonable, that all hopes of peace vanished, and both parties prepared for war. *Philip*, soon after, being joined with some *Achæans*, under the command of their prætor, ravaged the territories of *Elis*, and advanced to the very gates of the city, which had received an *Ætolian* garrison. The night before, however, 4000 *Romans* had entered the city, which encouraged the garrison to sally out, and attack the *Achæans*. The fight was very bloody, and many fell on both sides. In the heat of the action *Philopæmen*, who commanded the cavalry of the *Achæans*, unhorsed *Damophantes*, the general of the *Elean* cavalry, which he quickly afterwards routed. The *Macedonians*, in the mean time, giving way before the *Romans*, *Philip* rushed headlong into the midst of the *Romans*, where his horse being wounded, threw him. On this the *Macedonians* attacked with new vigour, and in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Romans*, carried off their king. The next day *Philip* retiring from *Elis*, took a strong hold of the *Eleans*, where he found 20,000 head of cattle, besides 4000 *Eleans*, whom he sold for slaves. Mean while, news arriving that the *Dardanians*, a people of *Thrace*, had invaded *Macedon*, *Philip* set out to defend his own kingdom, the *Romans* about the same time retiring to *Ægina*, where they wintered. During the king's absence, the *Achæans* gained a considerable victory over the *Ætolians* and *Eleans*, near the city of *Messene*. *Attalus* and *Sulpitius*, the *Roman* generals, early in the spring sailed with their fleets to *Le mnos*, and thence advancing to *Orcum*, a chief city of *Eubæa*, the *Macedonian* commander treacherously delivered it up to them. *Philip* hearing that *Attalus* had laid siege to the city of *Opus*, in *Achaia*, advanced with incredible diligence to its relief, marching upwards of 60 miles in one day. Though he came too late to relieve the place, yet, upon his approach, *Attalus* abandoned it, and retired to his ships.

*Philopæ-
men* ap-
pointed
Achæan
prætor.
His cha-
racter.

Mean while *Machanidas*, tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, advanced at the head of a powerful army to the borders of *Achaia*, but he could not have chosen a more improper season for this expedition; for *Philopæmen* had been appointed, for the first time, commander in chief of the *Achæan* forces. This great warrior, whom we shall often have occasion to mention, was born in *Megalopolis*, a city of *Arcadia*, and from his infancy discovered a strong inclination to the profession of arms. *Cassander*, of *Mantineæ*, a man of great probity, undertook the care of his education from gratitude to his father. He was no sooner able to bear arms, but he entered among the *Megalopolitan* troops, and gave many instances of prudence and valour. When *Cleomenes* took *Megalopolis*, he persuaded his citizens rather to allow their city to be plundered, than abandon the *Achæan* alliance.

Having

Having signalized himself greatly at the battle of *Sellasia*, *Antigonus* made him very advantageous offers, to gain him to his service, but he rejected them with scorn. As he could not live idle and inactive, he went over to the island of *Crete*, and served there as a volunteer, till he acquired a complete knowledge of the military art. Upon his return, being appointed general of the *Achæan* horse, heretofore of no reputation, he in a short time rendered them famous all over *Greece*. Being soon after elected prætor, he instantly applied himself to restore military discipline among the troops, and roused the courage of his countrymen, in order to put them into a condition to defend themselves, without depending for assistance on foreign princes.

Having made great improvements in the discipline, and likewise in the arms, he exercised his troops every day for the space of eight months, when news was brought him that *Machanidas* was advancing to invade *Achaia*. He gladly embraced this opportunity of trying his troops, and met the enemy in the territories of *Mantineia*, where, as we have elsewhere related, a desperate battle ensued, in which the *Lacedæmonians* were defeated, with the loss of 4000 killed, and as many taken prisoners. The loss of the *Achæans* was very inconsiderable, and those that fell were mostly mercenaries*. *Machanidas* was killed by *Philopæmen*, and the *Achæans*, to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which was entirely owing to the conduct of their general, set up his statue in brass at *Delphi*, in the same attitude in which he killed the tyrant.

This victory over the *Lacedæmonians*, and the many advantages gained by *Philip* over the *Ætolians*, inclined the *Ætolian* faction to sue for a peace in good earnest, as the *Romans* and *Attalus* were both called off from assisting them. They accordingly concluded a peace with *Philip* and the *Achæans*, upon very disadvantageous conditions. *P. Sempronius*, the proconsul, arriving soon after with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse, blamed the *Ætolians* for concluding a peace without the consent of the *Romans*, but afterwards he acceded to the treaty, in the name of his republic. On the side of *Philip*, the king of *Bithynia*, the *Achæans*, the *Bæotians*, the *Thessalians*, *Acar-nanians*, and *Epi-rots*, were included, and on the part of the *Romans* were named king *Attalus*, *Pleuratus* a petty prince of *Illyricum*, *Nabis* tyrant of *Sparta*, the *Eleans*, *Messenians*, and *Athenians*.

The peace thus concluded, was not of long continuance; The for *Philip* soon after invaded, at the same time, the *Rhodians*, *Achæans* *Athenians*, and king *Attalus*; whereupon war was declared against him by the *Romans*, and *Sulpitius*, the consul, appointed to carry it on. *Philip* at first was joined by the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians*, *Cycliades*, the prætor of the *Achæans*, being entirely devoted to the *Macedonian* party. The *Achæans* afterwards suspecting that he aimed at an absolute power, and was

* Polyb. l. ix. Plut. in Philop.

concerting measures with the *Macedonians* to bring their republic under subjection, expelled him, and put the government into the hands of *Aristhenes*, a friend to the *Romans*. The consul laid hold of this opportunity to bring the *Achæans* into an alliance with *Rome*, and offered to put *Corinth* into their possession if they joined with him.

At the next general assembly ambassadors appeared, both from the *Romans* and their allies, and from *Philip*, but their different speeches so perplexed the *Achæans*, that they could come to no determination. Next day, when the assembly met again, the deputies, though summoned by the herald to give their opinions, all remained mute, not daring to pronounce in so perplexed an affair. *Aristemenes* at last broke silence, and addressed the deputies in this manner: *What is become of that warmth and vigour with which you used to dispute at your banquets about Philip and the Romans? You were then decisive, and now, in an assembly summoned for no other purpose, you are mute. If the love of your country will not extort a word from you, will not your inclination for one or the other party loosen your tongues.* These reproaches, however reasonable and judicious, not prevailing on any of the members to give their opinion, *Aristemenes* resumed the discourse, and in a long harangue represented to them the situation of their affairs, urging the necessity of their joining the *Romans*, who, he said, were in a condition to force them to a compliance with their request. This discourse, however, did not bring the *Achæans* to an agreement among themselves, and the *Demiurgi* even were divided in their opinions, five of them declaring for the *Romans*, and five of them favouring *Philip*. The third and last day of the assembly was spent in warm disputes, the father disagreeing with the son, and the deputies of the same city being ready to fall upon each other. At last the majority were for the *Romans*, and immediately concluded an alliance with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, but deferred the conclusion of the treaty with the *Romans* till the return of their ambassadors, which they sent to *Rome*.

Mean while they lent assistance to the *Romans*, who invested *Corinth*, but met with such a vigorous opposition, that they were obliged to retire. The siege of *Corinth* being raised, *Philocles*, one of *Philip's* generals, marched his troops into the heart of *Achaia*, and drew near to *Argos*, which city he knew was well affected to the *Macedonians*. *Ænesidemus*, who commanded the garrison of 500 men, refused to surrender, but was not a little surprised when he saw all the citizens take up arms, and command him to march out of the city. He was then convinced that it was in vain to make opposition, and his garrison being allowed to march out unmolested, he sent them away, but remained with a few of his friends. *Philocles* sent to ask him, *Why he continued in the city, and what he intended to do.* The brave *Achæan* answering, *I intend to die in the place committed to my care;* *Philocles* ordered his *Thracians* to discharge their arrows

They at length conclude an alliance with the *Romans*.

The *Macedonians* admitted into *Argos*.
Esf. Chr.
197.

arrows at him, so that he was instantly slain, and sunk down upon his buckler.

Philip being desirous to prevent the enemy from recovering *Argos*, delivered it up to *Nabis*, tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who was liver it to in a condition to defend it. The conditions upon which he delivered it were, that *Nabis* should possess it as his own if *Philip* lost his life in the war, but restore it if he were alive at the conclusion of a peace. The *Argians*, who knew the cruelty and avarice of *Nabis*, refused to admit the *Lacedæmonians*: but *Philocles* basely introduced them in the night, which occasioned a tumult next morning, when some of the chief magistrates escaping, the tyrant on that pretence began his depredations. He confiscated the estates of those who had fled, and commanded the inhabitants to bring him all their gold, silver, and jewels, putting to the rack such as he suspected to conceal any part of their riches. He assembled the magistrates, and obliged them to pass two decrees, the first for cancelling all old debts, and the second ordering an equal division to be made of the lands among all the citizens. *Nabis* being sensible that he could not keep *Argos* without a powerful protection, joined in confederacy with the *Romans*; but at the same time would only consent to a four months truce with the *Achæans*. The *Argians* cruelly treated by *Nabis*.

Nicostratus, the *Achæan* prætor, about the same time signalized himself against the *Macedonians*. *Androsthenes*, who commanded about 6000 men in *Corinth*, made an incursion into *Achaia*, and advanced to the very walls of *Sicyon*, where he insulted the prætor, who had only 2000 men in garrison. As the *Macedonian* allowed his troops to disperse in small bodies, and was scarce ever in one place, *Nicostratus* formed a design of surprising him, and having ordered the garrisons of the neighbouring cities to assemble on a day appointed at *Apelaurium*, he set out from thence at the head of 5700 foot and 300 horse, in search of the *Macedonians*. Having heard that they were encamped on the river *Nemea*, and had sent off three large detachments from their main body, he placed his mercenaries in a forest that lay betwixt the camp and *Corinth*, and then marched to attack the camp. The *Macedonians* were soon thrown into great disorder and were easily routed. *Nicostratus* went to cut off the detachment that was ravaging *Sicyon*, and the two other detachments were either murdered by the country people, or cut in pieces by the mercenaries, who had been stationed in the forest. The *Macedonians* defeated by the *Achæans*.

Philip at the same time having received a signal overthrow from the *Romans* in *Thessaly*, was obliged to accept of peace on such conditions as *Rome* and her allies were pleased to impose. The main article, relating to *Greece*, was, that *Philip* should evacuate all the places he possessed in *Greece*, and withdraw his garrisons before the celebration of the *Isthmian* games. All *Greece*, *Ætolia* excepted, received the news of this peace with the greatest transports of joy. The *Ætolians* inveighed against the *Romans*, as though they intended only to amuse the *Greeks* with the name of A peace concluded with *Philip*. Bef. Chr. 196.

of liberty, and to retain the sovereignty of it to themselves, *Corinth, Chalcis, Oreos, Eretria, and Demetrias* being still in their hands. The suspicions of the *Ætolians* were not ill grounded, for the names of those cities had been purposely omitted by the ten commissioners sent from *Rome*. The proconsul, *Flaminius*, however, prevailed on them to extend the decree to all the cities in *Greece*.

The
Greeks de-
clared free
by the
Romans.

The *Isthmian* games drawing near, the expectation of what was to be there transacted drew thither an incredible multitude of people, and persons of the highest rank. As the decree of the *Roman* commissioners was not yet divulged, the future state of *Greece* was the topic of all conversations, and though some people hoped well, yet the greater number could not be persuaded that the *Romans* would part with the cities they had taken. The multitude assembled at the games were in this uncertainty, when silence being proclaimed by sound of trumpet, the herald advanced into the middle of the *Arena*, as it were, to pronounce the usual form of words, but the *Greeks*, to their great surprise, heard him make the following declaration: *The senate and people of Rome, and Quinctius Flaminius, the proconsul, having overcome Philip and the Macedonians, declare the Corinthians, the Phocians, the Locrians, the Eubæans, the Magnesi-ans, the Thessalians, the Perræbi, the Achæans, and the Phthiotes, free from all kind of servitude. All these nations shall live in an independant state, and be governed only by their own laws.* At these words, which many heard but imperfectly, because of the noise that interrupted them, the multitude were filled with excess of joy, and earnestly asked each other about the import, not giving credit to their own ears. The herald being again ordered to repeat the proclamation, he was heard with the most profound silence, and not a single word of the decree was lost. And now being fully assured of their happiness, they expressed their satisfaction with the highest transports of joy. The shout which they gave when the herald had finished, was so incredibly great, that it was heard as far as the sea, and their acclamations, *Plutarch* says, put the air into such a violent agitation, that some crows, which were accidentally flying over the assembly, fell down in the *Arena*. The games and sports were hurried over with neglect and disregard, for so great was the general joy on this occasion, that it wholly occupied their thoughts. The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the *Roman* general, who was beset on every side by such multitudes, that had he not timely withdrawn, he would scarce, it is thought, have ever got clear of them.

After this the proconsul, to complete the work, convened a general assembly at *Corinth*, and there declared, that he would evacuate *Demetrias, Chalcis, and Acro-Corinth*, and having withdrawn the garisons from those places, he began to prepare for his journey to *Rome*. The *Greeks*, to give him before his departure some pledge of their affection, sought for all the *Romans* that were reduced to slavery on the coasts of *Greece*, and delivered

delivered them up to him. Their number amounted to 12,000, the greatest part of them having been sold to the *Greeks* by *Hannibal*. The *Achæans* alone bore the charge of their redemption, which came to 100 talents.

The only thing that reflected some dishonour upon *Flaminius*, *Nabis* left and stained his reputation, was his leaving the usurper *Nabis* in possession of *Sparta*, without ever mentioning the unhappy sion of *Agessipolis*, who was the lawful heir, and had fought under the *Sparta*. Roman standards. *Plutarch* attributes this proceeding, in some measure, to his impatience to return to *Rome*, and to his disgust on account of the honours paid to *Philopæmen*: but *Livy* mentions other reasons, more for the honour of *Flaminius*. Winter was coming on, and *Sparta* was to be besieged; the enemy's country could supply him with nothing, and it would be very difficult to get convoys. Besides, he was informed that *Antiochus* was preparing to renew the war.

Not long after the departure of the *Romans*, *Nabis* began to The raise insurrections in the maritime cities, which he had been *Achæans* obliged to give up by the treaty of peace. He attempted to declare drive out the *Achæan* garrisons, and even openly laid siege to war a- *Gythium*. The *Romans*, at the solicitation of the *Achæans*, gainst again sent *Flaminius* into *Greece*, who, at his arrival, found the him. *Achæan* deputies assembled in their general diet at *Sicyon*. Some of the assembly were for taking up arms immediately, but others inclined to follow the opinion of *Flaminius*, who advised them to delay hostilities till the *Roman* fleet should arrive. The assembly seeming to wait the decision of *Philopæmen*, who was prætor that year, he rose up and said, *It is your business to determine what to do, and mine to execute your orders; and I will take all possible care that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be for war or peace.* These words inclined the assembly more powerfully to a war, than if he had openly declared for it, and war being accordingly decreed, the whole management of it was left to him.

Philopæmen resolved to attempt something without delay for the relief of the garrison of *Gythium*, and having fitted out several *Achæan* ships proposed to open the communication of the place with the sea. Though he had never been on board a ship, but as a passenger, in his voyages to *Crete*, and was entirely unacquainted with maritime affairs, he took upon him the command of the fleet; but soon learned to his cost, how important *Philopæmen* it is to be accustomed to those things which we undertake to manage. *Nabis*, who had fitted out a few ships, filled with *men* de- rowers and soldiers, used to sea fights, routed his fleet at the sea. first onset.

Philopæmen, with great difficulty, escaped to *Patræ*; but not being discouraged by his ill-concerted and unsuccessful expedition, he presently set sail again, and as the enemy did not expect him, but were rendered negligent by their late victory, he landed in the night, burnt their camp at *Pleia*, and killed a great number of them, so that very few got safe to their in-trenchments

trenchments before *Gythium*. Having thus retrieved his reputation, he assembled the *Achæans* to consult about the relief of *Gythium*. In hopes of obliging *Nabis* to abandon the siege, he marched to *Sparta*; but the very day he appeared before that city, *Gythium* surrendered to *Nabis*, who immediately hastened to *Lacedæmon*.

He gains a complete victory over *Nabis* by land. A few days after, as the *Achæans* were marching through a narrow pass, *Nabis* came suddenly upon them. *Philopæmen* made a little halt, and when he had viewed the ground, made it appear, that the greatest thing in war is skill in drawing up an army. Advancing only a few paces, and altering his order without any confusion, according to the nature of the place, he presently took away all apprehensions from his men, and waited for the charge of the enemy. The action beginning early next morning, *Lycortas*, the father of the historian *Polybius*, who commanded the *Achæan* cavalry, according to orders he had received, gave ground a little, and drew the enemy into an ambuscade, by which means they were quickly thrown into the utmost confusion, and easily routed. *Philopæmen* causing a report to be spread, that he intended to seize the passes leading to *Sparta*, *Nabis* marched off with part of his troops to prevent him. After the departure of the tyrant, *Philopæmen* attacked his son-in-law, *Pythagoras*, and having driven him from his camp, possessed himself of the *Lacedæmonian* baggage and warlike engines. Foreseeing that the *Lacedæmonians*, who were now dispersed, would attempt to enter at night into the city, he placed small bodies of men on the roads that led to *Sparta*, and by this means cut many of the enemy to pieces, or took them prisoners.

The *Lacedæmonians* joined to the *Achæan* league. But what most of all raised the fame and reputation of *Philopæmen*, was his joining the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Achæan* league, upon the death of *Nabis*, who was treacherously slain by an *Ætolian* officer. This transaction we have related in the history of *Sparta*, but we shall add here one circumstance, which reflects greater lustre on *Philopæmen* than all his warlike exploits. The *Lacedæmonians*, in gratitude to *Philopæmen*, ordered 120 talents, raised by the sale of the palace and furniture of *Nabis*, to be presented to him: but there was not a man among them that would undertake to mention the matter to him. They at last, by a public decree, obliged one *Timolaus*, with whom *Philopæmen* had lodged at *Sparta*, to go to *Megalopolis* to offer him the present. *Timolaus*, with great reluctance, set out for *Megalopolis*, and was kindly entertained by *Philopæmen*; but struck with admiration at his grave manner of discourse, his frugality and integrity, he did not dare once to mention a word of the present, but giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned with the money. He was sent again, but acted just as before. At last going a third time, he ventured with the utmost reluctance to acquaint *Philopæmen* with the offer he had to make to him, in the name of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Philopæmen* heard him with great calmness, but when he had done speaking, he set

set out with him to *Sparta*, where, after expressing the greatest obligations to the *Spartans*, he advised them not to bribe good men, but to lay out their money in purchasing the wicked, and such as divided the citizens, to the end, that being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. Such was the disinterestedness of this noble *Achæan*.

The addition of *Lacedæmon* had greatly increased the power *Messene* of the *Achæan* republic; but at the same time, divisions arising and *Elis* among the confederate cities, the *Romans* began to let them renounce know that the republic of *Achaia* was, in some degree, subject their alli- to that of *Rome*. *Messene* and *Elis*, two cities of *Achaia*, having ance with refused to send their deputies to the general diet, *Diophanes* the the *Achæ-* prætor ravaged the territories of the two rebellious cities, in *ans*. order to bring them to their duty. They, on the other hand, had recourse to *Flaminius*, who then resided at *Chalcis*, offering to surrender themselves up to the *Romans*. *Flaminius*, ordering *Diophanes* to desist from hostilities, had a conference with him at *Megalopolis*, and advising him to disband his forces, assured him, that he would settle the dispute to the satisfaction of the *Achæans*. He accordingly subjected the *Messenians* and *Eleans* to the diet, and obliged them to deliver up the *Achæan* exiles they kept in their cities. *Flaminius*, by this kindness to the *Achæans*, wanted to persuade them to deliver up to him the island of *Zacynthos*, which they had lately purchased. *Diophanes* was against parting with it; but *Flaminius* representing to the diet, that the island would cost them more in defending than it was worth, they unanimously voted that it should be delivered up to the *Romans* *.

Not long after new dissensions happened among the *Achæans*. Dissen- The general assemblies of the *Achæans* had long been held at sions a- *Ægium*; but *Philopæmen*, being again prætor, thought fit to mong the divide the honour and advantages, which the diets brought to *Achæans*. the places where they were held, among all the cities of the *Achæan* league, and had named *Argos* for the place of the next diet. The inhabitants of *Ægium* opposed this regulation, and had recourse to *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who then resided at *Cephalenia*, to decide, he said, such disputes as should arise between any of the *Greek* cities or republics. Thus, under the character of a peace-maker, he was in reality the sovereign of *Greece*, and gave laws to the whole country. *Fulvius*, coming over into the *Peloponnese*, and hearing the dispute, was inclined to favour the inhabitants of *Ægium*; but seeing that the other party was far more numerous, he withdrew from the assembly without declaring his opinion, it being enough for him that the dispute had been brought to his tribunal.

The quarrel that arose between the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmo-* nians was of more consequence. *Flaminius* had given all the

* Liv. lib. xxxvi.

The *Lacedæmonians* places on the coast of *Laconia* to the *Achæans*, who kept garrisons in them, even after *Lacedæmon* had acceded to the *Achæan* league. This offending some of the leading men among the *Lacedæmonians*, they attacked in the night one of the cities called *Las*; but were repulsed by the inhabitants and *Spartan* exiles, after they had carried the place. The exiles, who had been driven out for opposing the tyrant, brought their complaints to the council of the *Achæans*, and being favoured by *Philopæmen*, he caused a decree to be enacted, commanding the *Lacedæmonians* to deliver up the authors of that enterprize, on pain of being treated as enemies. The *Spartans*, exasperated at this decree, immediately put to death 30 of those who were known to be in the *Achæan* interest, dissolved their alliance with *Achaia*, and sent ambassadors to *Fulvius*, the proconsul, intreating him to come and take possession of their city. The *Achæans*, hearing of these proceedings, declared war against the *Lacedæmonians*, and made some slight incursions into their territories both by sea and land.

At the return of the spring, both parties making preparations for war, *Fulvius* arrived in the *Peloponnese*, and heard the complaints of each, endeavouring, to the utmost of his power, to reconcile them. They refusing to hearken to any accommodation, he advised them to send ambassadors to *Rome*, to which they agreed. The *Achæan* deputies were *Diophanes*, of a tractable and moderate disposition, and *Lycortas*, entirely attached to *Philopæmen*. The senate, unwilling to disgust the *Achæans*, but at the same time thinking the *Lacedæmonians* worthy of compassion, returned a dark and ambiguous answer, which each party interpreted in their own favour.

The *Achæans* pretending that it gave them full power to punish the *Lacedæmonians*, *Philopæmen*, who was continued prætor, marched with an army to the very walls of *Sparta*, and summoned the city to deliver up the authors of the attempt upon *Las*, promising that they should not be condemned without a fair trial. Upon this promise, all those whom *Philopæmen* demanded by name came to the *Achæan* camp, attended by the chief citizens of *Lacedæmon*, where they were insulted and abused by their malcontent countrymen, who, by their railing speeches, engaged the *Achæan* soldiers in their quarrel, and all on a sudden fell upon the *Lacedæmonians* with such fury, that 17 of them were killed upon the spot, 73 being, with the greatest difficulty, rescued out of the hands of the enraged multitude. *Philopæmen*, who had no intention to pardon them, caused them to be tried next morning, when, scarce being allowed any defence, they were condemned and executed.

This severe proceeding struck all the *Lacedæmonians* with such terror, that they surrendered at discretion; and *Philopæmen*, who was enraged against them, treated them as though their city had been taken by storm. He commanded them to demolish their walls, disband all their mercenaries, drive out of their city all the slaves whom the tyrants had set at liberty, receive the

the exiles, and lastly, renounce the laws of *Lycurgus*, and for the future govern themselves only by those of *Achaia*. By the abolition of the laws of the wise *Lycurgus*, which the *Lacedæmonians* had observed for the space of 700 years, the sinews of their commonwealth were cut asunder. They sent ambassadors to *Rome* to complain of this severe treatment; but the *Achaans* also sending an embassy thither to justify their conduct, the *Romans*, who had then affairs of greater importance upon their hands, only acted as intercessors.

The *Lacedæmonians* complain to the *Romans*.

The *Achaean* league was at this time in great repute all over the east, and the friendship of so powerful a state courted by all the provinces of *Asia*. *Ptolemy*, king of *Egypt*, sent ambassadors to renew his antient alliance with the *Achaans*, and to offer the republic 6000 shields, and 200 talents of brass. His offer was accepted, and *Lycortas*, with two others, deputed to thank him for the present, and renew the alliance. King *Eumenes* also sent an embassy for the same purpose, offering 120 talents, the interest of which should be settled on the members of the public council. Ambassadors came likewise from *Seleucus*, king of *Syria*, offering the republic 10 ships of war, completely equipped, and desiring to have the antient treaty of alliance confirmed by the assembly.

The *Asiatic* princes court the friendship of the *Achaans*.

All these ambassadors were heard in the diet, and the alliance with *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* was renewed; but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships which the latter offered. The alliance with *Eumenes* was postponed till a farther opportunity, *Apollonius* of *Sicyon* having, in a long speech, exhorted the *Achaans* not only to reject his present, but to look upon him as an enemy, since he attempted to bribe the members of that venerable assembly *.

The *Romans*, having now got the better of all their enemies in the west, resumed the cause of the *Lacedæmonians*, with a design to humble the *Achaans*, whose great power began to raise no small jealousy at *Rome*. Three commissioners, the chief of whom was *Q. Cæcilius*, were therefore named to take cognizance of the affairs of *Greece* upon the spot. These, having first settled the affairs of *Macedon*, came to the *Peloponnese*, when *Aristenes*, the *Achaean* prætor, assembled the chiefs of the republic at *Argos*, and invited the *Roman* commissioners thither. *Cæcilius*, being introduced to the council, applauded the zeal of the *Achaans* for the welfare of their country, and the wisdom of their government; but told them, that their behaviour towards the *Lacedæmonians* had been very much censured at *Rome*, and therefore exhorted them to amend what they had acted imprudently against them on that occasion. *Aristenes*, who understood acted in concert with *Cæcilius*, did not make any reply. *Diophanes*, of *Megalepolis*, who was a professed enemy of *Philopamen*, made other complaints against him, without mentioning

The *Romans* jealous of their power. They send commissioners into *Achaia*.

* Polyb. in Legat. lib. xli.

the affair of the *Spartans*. *Philopæmen*, *Lycortas*, and *Archon* then spoke in their turns, and their speeches, in defence of the late proceedings at *Sparta*, made such an impression on the council, that when *Cæcilius* withdrew, they came to a resolution, that nothing should be changed in what had been decreed, and that this answer should be given to the *Roman* commissioners. *Cæcilius* then desiring that the general assembly might be convened, they refused his request, because he could not produce a letter from the senate of *Rome* to the *Achæans* for that purpose, which so exasperated him, that he immediately left *Achaia*.

The
Achæans
and *Lacedæmonians*
send am-
bassadors
to *Rome*.

Upon his return to *Rome*, *Apollonidas*, the *Achæan* ambassador, justified the conduct of their republic towards the *Spartans*, before the *Roman* senate. *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, the *Spartan* ambassadors, were next admitted. These were two of the exiles who had been restored by *Philopæmen*; but now contended zealously for the recovery of the antient splendor and liberty of their native country. The senate, after hearing and weighing the reasons on both sides, ordered *Appius Claudius* and two others, who were soon to set out for *Macedon*, to put an end to the dispute; and required the *Achæans* to convene their general assembly, whenever the *Roman* ambassadors should desire it, since they were admitted by the *Roman* senate as often as they required an audience.

The *Ro-*
mans fa-
vour the
Lacedæ-
monians.

The *Roman* commissioners being expected in the *Peloponnese*, *Lycortas*, who was then prætor, summoned the general assembly to examine the affair of the *Lacedæmonians*, that he might be ready to answer the questions which the commissioners should ask him, and at the same time know how his countrymen stood affected. He represented to them such things as they might fear from the *Romans*, who seemed to favour the interest of *Lacedæmon* more than that of *Achaia*. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, who owed their return into their own country to the *Achæans*. The assembly being moved by his speech, a decree passed, condemning *Areus*, *Alcibiades*, and all who attended them in their embassy, to be put to death. A few days after the scene was changed, the *Roman* ambassadors arriving, accompanied by *Areus* and *Alcibiades*. The general assembly being convened, as soon as *Appius* appeared there, he took the highest place, and acted rather as a judge than a private deputy. He told the deputies, that the *Roman* senate disapproved of all the proceedings of the *Achæans*, with regard to the *Spartans*; he inveighed against the murderers of those who had come out from *Sparta* to plead their cause before *Philopæmen*; and exclaimed against the abolition of the laws of *Lycurgus*, which had been so much admired by all nations of the world. *Lycortas*, in a very apposite speech, which our readers will find in *Livy* (lib. xxxix.) defended the common cause of the republic, and the conduct of *Philopæmen*. *Appius*, however, without taking any notice of the arguments of *Lycortas*, desired the deputies to restore to *Lacedæmon* her ancient rights and privileges voluntarily, lest *Rome* should force them

them to it. The assembly, awed by these words, desired the commissioners to do what they thought fit, but not oblige the *Achæans* to break their oath, by annulling the decrees they had sworn to observe. *Appius* contented himself with repealing the sentence that was just before passed against *Areus* and *Alcibiades*. The year following, it was decreed in the *Roman* senate, that The those persons, who had been condemned by the *Achæans*, *Achæan* should be recalled and restored; that all sentences pronounced decree an- in the assembly of *Achaia*, against *Lacedæmon*, should be repealed; nulled at and that for the future the *Lacedæmonians* should be deemed *Rome*. members of the *Achæan* body, and treated accordingly. 2. *Marcus* came into *Greece*, and put this sentence in execution, obliging both parties to accept and sign the decree.

This storm was scarcely appeased, when a new one arose. *Messene* *Dinocrates*, a *Messenian*, who had a particular enmity to *Philo-* withdraws *pæmen*, induced his countrymen to revolt from the *Achæans*, itself from and was making preparations for seizing *Corone*, a city near the *Achæ-* *Messene*, when news of the revolt was brought to *Philopæmen*, an league. then prætor the eighth time. This brave *Achæan*, though he was now seventy years of age, and lay sick of a fever at *Argos*, hastened away to *Megalopolis*, which was distant above 400 furlongs, in one day, and assembling a choice body of horse, advanced towards *Messene*, with a design to fall upon the revolters. On his march, meeting with *Dinocrates*, he charged and routed him; but 500 fresh *Messenians* coming up, *Dinocrates* rallied his men about the hills. *Philopæmen*, being now too weak to make head against the enemy, made it his chief business to retire in good order, bringing up the rear himself, and facing about, from time to time, to repulse the enemy. When he ran against the enemy, none of them dared to approach near him. They only shouted, and wheeled about him at a distance; but at length they entirely surrounded him, and cut off his retreat to his own men. However, they durst not even then come up to him, *Philopæ-* but attacking him with their darts, drove him into steep and *men is* stony places, where his horse stumbling, he was thrown to the taken pri- ground. By the fall he received a deep wound on the head, soner by and lay senseless, till the enemies, thinking him dead, began to the rebels, strip him. He then opening his eyes, they threw themselves in crowds upon him, bound his hands behind him, and in that condition carried him to *Messene*.

The *Messenians*, upon the sight of the hero of *Greece* reduced to captivity, more by an accident than any want of valour, were most of them struck with grief; and deploring the vanity and inconstancy of human affairs, they wept with compassion. *Dinocrates*, however, and his party, put him at last into a dungeon under ground, into which there came no air nor light from without, the mouth being stopt by a large stone.

Mean while, *Philopæmen*'s soldiers made a stand, calling him with loud cries, and reproaching each other with their unworthy escape. Hearing at last that he was taken, they spread the news through all the towns of *Achaia*, and an army quickly as-sembled

who put
him to
death.
Bef. Ch.
183.

sembled for his rescue. *Dinocrates*, fearing that delays would save *Philopæmen*, resolved to be beforehand with the *Achæans*, and at night sent in the executioner with poison. When *Philopæmen* saw the light, and the man standing by him with the poison, he struggled to sit up, and taking the cup, asked the executioner if he had heard any thing of the young *Megalopolitans*, particularly of *Lycortas*. The man answering that they had got off safe, he nodded, and looking chearfully upon him, "It is well," said he, "that we are not every way unfortunate." Then, without speaking a word more, he drank of the poison, and lay down again, and being greatly spent, presently died. Such was the fatal end of *Philopæmen*, who was called the last of the *Greeks*, as *Brutus* afterwards was stiled the last of the *Romans*.

Lycortas
marches
against
the *Messeni-
ans*.

He par-
dons
them, but
punishes
the mur-
derers of
*Philopæ-
men*.

The news of his death filled the *Achæans*, at the same time, equally with grief and resentment. *Lycortas*, being declared general of their army, which was soon raised, entered the *Messenian* territory; and his troops, being eager to revenge the death of a man, to whom their country owed all its splendor, they ravaged the whole country, and summoned the rebellious city to surrender. The people, in spite of the prætor and senate, opened the gates to the *Achæan* troops, and put them in possession both of the city and castle. *Lycortas*, mollified by this submissive behaviour, pardoned their revolt, on condition of their delivering up the ringleaders of the rebellion, and such as were any ways concerned in the death of *Philopæmen*. *Dinocrates*, however, and several others, to prevent a more cruel death, laid violent hands on themselves.

The body of *Philopæmen* being burnt on a funeral pile, his ashes were deposited in an urn, adorned with festoons and filets. The urn being then borne by *Polybius* the historian, was accompanied to *Megalopolis* by the whole army marching in order, and as it were in funeral triumph, all the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocking to meet the solemn procession. The last honours were paid to him with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and the *Messenian* captives, who had been delivered to *Lycortas*, were stoned at his tomb. By a decree of the *Megalopolitans*, a bull was to be yearly sacrificed at his tomb, and statues were erected to his memory in most of the cities of *Greece* (R).

The infin-
cerity of
the *Ro-
mans*.

When news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Achæans* had restored the city of *Messene* to the league, their ambassadors were treated with great respect by the senate, who told them, that they had been careful not to suffer arms or provisions to be car-

(R) Thirty-seven years after his death, when *Mummius* destroyed *Corinth*, a *Roman* attempted to have these statues removed, by accusing *Philopæmen* of having

been an enemy to the *Romans*. The cause was heard in council before *Mummius*, and the charge confuted with great eloquence and solidity by *Polybius*.

ried

ried from *Italy* to *Messene*. In the beginning of the war, however, when the *Achæans* solicited their assistance, they declared, they were not bound to concern themselves with their domestic disputes, which was an indirect intimation to the other cities to renounce the league. This discovers the insincerity of the *Romans*, who now wanted to persuade the *Achæans*, that they had sought all opportunities to serve them. The *Achæans*, at this time, were masters of all the *Peloponnese*; *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, was preparing a-new for war; the *Ætolians* were disgusted with *Rome*, and *Antiochus* ready to pass over into *Greece*. No wonder then that *Rome* was very cautious of giving any umbrage to the league at so critical a juncture.

The *Roman* senate, as we observed before, had decreed, that *Sparta* should be admitted into the *Achæan* league. However, according to the interpretation of the *Achæan* ambassadors who returned from *Rome*, the *Lacedæmonian* exiles, on account of their ingratitude, were not included in that decree. Upon their report, the exiles were again ordered to depart from *Sparta*. These exiles, being thus reduced to their former misery, obtained letters from *Rome* in their favour to the council of *Achaia*, who answered, that the affair should be examined upon the arrival of their ambassadors from *Rome*. Their ambassadors returning not long after, declared to the council, that the senate had written in favour of the exiles, merely to redeem themselves from their importunities; upon which, the *Achæans* thought proper not to make any change in what had been decreed. *Hyperbates* the prætor, and *Callicrates*, were of a different opinion. It being resolved to send ambassadors to *Rome*, to acquaint the senate with their resolution, *Callicrates* and two others were sent on this embassy. *Callicrates*, upon being introduced into the senate, acted in direct opposition to his instructions. "If the *Greeks*," said he, "do not obey you, and pay no regard to your letters and orders, you must blame yourselves only for it. In our commonwealth there are two parties, one of which maintains, that an implicit obedience should be paid to all your orders; and the other asserts, that the laws of the country should prevail over your will; and this suits best with the genius of the *Achæans*, and has a great influence over the populace. Those who comply with your ordinances are at present hated by the people; but were you to favour them, the leading men in all the republics of *Greece* will declare for you, and the populace soon follow their example." Thus the *Greeks* began to forge their own chains, ambitious men prostituting to their private interest that liberty which their ancestors had purchased, and maintained at the expence of their lives.

Callicrates having thus treacherously pointed out the methods of weakning and crushing the *Greek* republics, the senate concluded to heap favours on those who, right and wrong, declared for them, and to depreciate those who were true friends to liberty, and had the most noble way of thinking, which became

The *Romans* began to act in an arbitrary manner towards the *Greeks*. a constant maxim of the *Roman* policy, though cloaked with pretences to equity and moderation. From this period the *Romans* began to act more arbitrarily towards the *Achæans*, and peremptory orders were sent them, to restore the *Lacedæmonian* exiles, and pay a blind obedience to the decrees of the senate. Letters were, at the same time, directed to the *Ætolians*, *Bœotians*, *Acar-nanians*, and other free states of *Greece*, injoining them to see the orders of the senate put in execution, and exhorting them to employ, in their respective commonwealths, men only of such noble sentiments as *Callicrates*. He, upon his return to the *Peloponnese*, spread so artfully the terror of the *Roman* name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he was elected prætor, in which office he restored the *Lacedæmonian* and *Messenian* exiles, and omitted nothing that could any ways ingratiate him with the *Romans*.

Perseus, king of *Macedon*, endeavours to gain the friendship of the *Greeks*.

Not long after, *Perseus*, succeeding his father *Philip* on the throne of *Macedon*, determined to shake off the yoke which the *Romans* had laid on him, and began with attempting to draw off the *Greek* cities and nations from their alliance with *Rome*. To this end, he advanced with a considerable body of troops towards *Delphi*, under pretence of discharging a vow. This journey greatly surprized the *Greeks*, and even alarmed *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamus*; but *Perseus*, after consulting the oracle, returned to his own kingdom, passing through *Phthiotis* and *Thessaly*, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent deputies, or circular letters, to all the free states, demanding, that they would not continue the hatred they might have conceived against the father to the son, who courted their friendship.

His principal attention was to reconcile himself with the *Achæans*, who, partly from hatred to *Philip*, and partly to preserve union among themselves, had made a decree, prohibiting any *Macedonian* from entering into *Achaia*, on pain of being treated as an enemy to the state. The *Achæans*, by this decree, prevented any jealousy in their new allies the *Romans*; but it was attended with one bad effect, for the slaves on both sides used to fly to the enemies of their masters, where they found a sure asylum, knowing they should not be followed, or claimed, after that general prohibition. *Perseus*, however, made the first step towards a reconciliation, by sending back to the *Achæans* such of their slaves as had taken sanctuary in his dominions, sending, at the same time, an obliging letter, exhorting them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from finding any longer a refuge in his dominions.

His letter being read by *Xenarchus*, the prætor, in a full assembly, was heard with great applause, and most of the leading men were for annulling the decree, forbidding all commerce with *Macedon*. *Callicrates* remonstrated against this proposal, and said, that as there was an appearance of a rupture betwixt the *Romans* and *Perseus*, the only view of the king, in sending back the slaves, was to involve their republic in the war. He therefore

therefore exhorted them, as they regarded the welfare of their country, to refuse the dangerous presents, and to confirm the decree, forbidding all commerce with *Macedon*.

Archon, the brother of *Xenarchus*, endeavoured to prove, that the terrors of *Callicrates* were without foundation, and said, that it would be time enough to declare against the *Macedonians*, when they were come to an open rupture with *Rome*. *Callicrates* then representing that the king slighted the assembly, by treating with them only by a short letter, the deputies, by this artful insinuation, were prevailed upon to refuse, for the present, the king's offer. *Perseus*, hearing what had passed at the diet, sent ambassadors to make the same offers; but the partizans of *Rome* used such effectual means, that they were refused audience.

Some years after, a war breaking out between the *Romans* and *Perseus*, great divisions arose in all the cities and free states of *Greece*, some favouring the *Macedonians*, and others adhering to the *Romans*. The assembly of *Achaia* was not exempt from these disturbances; but *Archon* the prætor, though no great friend to the *Romans*, yet foreseeing that they would at last prevail, got a decree passed in the diet, by which he was empowered to raise what forces he pleased to assist the *Romans*. *Polybius* the historian, with some others, were, at the same time, sent ambassadors to *Marcus*, the *Roman* consul in *Thessaly*, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic. *Marcus* received the ambassadors with great kindness, but told them, that, in the present posture of affairs, it was unnecessary for the *Achæans* to put themselves to trouble or expence, as he did not want any foreign succours. *Polybius* sent back his colleagues with this answer, but remained himself in the *Roman* camp.

Soon after, *Polybius* was desired by the *Achæans* to acquaint *Marcus*, that, if he approved of it, they were ready to send 5000 men into *Epirus*, which were demanded by *Appius*, the *Roman* general in those parts. *Marcus*, however, immediately dispatched *Polybius* home, with orders not to suffer any troops to be sent to *Appius*. Upon the arrival of *Polybius*, some difficulties occurred to the *Achæan* deputies, he having brought the orders of the consul only by word of mouth. In this case they had recourse to a decree lately published in *Greece* by two commissioners from *Rome*, prohibiting the allies to submit to any exaction, or even demands, of the consuls, prætors, tribunes, &c. without an express order from the senate. The tyranny which the commanders of the *Roman* fleets and armies exercised over their most faithful allies, gave occasion to this decree, which justified the *Achæans* for not complying with the demand of *Appius*. *Polybius* thus made his court to the consul *Marcus*, and at the same time consulted the interest of his country.

The following year, succours being demanded from the *Achæans* by *Paulus Æmilius*, who succeeded to the command of the *Roman* army in *Macedon*, they immediately sent what troops he wanted, under the conduct of their most experienced commanders.

The
Achæans
adhere to
the *Ro-*
mans.
Bef. Chr.
169.

The *Ro-*
man gene-
ral refuses
their assist-
ance.

They send
succours
to *Paulus*
Æmilius,
manders.

who de-
feats *Per-*
seus.

manders. These distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner at the famous battle of *Pydna*, which put an end to the *Macedonian* war, and obliged *Perseus* to deliver himself and his children to the *Romans*. After the defeat of *Perseus*, the *Romans* began to treat their friends in a quite different manner from what they had used while they stood in need of their assistance. Ten commissioners were appointed to settle the affairs of *Macedon*, and inspect those of *Greece*; that is, to prosecute and punish, without any regard to equity, all those who, during the war, had betrayed any inclination to the *Macedonians*.

The ty-
rannical
behaviour
of the
Romans.

A partial sentence which they gave, in favour of some *Ætolian* assassins of their party, who had murdered 550 senators, spread a great terror among those *Greeks* who had shewn any affection for the *Macedonians*, and increased, beyond measure, the pride and insolence of the partizans of *Rome*. In each city, the leading men were divided into three factions; the first for the *Macedonians*, the second for the *Romans*, and the third, which was the least numerous, as consisting only of prudent men, was for preserving the public liberty, in opposition both to the *Romans* and *Macedonians*. Though the members of this party were beloved in their respective cities, and had acted prudently in all their measures, yet this was not sufficient to screen them from the vengeance of the *Romans*. The commissioners accordingly, with great injustice and severity, not only quashed the *Macedonian*, but the neutral party, and conferred honours and employments on such only as declared themselves their accusers and enemies.

Several
who had
favoured
Perseus
summon-
ed to
Rome.

The most sanguine of these informers were *Callicrates* and *Andronidas*, both *Achæans*, and greatly attached to the *Roman* party. Being ambitious of the chief employments in their republic, they informed against all those among their countrymen, who were in a condition to dispute the highest posts with them. *Callicrates* not only accused his countrymen but many others, and gave in a long list of such as had either declared for the *Macedonians*, or stood up for the defence of their own rights and privileges in *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bœotia*. These were ordered by *P. Æmilius* to give an account of their conduct at *Rome*; but as to the *Achæans*, the commissioners sent two of their own body to try them in *Achaia*. They acted in this manner, because they apprehended that the *Achæans*, who were very powerful, and no less jealous of their liberties, would not submit to go to justify themselves at *Rome*. Besides, they had not found any of their letters among the papers of *Perseus*, and it was necessary to protect *Callicrates*, and the other informers, against the insults of their countrymen.

One of the commissioners sent into *Achaia*, a man of a most vile character, complained to the diet, that many chief men of their republic had assisted *Perseus*, and therefore desired that they might be condemned, and that he would afterwards name them. The whole assembly cried out, *What justice is that?*

Name

Name them first, and let them answer for themselves; and if they be guilty, we promise to condemn them. Since you promise to condemn them, replied the haughty Roman, all your prætors, all who have borne any office in your republic, or commanded your armies, are guilty of this crime. At these words Xenon, a person highly respected by the whole league, spoke to this effect: I have been prætor, and have commanded the army; but if any one can charge me with having done any thing contrary to the interest of Rome, let him appear. I am ready to clear myself either in the assembly of the Achæans, or before the Roman senate. The Roman took hold of this expression, and said, that since Xenon had named the senate, he and the rest could not appeal to a more impartial judge. He then named, as accused persons, above 1000, all men of A distinguished merit, who had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of their country. The liberty of *Achaia* now received its mortal wound, the republic being thus deprived at once of those who were most able to advance its prosperity. commanded

Upon the arrival of these unhappy men at *Rome*, they were banished into different towns of *Italy*, and kept there close prisoners, as if they had been already tried and condemned by the assembly of the *Achæans*. They are confined arriving in *Achaia*, the diet sent embassy after embassy, begging the senate either to try or dismiss their countrymen. The senate obstinately insisting upon their having been found guilty in *Achaia*, a solemn embassy was at length sent to *Rome* in their behalf. *Euratas*, who was at the head of the embassy, urged the senate either to try them themselves, or if they had not leisure, then to refer their trial to the assembly of the *Achæans*, who were ready to punish, with the utmost rigour, such as should be found guilty. The senate were at a loss what answer to return to this reasonable request. At length, thinking it but consistent with the interest of *Rome* to grant either of their demands, they answered, that it was not expedient for the welfare of *Achaia*, that these men should return home. Such tyrannical proceedings, caused an universal consternation in *Achaia*. All the inhabitants appeared in mourning habits. *Callicrates* and *Andronidas* became more than ever the objects of public hatred. Even the children fell upon them in the public streets, calling them traitors and enemies to their country. The

Mean while the *Achæans* sent new deputies to *Rome* in the attire of supplicants, to solicit the return of their countrymen as a favour. Their speech was modest, and extremely reserved; the *Romans* nevertheless continued inexorable. The *Achæans*, notwithstanding their bad success, did not give over soliciting and importuning the senate by frequent embassies in behalf of their countrymen. But all was to no effect, the *Romans* not even suffering *Polybius*, who was one of the exiles, and confined at *Rome*, to appear before the senate and plead the common cause, After seventeen years confinement they are sent home.

Seventeen years were already passed, when the senate at last was prevailed upon to suffer those few *Achæans*, who were still alive, to return home. The great reputation of *Polybius*, procured him the distinction of living during his exile at *Rome*, where by his merit, wisdom, and learning, he gained the love and esteem of the greatest men in the senate. He was particularly dear to the two sons of *P. Æmilius*, the youngest of whom, at his request, prevailed on *Cato* the censor to espouse the interest of the *Achæans*. When the debates concerning them were very hot in the senate, *Cato* rose up, and with great gravity said, "That to see the *Roman* senate dispute with great warmth whether some poor old *Greeks* should be buried in *Italy*, or in their own country, would make one think that they had nothing at all to do." This pleasantry made the senate ashamed of their contest, and determined them to send back the exiles. *Polybius* was for supplicating the senate, that they might be reinstated in the honours they enjoyed before their banishment; but upon consulting *Cato*, the *Roman* told him, smiling, "*Polybius*, you do not imitate the wisdom of *Ulysses*; you are for returning into the cave of the *Cyclops* for some poor tatters you have left there." The exiles accordingly returned to their own country; but their number now amounted only to 300, the rest having perished in *Italy* with hunger, grief, and old age, and some had suffered like criminals for attempting to make their escape. Those brave *Achæans* who were thus barbarously treated, had most of them served under the *Roman* standards, and greatly contributed to that very victory which rendered the conquerors thus haughty and overbearing.

Polybius
remains
at *Rome*.

Polybius either made no use of this permission, or after visiting *Greece* quickly returned to *Rome*, where that very virtue which had brought him into distress, was the means of promoting him to greater dignities than those he had lost. He attended *Scipio Æmilianus* in all his military expeditions, and signalized himself no less in the service of *Rome*, than he had formerly done in that of *Achaia*.

The
Achæans
alienated
from the
Romans.

The exiles, on their return, found *Achaia* rent into different factions, and the minds of the common people entirely estranged from the *Romans*. This aversion being artfully fomented by the chief magistrates, who were no longer the partizans of *Rome*, soon broke out into an open war, which ended in the entire reduction of *Achaia*.

The occasion of the
war with
the *Romans*.

The following circumstances gave rise to the war. *Menalcidas* the *Achæan* prætor, by birth a *Lacedæmonian*, upon a promise of ten talents from the inhabitants of *Oropus*, a city of *Bœotia* on the confines of *Attica*, engaged to prevail with the *Achæans* to assist them against the *Athenians*. Having promised *Callicrates* one half of the bribe, by his interest he prevailed on the diet to espouse the cause of the *Oropians*: but before the *Achæan* troops could reach that city, the *Athenians* had taken

and

and plundered it. The avaritious prætor nevertheless insisted on having the ten talents, and after he had received them, absolutely refused to give any part of them to *Callicrates*, who from resentment, accused him of having used his utmost endeavours with the *Roman* senate to withdraw his country from the *Achæan* league. *Menalcidas* would have been sentenced to death, if he had not by a present of three talents prevailed upon *Diæus*, who succeeded him in the prætorship, to acquit him in spite of all the evidences that were produced against him. *Diæus* finding that by this step he had incurred the popular odium, wanted to re-establish his reputation, by attempting to get a law passed, subjecting the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Achæan* league, even in criminal cases, contrary to the decree of the *Romans*.

The whole city of *Sparta* was in an uproar upon the news of the proceedings of *Diæus*; but he advancing against them at the head of a considerable army, they humbled themselves so far as to entreat him by deputies not to use force till all other means of a reconciliation proved fruitless. *Diæus* declared that he had no quarrel with the *Lacedæmonians* in general, but with a few disturbers of the public peace, whom he named, to the number of 24. These 24 excepted persons, upon pretence of voluntary banishment, went immediately to *Rome* to lay the grievances of their country before the senate. The council of *Lacedæmon*, after their departure, pronounced sentence of death against them, which appeased *Diæus*. Soon after, however, he and *Callicrates* hearing that the *Spartan* exiles had proceeded to *Rome*, made what haste they could after them, to plead the cause of the *Achæans*. *Callicrates* dying at *Rhodes*, whither his affairs called him, only *Diæus* appeared before the senate for the *Achæans*; and *Menalcidas* for the *Lacedæmonians*. By their *Greek* eloquence they disguised the truth with such artifice, that the senators could not come to any determination. Commissioners were therefore appointed to examine the affair in *Greece*; but *Menalcidas* and *Diæus* arriving in the *Peloponnese* long before them, put all the country in a flame; which they, on their arrival, could not extinguish.

Democritus, who succeeded *Diæus* in the office of prætor, raised an army with the design of attacking the *Lacedæmonians*; and notwithstanding he was met on his march by *Roman* ambassadors proceeding to *Asia*, who advised him to suspend hostilities till the arrival of the commissioners, he proceeded to *Sparta*. Before the walls he routed the *Lacedæmonians*, who having lost 1000 men, retired with such precipitation into the city, that if he had not been over hasty in sounding a retreat, he might have taken the place. For this neglect a fine of 50 talents was imposed upon him; and he being unable to raise the money, was obliged to banish himself from the *Achæan* territories. *Diæus* being again elected prætor, *Metellus*, who commanded for the *Romans* in *Macedonia*, entreated him to forbear hostilities till the arrival of the commissioners; which he complied

Quarrels
between
the *Lacedæmonians*
and *Achæans*.

Commis-
sioners
from *Rome*
strive to
compose
them.

complied with, but at the same time gained over to the *Achæan* interest all the cities that bordered on *Laconia*, and having fortified them, kept that country in a manner blocked up. The *Lacedæmonians*, in the mean time, giving the command of their troops to *Menalcidas*, he imprudently broke the truce by surprising and plundering a city in *Laconia* subject to the *Achæans*. The *Lacedæmonians*, afraid of the resentment of the *Romans* proposed to punish him; but he prevented them by laying violent hands on himself.

New commissioners arrive at *Achaia*.

They are insulted by the mob at *Corinth*.

Not long after *Aurelius Orestes*, and the other commissioners arrived at *Corinth*; and the *Achæan* diet, at his request, assembling in that city, he opened the conferences with a speech calculated rather to create than compose divisions. *Polybius* is of opinion, that he exceeded the instructions he had brought from *Rome*, and changed the menaces of the senate into absolute orders. He told them, that *Rome*, by their continual dissensions, was at last convinced that a happy union among the free states of *Greece* could never be effected, so long as their present form of government subsisted; and concluded his speech with these words: "It is the will and pleasure of the Roman senate and people, that all the cities that were not formerly of the *Achæan* league, namely, *Corinth*, *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Heraclea* in *Thessaly*, and *Orchomenos* in *Bæotia*, be separated from the general alliance, and governed by their own laws independantly of the confederacy." The *Achæan* deputies would hear him no farther, but leaving the assembly, and reporting this decree to the *Corinthians*, the multitude was enraged to the highest degree, and fell upon all the *Lacedæmonians* they could find in the city. Those who fled to the house of the commissioners were dragged from thence, and the incensed people would have treated the *Romans* themselves in the same manner, had they not saved themselves by a timely flight.

Other commissioners sent from *Rome*.

The commissioners, upon their return to *Rome*, are said to have exaggerated the insults they received at *Corinth* beyond measure, and to have represented the tumult as a premeditated plot. The senate was highly incensed at such proceedings, and immediately deputed *Sextus Julius*, with some other commissioners, into *Achaia*; but instructed them to complain with moderation. *Carthage* was not yet taken, nor the two pretended sons of *Perseus* entirely subdued; so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the *Achæans*. The commissioners meeting a deputy sent by the *Achæans* to *Rome* to acquaint the senate with their proceedings against *Orestes*, they carried him back with them to *Argium*, where in the general diet *Julius* spoke with an air of mildness that was natural to him, and excusing the violence of the late tumult, declared, that the *Romans* would be appeased with the least sign of repentance.

As *Julius* had designedly omitted saying one word of separating any city from the *Achæan* league, his moderate remonstrances

frances were received with great applause by the major part of the assembly. *Dicæus* and *Critolaus*, however, in their private meetings with men of their own faction, said, that it was dangerous to trust the seeming moderation of the *Romans*; stir up the people that *Rome* only suspended her revenge till *Carthage* was destroyed; wherefore if they did not raise up enemies against her, they would soon see her legions laying waste the *Peloponnese* as they had ravaged *Africa*. In public, however, they spoke a different language; and *Critolaus*, who was prætor, invited the commissioners to *Tegea* to meet an extraordinary diet, in which the affairs of *Lacedæmon* should be amicably adjusted. *Critolaus*, however, took his measures in such a manner, that he prevented any deputies from going to the congress. At length he came alone, but told the deputies, that nothing could be concluded with the *Lacedæmonians* but in a general diet, which could not be assembled according to law in less than six months.

This breach of faith exceedingly offended *Julius*, who dis- The com-
missing the *Lacedæmonians* returned to *Rome*, where he com- missioners
plained that the republic and her ambassadors had been in- return dis-
sulted. The prætor, on the other hand, gloried in having mor- pleased to
tified *Rome* in her envoys, and being desirous of war, he hoped *Rome*.
that the haughty *Romans* would be as effectually exasperated
by contempt as by open hostilities, which he durst not com-
mence for fear of being censured by his own nation.

Rome, however, was not in haste to come to an open rup-
ture, but sent orders to *Metellus*, who was then in *Macedon*,
to treat with *Critolaus* as of himself. *Metellus* immediately dis-
patched four *Romans* of distinguished birth into the *Peloponnese*,
to represent to the assembly of *Achaia* the evils which *Critolaus*
and his partizans were drawing upon them. *Critolaus*, with-
out justly considering the consequences of his conduct, still
continued, by all possible means, to stir up the multitude against
the *Romans*; and when the four deputies from *Metellus* arrived The de-
at *Corinth*, he treated them worse than those who had been sent puties of
from *Rome*. He obliged them to declare their business to the *Metellus*
populace assembled in the market-place; and tho' they spoke are also
with great moderation, he so influenced the mob, that they fell insulted at
upon them, loaded them with reproaches, and drove them with *Corinth*.
all manner of affronts out of the market-place*. All the
Acheans, particularly the *Corinthians*, were at this time furi-
ously enraged against the *Romans*, who, they were persuaded,
intended to enslave them, and absolutely to destroy the *Achean*
league.

The turbulent prætor finding all things succeed to his wish,
inflamed the multitude against such of the nobility as refused
to enter into his views, and even accused two men of un-

* Flor. in Epit. l. xi. c. 16. Pausan in Achaic. Croesus. Polyb.
in legat.

The
Achæans
declare
war a-
gainst the
*Lacedæ-
monians*
and *Ro-
mans*.

blameable character of informing the *Roman* ambassadors of a that passed in the national assemblies. The people condemnin one of these accused persons without any form of trial, *Critolaus*, in the next assembly, caused war to be declared against the *Lacedæmonians*, and in consequence indirectly against the *Romans*; declaring, that it was not without previous good measures he had undertaken to make head against the *Romans* that he had kings in his party, and that the republics were all ready to join in it. Upon the declaration of the war, the ambassadors separated. One of them repaired to *Lacedæmon*, to watch the motion of the *Achæans*; another set out for *Naupactus*, and the other two for the camp at *Macedon*. *Metellus*, without waiting for the orders of the senate, put his army in motion, and began his march for *Achaia*. Mean while the *Bœotians* and *Chalcidians* being discontented with a sentence given against them by *Metellus*, entered into the rash measures of *Critolaus*; and resolved to join their arms with those of the *Achæans*, who, with such feeble aids, believed themselves able to cope with the most powerful state in the world, so much were they blinded with their rage and fury. Both *Critolaus* and *Diæus* had been of the number of those exiles who had been kept so long in *Italy*, and were therefore determined to revenge themselves, even at the expence of their country.

Metellus
defeats
the *Achæ-
ans*.

Critolaus, while he was besieging *Heraclea*, receiving intelligence that *Metellus* was drawing near, immediately decamped, and withdrew into *Achaia*, without even attempting to dispute the important pass of *Thermopylæ*. *Metellus* pursued him close, and at last came up with him and routed him. Tho' the particulars of this battle are not mentioned, we may well conclude that it cost the *Achæans* dear; for above 1000 of them were taken prisoners, *Critolaus* himself also losing his life on this occasion.

Diæus, who had been last prætor, resumed the administration till the following election according to the laws of the republic. He was scarce invested with his new dignity, when he received the melancholy news that 1000 *Arcadians*, who, after the battle, had retired to *Elatea*, had been all to a man cut to pieces by *Metellus*. Being resolved, nevertheless, to maintain the war, of which he had been an author, he enjoined the *Achæans* to raise new troops with the utmost expedition, and published an edict, ordering 12,000 slaves to be enlisted, and that all who were able to bear arms, whether in *Achaia* or *Arcadia*, should repair to *Corinth* to take the military oaths; lastly, that all persons of substance, whether men or women, should bring all their gold and silver into the public treasury. The *Achæans* were now fully convinced of the danger that threatened them; but as they were embarked in a war with an enemy they had so highly provoked, they blindly pursued the mad scheme. The cities of *Elea*, *Messene*, and *Patrae*, were so terrified when they heard that a consular army was coming from *Rome*, that many of the inhabitants gave them- selves

selves up to despair, and either abandoned their country, or laid violent hands on themselves. Some had recourse to the clemency of *Metellus*, flying to his camp for refuge.

The *Roman* prætor, in the mean time, drew near *Thebes*, Takes which had openly declared for the *Achæan* league. *Pythias*, possession who had persuaded the *Thebans* to declare for *Callicrates*, had of *Thebes*, abandoned the city, and many other citizens had followed his example; so that *Metellus* entered the place without opposition. He treated the citizens that remained with great clemency, and saved the temple and houses from being plundered; but set a price on *Pythias*'s head. *Metellus* next advanced to and *Me-* *Megara*, which he likewise quietly took possession of, *Alca-gara*. *meus*, who commanded there with 4000 men, having left the place at his approach, and retired to *Corinth*, where he joined *Diæus*.

Mummius, one of the consuls, being charged with the war He makes in *Achaia*, *Metellus*, to deprive him of the glory of settling the an offer affairs of *Greece*, sent new deputies to treat of peace. He chose for an ac- for this embassy three *Achæans* of great distinction and credit commo- in their own country, and well affected to the *Romans*. Upon dation. their arrival at *Corinth*, they found the people in general inclined to peace, but the prætor and his faction more than ever bent upon a war. They were by him declared traitors and enemies to their country, and then thrown into prison. He could not be moved by any remonstrances to alter his measures, but sentenced the three deputies to die; joining even in the same condemnation one *Soficrates*, a venerable senator, whose only crime was his having voted for treating of a peace with the *Romans*. *Soficrates* was put to death by torture; but the avaritious prætor sold the deputies their freedom at a great price.

Things were in this condition when *Mummius* arrived with The con- a powerfull army. He had hastened his march from the fear of ful *Mum-* finding every thing pacified at his arrival. When he appeared *mius* ar- before *Corinth*, his army consisted of 23,000 foot and 3500 horse, rives in besides a body of *Cretan* archers, and the troops sent by *Attalus* *Greece*. king of *Pergamus*. His first care was to dismiss *Metellus*, lest *Bef. Chr:* he should share with him the glory of concluding the war. He 146. then encamped on the isthmus of *Corinth*, where one of his advanced guards was surprized by the garrison in a sally, who attacked them vigorously, and pursued them with great slaughter to their camp. This small advantage encouraged the *Achæans* and inspired *Diæus* with hopes of conquering the consul, who to augment his foolish presumption, kept his legions close in the camp, as tho' he had been afraid to face the enemy. The *Achæans* vainly exulted in their superiority, and *Diæus* being confident of victory, assembled all his troops, who were more numerous than the *Romans*, but wanted experience and discipline, his faction having removed from the service and from the public councils such as were capable of commanding the troops or directing affairs.

The
Achéans
entirely
defeated
by *Mum-*
mius,

Diæus, in full assurance of victory, even invited the women and children of *Corinth* to be spectators from the neighbouring hills of the slaughter he was going to make of the enemy, and had also ordered a great number of waggons to follow the army, to be loaded with the spoils of the *Romans*. The battle was fought in a valley called *Leucopetra*, and for some time victory remained doubtful; but the *Achéan* phalanx being attacked in flank by a body of horse which had been placed by the consul in an ambuscade, it was at length broken and dispersed. The slaughter was so dreadful, that we are told the two seas divided by the isthmus were dyed with blood. As *Corinth* was at that time one of the strongest places in the world, *Diæus*, if he had retired thither, might have held out a long time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from *Mummius*, who wanted to put a speedy end to the war: but abandoning himself to despair, he rode full speed to *Megalopolis*, and entering his house set fire to it, threw his wife into the flames, and put an end to his wretched life by poison.

who takes
and plun-
ders *Co-*
rinth.

After this defeat, the *Corinthians* lost all hopes of defending themselves, and most of the inhabitants fled to other places for safety, leaving the city deserted. 'Tho' the gates of the city were open, yet *Mummius*, fearing some ambuscade, remained in suspense for three days. He then entered the city at the head of his troops, and abandoned it to be plundered by his soldiers. All the men who remained in it were put to the sword, and the women and children sold for slaves to the best bidder. The immense spoils that were carried off by the *Roman* army cannot be reckoned. There were more vessels of all sorts of metals, more fine pictures, and statues of the greatest masters in *Corinth*, than in any city of the world. Here all the liberal arts were brought to their greatest perfection, and all the princes of *Europe* and *Asia*, who had any taste in painting and sculpture, had their richest moveables from hence. Many inestimable pieces of the most famous painters and statuaries fell into the hands of the soldiers, who either destroyed them, or parted with them for a few drachmas.

The rich
spoils of
that city.

Polybius, who upon the first news of this war had hastened from *Africa* to *Greece*, to do his country what service he could, was an eye-witness of the want of taste of the *Romans*. He had the mortification to see the *Roman* soldiers playing at dice on a picture of *Aristides*, which was accounted one of the wonders of the world. They willingly parted with it for a more convenient table to play upon; but when the spoils of *Corinth* were put up to sale, *Attalus*, king of *Pergamus*, offered about 5000 pounds sterling for it. The consul thinking there was some magical virtue in a picture of so high a price, retained it, notwithstanding the complaints of *Attalus*. He did not, however, appropriate it to himself, but placed it in the temple of *Ceres*. *Mummius* was a great warrior, but seems to have had no taste for painting or sculpture; for when he put the *Corinthian* pictures and statues on board the transports, he told the masters

of the vessels very seriously, that if any of them were either lost or spoiled, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost; as if any other pieces could have supplied the loss of those inestimable originals.

Corinth being thus pillaged, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for several days. In this immense conflagration, the gold, silver, and brass which the *Corinthians* had concealed, were melted, and ran down the streets in streams, producing a famous mixt metal which art could never imitate, and which was greatly esteemed in the following ages under the name of *Corinthian* brass. The walls of the city were demolished and razed to the very foundation. The same year *Carthage* was also taken and laid in ashes by the *Romans*, who by the destruction of two such cities, intended to strike a terror into the rest of the world.

It does not appear that the *Achæans* had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of their country, or that they summoned any assembly to deliberate on the measures necessary to be taken. One would have thought, from their general inactivity, that the *Achæan* league had been entirely buried in the ruins of *Corinth*, so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed and universally dismayed the people. Ten commissioners arrived from *Rome*, to regulate the affairs of *Greece* in conjunction with the consul. These abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the publick funds. In all other respects the cities were left in possession of their laws and liberties. Thus the *Achæan* league was dissolved, and *Greece* reduced to a *Roman* province, called the province of *Achaia*; because at the taking of *Corinth*, the *Achæans* were the most powerful people of *Greece*. The whole nation paid an annual tribute to the *Romans*, who sent a prætor thither every year to govern it. Before the arrival of the commissioners, the consul had sold the lands of the *Corinthians*, which were in great part purchased by the *Sicyonians*; he had condemned to slavery all the *Corinthians* and such slaves as had taken arms against *Rome*; he had ordered the *Achæans* to pay the *Lacedæmonians* 200 talents for the losses they had suffered, and had dismantled *Thebes*, *Chalcis*, and some other cities that had joined the *Achæans* in the war. *Polybius*, at this time, as we have formerly mentioned, justified the conduct of *Philopæmen* against the accusations of a certain *Roman*, who wanted his statues destroyed on pretence that he had been an enemy to the *Romans*. *Alumnus*, and the ten commissioners, not only decreed that the statues of *Philopæmen* should not be touched, but at the request of *Polybius* granted him the statues of *Aratus* and *Achæus*, the founder of their nation, tho' they had been already transported into *Acarmania*. He at the same time gave a signal proof of his disinterestedness; for when the effects of *Dicæus* were put up to sale, tho' the commissioners ordered him to take out of them what he pleased for nothing, he refused

Corinth
reduced to
ashes.
Esf. Chr.
146.

The
Achæans
severely
punished
by the
Romans,
and their
league
dissolved.

The dis-
interested-
ness of
Polybius.
the

the offer, saying, that he looked upon it as a very dishonourable thing to enrich himself with the spoils of his fellow citizens. *Polybius*, by the zeal he had expressed for the honour of the great men of his country, so charmed the *Achæans*, that they erected a statue of marble to himself; and by this last action of his, in refusing to appropriate to himself any of the spoils of his country, he gave the commissioners such an idea of his virtue and probity, that they appointed him to visit all the cities of *Greece*, and every where settle the new form of government. He discharged this honourable commission to the satisfaction of the senate of *Rome*, and the *Achæans*, who erected many statues in honour of their benefactor, and among others, one with this inscription, *Greeks.* *To the memory of Polybius, whose counsels had saved Achaia if they had been followed, and who comforted her in her distress.* From this time *Achaia* was governed by a prætor as a *Roman* province till the reign of *Nero*, who restored all *Greece* to the enjoyment of its ancient liberties, laying on the wealthy island of *Sardinia* the tribute paid by *Greece*. The *Greeks* did not long enjoy the effects of his kindness, being soon after reduced by *Vespasian* to their former state of subjection. This misfortune they brought anew upon themselves by their domestic broils and discord. Under *Nerva*, some shadow at least of their liberty was restored to them; but they were still governed by a *Roman* prætor, as also in *Trajan's* time, as appears from a letter of *Pliny* the Younger (l. viii. Ep. 24.) In this condition they remained with little alteration till the reign of *Constantine* the Great, who subjected *Achaia* to the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*. Upon the division of the empire, *Achaia*, with the rest of *Greece*, fell to the emperors of the east. The *Goths*, under their king *Alaric*, laid waste the whole country, reducing the stately and magnificent structures that were then remaining to heaps of ruins. The emperor *Manuel*, in the 12th century, divided the *Peloponnese* into seven principalities, which he gave to his seven sons, styling them despotes or lords of *Morea*. Its resemblance to the leaf of a mulberry-tree, called in *Greek* *Morea*, gave occasion to this appellation. These dynasties afterwards were not only bestowed on the emperor's children, but also on such others as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. *Constantinople*, in the 13th century, being taken by the western princes, the maritime cities of the *Morea*, with most of the islands, were allotted to the *Venetians*. In the 15th century, the emperor *Constantine Dracoses* divided this province between his two brothers *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, who making war upon each other, *Mohammed II.* took advantage of their divisions, and stript them both of their dominions. The *Mohammedans* soon made themselves masters of the whole province, and held it till they were driven out by the *Venetians* in 1637. By the treaty of *Carlowitz* in 1699, the *Turks* yielded it up to the republic of *Venice*, but retook it in 1715, and in their hands it still continues.

C H A P. VI.

The history of ÆTOLIA.

THE country of the *Ætolians*, as we have formerly mentioned, extended from the bay of *Corinth* northwards, to the country of the *Dorians*, being bounded on the east by the river *Euenus*, and on the west by the *Arhelus*. Their republic was, in the times we are now writing of, next in power to that of *Achaia*, and formed much upon the same plan. Their general assembly met usually once a year in autumn; but the prætor was impowered to summon it out of the stated time upon any extraordinary occasion. Besides this great council, which was called *Panætolum*, and had the sole power of enacting laws, declaring war, making peace, &c. there was another court called the *Apodoti*, answering to the *Demiurgi* among the *Achaens*. Their chief magistrates after the prætor were the general of the horse, the public secretary, and the ephori. The two first were held in great esteem, and the ephori were introduced in imitation of the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom they were many ages strictly united. They acted in subordination both to the general diet and the prætor; but as to their number, the antients are quite silent. The confederacy of the *Ætolians* was formed some time after that of the *Achaens*, whose example they followed, to enable them to withstand the ambitious designs of the *Macedonian* princes.

The *Ætolians* were a restless and turbulent people, utter strangers to all sense of friendship or principle of honour. In short, they were looked upon by the other states of *Greece*, according to *Polybius*, no otherwise than as outlaws and public robbers. On the other hand, they were bold and enterprising in war, inured to labour and hardships, undaunted in the greatest dangers, and zealous defenders of their liberties, as we shall have occasion to relate in the history of *Alexander* and his successors, who were forced to grant them a peace upon very honourable terms. At present we shall confine ourselves to those occurrences only which happened after they had formed themselves into a republic, from their jealousy of the growing power of the *Achaens*. As they bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Achaens*, they kindled the *Chæronia* war, and that of the allies, in the heart of the *Peloponnesus*, which we have already related, with no other view but to humble them. In the latter they held out, with the assistance only of the *Æleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, for three years against the united forces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*. As they were forced to purchase a peace by yielding up *Acarnania* to *Philip*, they waited all opportunities of wresting it again out of the *Macedonians* hands; and one very favourable for their design soon offered.

They
make an
alliance
with the
Romans.
Bef. Chr.
211.

As *Philip* had entered into an alliance with *Hannibal*, and was threatening to invade *Italy*, the *Romans* had given the command of a fleet of 50 ships to *M. Valerius Laevinus*, to watch his motions. He being informed that the *Ætolians* were highly dissatisfied with the late peace, resolved to improve their discontent to the advantage of his republic; and inviting some of their chief men on board as he cruised along their coasts, he enlarged on the great advantages they would receive by an alliance with the *Romans*, who would protect them against their powerful and ambitious neighbours the *Macedonians*. Repeating the same thing at their general diet, *Scopas*, the *Ætolian* prætor, and *Dorimachus*, a man of great authority, strongly enforced his arguments, and expatiated with all the eloquence they were masters of in commendation of the *Romans*. These two chiefs not only proposed an alliance between the *Ætolians* and *Romans*, but sent ambassadors to *Elis*, *Lacedæmon*, to *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and to *Pleuratus* and *Scerdilaidas*, two kings of *Illyricum*, inviting them to accede to the same alliance. *Lacedæmon* with *Elis* declared for an alliance with *Rome*, and *Pleuratus* and *Scerdilaidas* followed their example. By the treaty, all the allies agreed to make war upon *Philip*, the *Romans* promising to furnish at least 20 ships. All the conquests to be made between the confines of *Ætolia* and the sea of *Cercyra*, were to belong to the confederates, and the captives and booty to the *Romans*, who were to do their utmost to put the *Ætolians* in possession of *Acarmania*. No peace was to be concluded with *Philip*, till he should evacuate the territories of all the allies. Tho' this treaty, by the dilatoriness of the *Romans*, was not ratified till two years after, hostilities however began as soon as it was concluded. *Laevinus* seized on the island and city of *Zacynthus*, took *Amiada*, and also *Nafus*, two cities of *Acarmania*, and restored them to the *Ætolians*; after which he retired with his fleet to *Cercyra*, where he wintered.

Philip of
Macedon
invades
Ætolia.

Philip, upon hearing of the treaty concluded by the *Ætolians*, laid aside his design of invading *Italy*, and early the following spring invaded the *Ætolian* territories. Being obliged soon after to withdraw, in order to defend his own dominions against the *Mædi*, a people of *Thrace*, *Scopas*, the *Ætolian* prætor, entered *Acarmania*, in hopes of reducing that country before *Philip* could return. *Laevinus*, at the same time, approaching the coast with his fleet, on board of which was a legion for land service, the *Acarnanians* were sensible that they could not oppose both their enemies at the same time; but nevertheless resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate. Having sent into *Epirus* all their women, children, and such as were not able to bear arms, those that remained bound themselves by oath not to return to their dwellings till they had utterly destroyed the *Ætolians*; desiring the *Epirians* to bury them in one tomb, with the following epitaph: *Here lie the Acarnanians, who died fighting for their country in opposition to the violence and injustice of the Ætolians*. This resolution so terrified the *Ætolians*,

ians, that they returned home without offering to do any thing that might provoke a people resolved to conquer or die. They turned their arms against *Anticyra*, and *Lævinus*, at the same time, investing it by sea, soon made himself master of it. *Lævinus* reserving for his own troops the captives and the plunder, and *Romans* delivered up the city to the *Ætolians*; who, flushed with this success, entered *Achaia*, and committed such ravages, as obliged *Philip* to march from *Demetrias* in *Thessaly* to the relief of his allies. On his march, the *Ætolian* army, commanded by their prætor *Pyrrhias*, met him near *Lamia*, a city of *Phthiotis*. Tho' the *Ætoliæ* were reinforced by 1000 *Roman* legionaries, and a strong detachment of the troops of king *Attalus*, yet they were twice defeated by *Philip*, and obliged to save themselves under the walls of *Lamia*. *Philip*, soon after this victory, granted the *Ætoliæ* a truce of thirty days, at the intercession of the ambassadors from the king of *Egypt*, and from the *Cibians*, *Rhodiæ*, and *Athenians*, who offered their mediation to put an end to the war. *Philip* put off the conferences till the next diet of the *Achæans*, and at the invitation of the *Greeks* went to *Argos*, where he presided at the *Heræan* and *Nemæan* games. The *Greeks* confirmed this distinction to him by their suffrages, on a pretence, that the first king of *Macedon* was a native of *Greece*. The king behaved in this station like a voluptuous prince.

The diet at length assembling at *Rhium*, *Philip* went thither, and the conferences being opened, all parties seemed inclined to a reconciliation, fearing that *Attalus* and the *Romans* would take advantage of their divisions and get footing in *Greece*. The *Ætoliæ*, however, soon altered their conduct; for hearing that the *Roman* fleet under *Sulpitius* was arrived at *Naupactus*, and *Attalus* with his fleet at *Ægina*, they declared they would consent to no peace unless *Pylus* on the coast of *Messenia* was restored to the *Messenians*, *Atintania* on the western confines of *Macedon* to the *Romans*, and the country of the *Ardians* on the eastern part of *Illyricum*, to *Pleuratus* and *Scerdilaidas*. These terms being rejected with scorn by *Philip* and his allies, the king returned to *Argos* to preside at the *Nemæan* games, which succeeded the *Heræan*. *Sulpitius*, in the mean time, landing his forces between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, ravaged off the neighbouring country, which obliged the king to interrupt his diversions and take the field. The enemy, upon his arrival, abandoning their booty, and re-embarking for *Naupactus*, *Philip* returned to the games, where he was received with universal applause; but he gained more on the affections of the *Greeks*, who were zealous republicans, by his affable behaviour, and the popular airs he affected, than by his victories.

Some days after the games, *Philip* being informed that the city of *Dyme*, on the confines of *Elis*, had declared for the *Ætoliæ*, he marched into the *Elean* territory, which he ravaged, and then encamped under the walls of the capital. Tho' his attempt against that place proved unsuccessful, yet in sight

The
Ætolians
and Ro-
mans make
several
conquests.

of the garrison, which consisted of *Romans* and *Ætolians*, he took a strong hold of great importance. Immediately after he was obliged to return to *Macedon*, which was invaded by the *Dardanians*. He left 3000 men to protect his friends in *Greece*; but during his absence, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* possessing themselves of *Oreum*, *Opus*, *Torone*, *Tribonos*, and *Drymus*, he marched back with incredible expedition into *Greece*, after having settled the affairs of *Macedon*. Upon his arrival, *Attalus* and the *Romans* abandoning the continent, *Philip* retook most of the cities which had been reduced in his absence, laid waste great part of *Ætolia*, and having put the *Lacedæmonians* to flight, marched back his forces in the beginning of winter into *Macedon*. The following spring, entering *Ætolia* at the head of a numerous army, he obliged the *Ætolians* to conclude a peace upon very disadvantageous terms.

A peace
concluded.

Bef. Ch.
204.

Tho' the *Romans* had left the *Ætolians* to shift for themselves, yet they took it very much amiss that they had made a peace without their consent. They themselves soon after concluded a peace with the king; but in a few years resolving again to renew the war, they sent *Furius Purpureo* to solicit the friendship of the *Ætolians*. He was attended by the envoys of *Athens*; and at the same time ambassadors from *Philip* arrived with very advantageous proposals in case the *Ætolians* would either join their master or stand neuter. These envoys were heard before an assembly of the *Ætolians* at *Naupactus*, and *Democritus* the prætor, being bribed by *Philip*, directed that the *Macedonians* should be heard before the *Romans*.

The
Ætolians
declare
for the
Romans
against
Philip.

Bef. Ch.
201.

After the several ambassadors had made their speeches to the assembly, most of the members were inclined to favour the *Romans*; but *Democritus* suspended their determination, by alleging, that as the assembly was not general, nothing relating to peace or war could be resolved upon. The proconsul *Salpitius*, soon after penetrated into the king's dominions, and defeated him near *Ocitolophum*, the *Ætolians* at length declared for the *Romans*, and in conjunction with *Amyander* the king of the *Atbamanes*, a small nation on the west side of the *Ache-lous*, they made an irruption into *Macedon*, and besieged *Cercirium*, a city of *Magnesia*. All the people in the neighbourhood of the lake *Bæbis*, alarmed by this sudden invasion, fled with their best effects to the adjacent mountains; so that the *Ætolians*, finding no more booty there, fell upon the province of *Perrhæbia*, took the city of *Cynetice* in *Thessaly* by assault, and obliged the citizens of *Mallæa* near *Thermopylæ* to join them against the king of *Macedon*.

From *Mallæa*, *Amyander* was for marching against *Gomphi*, seated near the springs of the *Pencus*; but the *Ætolians* chose rather to pillage *Thessaly*, than assist him in taking a city so conveniently situated to protect his small dominions. The *Ætolians* committed great devastations in *Thessaly*, but separating themselves into small bodies, contrary to the advice

of

of *Amyander*, and lying down in the open fields, without any form of encampment, they were at length surpris'd by *Philip*, and almost all cut to pieces. *Amyander* having had the precaution to place his men in a fortified camp, by that means prevented them from being surpris'd, and at night march'd off with those *Ætolians* who had taken refuge with him, and having escap'd through by-ways, they arriv'd in their own countries.

The *Ætoli-
ans* sur-
pris'd and
rout'd by
Philip.

The *Ætolians* next year again enter'd *Thessaly*, and took *Cymines*, *Augea*, *Theuma*, *Calathama*, *Achorra*, *Xinia*, and *Cyphara*, all which cities they pillag'd, destroy'd in the flames what they could not carry away, and either putting the inhabitants to the sword, or selling them for slaves to the best bidder.

They re-
ceiv'd great
part of
Thessaly.

While *Philip's* power continued formidable, the *Romans* favour'd the *Ætolians* above the other nations of *Greece*, and the *Ætolians* on the other hand continued steady in the interest of *Rome*. But after *Philip* was totally defeated at the battle of *Cyncephalæ*, the same good understanding did not continue betwixt the two allies. *Flaminius*, the *Roman* general, began to treat the *Ætolians* with an air of superiority, and they, in a boasting manner, gave out that the victory was owing to them. Their cavalry in the engagement covering the *Roman* infantry, which was put in disorder at the first onset, gave them time to rally, and sav'd them the shame of a dishonourable flight. In the songs which they dispers'd all over *Greece*, they nam'd themselves as the chiefs, and the *Romans* as their auxiliaries.

Their gal-
lant beha-
viour at
the battle
of *Cynoc-
phalæ*.
Bef. Ch.
197.

Flaminius was greatly fir'd at their insolent reports, which much lessened his reputation among the *Greeks*; and to shew his resentment, he gave audience to three envoys from *Philip*, without consulting the heads of the *Ætolian* nation. He agreed with these deputies upon a truce for 15 days, and even promis'd to grant their master an interview during that time, treating them with uncommon civility, and at their departure ordering them to tell the king, that he desir'd him not to despond. This air of absolute authority and independance on the other allies, shock'd the *Ætolians* to such a degree, that they spread a report in all the cities of *Greece*, that *Flaminius* was betraying the common cause, and that he had been bribed by *Philip*.

Disputes
betwixt
them and
Flaminius.

Flaminius having invit'd all his allies to assist at the conferences with the king, went to the place appointed for the interview, near the vale of *Tempe*, and first consult'd with his confederates. *Amyander* and the *Acheans* spok'd with a great deal of moderation, and only begg'd that he would conclude such a peace as might enable *Greece* to preserve her liberties in the absence of the *Romans*. *Alexander*, one of the heads of the *Ætolians*, urg'd with great warmth, that they ought still to continue the war, as the liberties of *Greece* would never be secure, till *Philip* was driven from the throne of *Macedon*. *Flaminius*, in reply to *Alexander*, declar'd that the *Romans* never intend'd to carry on an irreconcilable war with *Philip*, but to grant him a peace whenever he submitted to the terms prescribed by them and their allies, which was also agreeable to the treaty of alliance among the

the

the confederates. He represented to the deputies that it was no their interest to destroy the kingdom of *Macedon*, which served them as a barrier against the *Thracians*, who, if not checked by it, would certainly over-run all *Greece*. These *Gauls*, according to *Strabo*, had settled between the *Danube* and *Macedon*. *Phœneas*, the *Ætolian* prætor, still insisted that *Philip*, if he was left in possession of *Macedon*, would soon kindle a new war in the heart of *Greece*. *Flaminius* interrupted him in a passion, and said, that he would put it out of *Philip's* power to make any further attempts upon *Greece*.

What made him solicitous for a peace, was the news he received, that *Antiochus* the Great was ready to make an irruption into *Europe*, at the head of a powerful army. Four days after, *Philip* appeared at the congress with an air of submission, and without any preamble declared, that he accepted the articles which he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the *Roman* senate. *Phœneas*, the *Ætolian* prætor, asked him peremptorily, whether he was willing to restore to the *Ætolians* the cities of *Larissa*, *Pharsalas*, *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, and *Ethina*. *Philip* consented; but *Flaminius*, who was greatly offended at the pretensions of the *Ætolians*, said with some warmth, *The city of Thebes belongs to the Romans: I was the man who appeared before it, and to me it surrendered*. *Phœneas* urged, that the demand of *Flaminius* was contrary to the treaty, but at length the assembly determined in favour of the *Roman*. By these proceedings the *Ætolians* began to raise that violent storm which soon discharged itself upon that unhappy nation.

A peace concluded with *Philip* contrary to the inclination of the *Ætolians*.
 196. A truce being then granted to *Philip* for four months, to negotiate a peace at *Rome*, he sent ambassadors thither for that purpose, the *Ætolians* also sending their deputies to obstruct an accommodation, if possible, but without effect, for the articles of the treaty were ratified by the *Romans*. The *Ætolians* were the only people in *Greece* dissatisfied with the peace. They had been refused some cities which they claimed, and thought their services very ill rewarded by the *Romans*, who, they alledged, could not have conquered without their assistance. Though *Flaminius* had declared all the cities and states of *Greece* free, the *Ætolians*, nevertheless, made complaints to the general diet of the *Amphictions* against the *Romans*; but finding themselves disregarded, they determined to have recourse to *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*, to *Nabis*, tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, and even to their sworn enemy *Philip*, king of *Macedon*. The two latter had felt the power of the *Romans*, who had imposed hard conditions upon them, and the former was instigated by his ambition and the persuasion of *Hannibal*, to declare war against the *Romans*. The *Ætolians* chose for their prætor one *Thoas*, an inveterate enemy to *Rome*, who assembling a general diet at *Naupactus*, so irritated the deputies against *Rome*, that a decree passed without opposition, empowering him to send ambassadors to all the princes dissatisfied with the *Romans*, to stir them up against the common enemy. Pursuant to this decree, *Damocritus* was dispatched

patched to *Lacedæmon*, *Nicanter* to *Macedon*, and *Dicearchus* to *Syria*.

Philip and *Antiochus* were not hasty in coming to a determination; but *Nabis* immediately took up arms and besieged *Gythium*, a maritime city, which he had been obliged to give up to the *Achæans*. The *Romans*, knowing the disaffection of the *Ætolians*, sent ambassadors into *Greece* to defeat their measures. Before the arrival of these ambassadors, the *Ætolian* envoy had returned from *Antiochus*, and had brought with him an ambassador from that king to the *Ætolian* diet. The *Roman* ambassadors, among whom was *Flaminius*, hearing that *Thoas* and his party, before the assembling of the diet, were industriously magnifying the great riches and power of *Antiochus*, they bribed some of the *Ætolian* chiefs to thwart his designs. *Flaminius* also engaged the *Athenians*, to send deputies to the assembly of *Ætolia*, there to support the interest of the *Romans*. The *Syrian* ambassador being admitted to the diet, he told the deputies that it would have been happy for *Greece* if his master had concerned himself in their affairs, before *Philip* was reduced so low; that if he had joined his forces to those of the *Macedonian*, *Greece* would not then be groaning under the tyrannical oppressions of *Rome*. "But still your case, said he, is not without remedy; for if you put in execution the designs you have formed, I promise you a deliverer in the great *Antiochus*, who, with your assistance, and that of the gods, will be able to restore *Greece* to its ancient splendor."

The *Athenian* ambassador prevailed with the *Ætolians* to suspend their resolutions till they had heard the *Romans*. *Flaminius* accordingly being introduced, he exhorted them to carry their complaints to the senate, rather than fill all *Greece* and *Asia* with them, and then concluded thus: "*Ætolians*, are ye then determined, out of mere wantonness, to kindle a fire in *Greece*, which it will not be in your power to extinguish? What a dreadful storm are you raising! you are the first on whom it will fall." The *Ætolians*, who had been referred by the senate to *Flaminius*, thinking themselves insulted by him when he desired them to apply to the senate, grew outrageous, and in the presence of the *Roman* passed the following decree, *Let Antiochus be called into Europe to restore Greece, oppressed by the Romans, to its ancient liberty.* The prætor refused *Flaminius* a copy of the decree, but told him with a haughty air, that he would communicate it to him very soon on the banks of the *Tyber* with all the forces of *Syria*. This being an open declaration of war, *Flaminius* left the assembly and returned to *Corinth*.

The *Ætolians* invited *Antiochus* into *Greece*.
Bef. Ch.
192.

Soon after, the privy-council of the *Ætolians* formed a design to seize three cities, namely, *Chalcis* in *Eubæa*, *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, and *Lacedæmon*. *Alexamenes*, who was sent to *Lacedæmon*, slew the tyrant *Nabis*, as we have formerly related, but was himself cut off by the *Spartans*, who immediately after joined in the *Achæan* league. *Diocles* marched against *Demetrias*,
under

They
form a de-
sign of
seizing
Chalcis,
Demetri-
as, and
Lacedæ-
mon.

under pretence of honouring *Eurylochus* with an escort, who had formerly been chief magistrate of that city, and was now recalled from banishment by his countrymen. Being admitted with a part of his troops into the place, he seized one of the gates, and his whole forces then taking possession of the city, he afterwards put to death all the heads of the *Roman* party. *Thoas*, who had the direction of the enterprise against *Chalcis*, failed in his design; for the *Chalcidians* suspecting his intention, and being strongly attached to the *Romans*, put their city in a condition to sustain a long siege.

Flaminius proposed to wrest *Demetrias* from the *Ætolians*, and having ordered *Eunomus*, prætor of *Thessaly*, to arm all the young men of the country, he sent *Villius* to *Demetrias*, to inform himself upon the spot of the disposition of the inhabitants. *Villius* arriving before the port in a galley, addressed himself to *Eurylochus*, then chief magistrate, in this manner, *Can the Romans reckon the people of Demetrias among their allies or not?* The magistrate answered, that his fellow citizens were attached to *Rome*, but at the same time let him know, that his presence might disturb the repose of a city, jealous of its liberty. This was refusing him admittance in a gentle manner. *Eurylochus* had indeed already declared for *Antiochus*, and the *Demetrians* had concluded a league with the *Ætolians* against *Rome*. *Villius* retiring, *Flaminius* upon his return laid aside his design against *Demetrias*.

Antiochus
arrives in
Greece.
Bef. Ch.
192.

Thoas, in the mean time, having gone to *Antiochus*, urged him to set out for *Greece*. He dissuaded him, however, from sending *Hannibal* with an army into *Italy*, by insinuating that the *Carthaginian* would assume all the glory of such an enterprise. *Demetrias* being pitched upon for the place of his landing in *Greece*, *Antiochus* embarked with an army, consisting only of 10,000 foot, 500 horse, and six elephants, which small army was no ways suitable to the majesty of so great a king, nor answered the expectations of his *Greek* allies. Upon his arrival at *Demetrias*, the heads of the *Ætolian* nation waited upon him, and invited him to *Lamia*, where a general assembly was convened to receive him. Being introduced to the diet, he told the deputies, that his eagerness to comply with their request, had induced him to leave *Asia* before he had made the necessary preparations; but that next spring their expectations should be fully answered, and they should see *Greece* covered with troops, and their harbours with ships.

He is de-
clared ge-
neralissi-
mo.

When the king was withdrawn, some debates arose in the assembly. The most judicious saw, that instead of a real and present assistance, he gave them little more than bare hopes and promises, and therefore proposed that he should act only as a mediator between *Rome* and *Ætolia*. This was rejected by a great majority, and the opinion of *Thoas* prevailed; which was, that the king should be declared generalissimo of all the *Greek* armies against *Rome*, and a council of 30 persons was then appointed, to whom he might have recourse upon all occasions.

The

The king, by the advice of this council, began with endeavouring to prevail with the *Chalcidians* to enter into an alliance with him, without, however, renouncing their friendship for the *Romans*; but they prudently refused to enter into any new league. *Antiochus* finding himself unsuccessful in this first attempt, was not a little offended with his *Ætolian* council; but *Thas* appeased him with the hopes of gaining over the king of the *Athamanes*, together with the *Bœotians* and *Achéans*, who, he said, were all dissatisfied with the proceedings of the *Romans*. Accordingly ambassadors were dispatched to those three powers. The *Ætolian* ambassador being admitted to the *Achéan* diet, in the presence of *Flaminius*, enlarged greatly upon the mighty power of his master, and the immense number of his forces, and declared at the conclusion of his speech, that though his master had come from the most remote parts of the east, purely to restore *Greece* to its freedom, yet he did not require that the *Achéans* should take up arms against *Rome*, but only desired them to stand neuter, and treat both parties as friends. *Archidamus*, the *Ætolian* ambassador, however, in the close of his speech, launched out into invectives against the *Romans* in general, and *Flaminius* in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed not only the victory they had gained over *Philip*, but their general's life, and the safety of the army, to the valour of the *Ætolians*. The *Achéans* having next heard *Flaminius*, who ridiculed the actions of the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus*, they declared, without hesitation, for the *Romans*, and soon after sent 500 men to reinforce the garrison of *Chalcis*, and the like number to *Athens*, which began to waver. *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* received no greater satisfaction from the *Bœotians*, who declared, that they would come to no resolution till the army of *Antiochus* was on the frontiers of *Bœotia*.

The king being thus frustrated in his hopes of gaining over the *Greek* states, retired to *Demetrias*, where he held a council of war on the operations of the ensuing campaign. *Hannibal*, who was invited to the council, advised the king, before he undertook any thing else, to use his utmost endeavours to gain over *Philip* of *Macedon*. In case *Philip* should refuse to take up arms against *Rome*, the king ought then to send his son *Seleucus*, with an army, to *Macedon*, to prevent him from lending any assistance to the *Romans*. He insisted on a still more important point, and maintained, as he had always done, that the only way to defeat the *Romans* was to send an army into *Italy*. Tho' the counsel of *Hannibal* was generally approved, yet the *Ætolians* diverted the king from following it, pretending that the glory of the enterprise would be ascribed to the *Carthaginian*, and again proposing another attempt upon *Chalcis*, the king accordingly set out for that place. About the same time *Memippus*, one of his generals, with 3000 men, intercepted 500 *Romans*, who were marching to reinforce the garrison of *Chalcis*. He fell upon them in a temple and grove, dedicated

Antiochus
admitted
into *Chal-*
cis.

dedicated to *Apollo*, on the coast of *Bœotia*, near *Tanagra*, and without regarding the sacredness of the place, or the friendship that still subsisted between *Antiochus* and the republic, cut most of them to pieces, and took 50 of them prisoners. Flushed with this small success, *Antiochus* advanced with 6000 men to the *Euripus*, which divides *Eubœa* from the continent. The *Chalcidians* being at this time rent into factions, the *Ætolian* party now prevailed, and the city opened its gates to *Antiochus*. The example of the capital being followed by the whole island, the king from this time made *Chalcis* the place of his residence. His power beginning now to be formidable, the *Eleans*, the *Epirots*, the *Bœotians*, and the *Athamanes*, readily joined him.

The following spring *Antiochus* advanced to *Larissa*, summoning his allies to send their troops to the neighbourhood of *Pheræ*, where they were to rendezvous. From *Larissa* he went to the plains of *Cynocephalæ*, with the regent of *Athamania*, who pretended to the crown of *Macedon*, as a lineal descendant of *Alexander* the Great. This pretended king, by burying those *Macedonians* who had been slain there in the battle against the *Romans*, hoped to ingratiate himself with their surviving relations. But this proceeding only served to exasperate the true king of *Macedon*, who immediately gave the *Romans* notice of the progress *Antiochus* was making in *Greece*. The king of *Syria*, having no enemies to resist him, made himself master of *Pheræ*; but soon after a body of *Romans* arriving at *Gonni*, about 20 miles from *Larissa*, and spreading themselves in their camp over a large space of ground, he was apprehensive of being attacked by a numerous army, and returned to *Chalcis*.

Chalcis

proves fa-
tal to *An-*
tiocbus.

This city proved fatal to him; for though he was above 50 years of age, he suffered himself to be captivated by the charms of a fair *Chalcidian*. As she was a young woman of great virtue, the king was obliged to disclose his passion not to her only, but to her father, in whose house he lodged, and to desire his consent to marry her. *Cleptolemus*, the father, considering the disproportion of her age and condition to those of the king, was unwilling to grant his request, fearing that his daughter would soon repent her advancement to so high a station. The father, however, was at length obliged to acquiesce, and the nuptials were celebrated with regal magnificence. The king was now so taken up with his young queen, that he seemed to forget *Rome*, *Greece*, and *Syria*. His unseasonable love became a standing topic of raillery in all conversations, and his allies made loud complaints. The king, however, insensible to every thing but his passion, spent the rest of the winter in feasting and rejoicings. The ill example of his court infecting the officers, and even the common soldiers of his army, discipline was neglected, their bodies were weakened, and the whole army abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery*.

* Liv. l. xxxv. Appian. c. 96. Polyb. l. x. Apud. Athenæum. l. x. Diod. Sic.

Mean while 100 quinqueremes were fitted out by the *Romans* War de-
 to scour the eastern seas, and war being formally declared against clared at
Antiochus, *A. Acilius Glabrio*, one of the consuls, in the begin- *Rome a-*
 ning of *May*, sailed from *Brundisium*, and landed in *Greece* gainst *Ant-*
 with an army of 20,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 15 elephants. *iochus*.
 Having sent his infantry to *Bæbius*, who was encamped near *Bef. Chf.*
Pellina, in *Thessaly*, he marched with his cavalry to *Limnæ*, 191.
 a city which was besieged by the king of *Macedon*, who had de-
 clared for the *Romans*. Both these places surrendered at discre-
 tion, and in *Pellina* was taken *Philip*, the pretender to the
 crown of *Macedon*, who was sent in chains to *Rome*.

The king of *Macedon* after this made himself master of all
Athamania, while the consul reduced all *Thessaly*, which sur-
 prising progress at length roused *Antiochus*. Having assembled
 all his *Syrian* troops in *Greece*, which amounted to no more
 than 10,000 foot and 500 horse; with these he marched to the
 confines of *Ætolia*, in hopes of being strongly reinforced; but
 he was disappointed, for the *Ætolian* chiefs could not raise above
 4000 men, who were, for the most part, their own clients and
 vassals. *Antiochus*, notwithstanding this disappointment, pur- *Antiochus*
 sued his measures, and to prevent the *Romans*, who were ra- seizes
 vaging *Phthiotis*, from entering *Achaia*, by the way of *Locris*, *Thermæ*
 he seized and fortified the straits of *Thermopylæ*, and stationed *pylæ*
 2000 *Ætolians* on the summits of mount *Oeta*, which were near-
 est his camp.

The *Roman* general being at a loss how to act, had recourse
 to *Cato* the censor, who now served in the troops, in no higher
 a station than that of a legionary tribune. This brave and
 prudent warrior offered to dislodge the *Ætolians* from their ad-
 vantageous post, and *L. Valerius*, one of the consuls lieutenants,
 being joined with him in the enterprise, he attacked the *Æto-*
lians, who were encamped on the summits called *Callidromus*,
 while *Valerius* marched against those who were on the other
 summit, named *Ticbius*. *Valerius* was repulsed; but *Cato*, after
 undergoing inexpressible fatigues, at length came up with the
Ætolians, and charged them so furiously, that he obliged them
 to abandon their post. The main body of the army, in the He is dis-
 mean time, was warmly engaged with *Antiochus*, who repulsed lodged
 them with great slaughter; but *Cato* descending the mountain, and de-
 and attacking the camp in its weakest part, soon put an end to feated.
 the dispute. The king having received a blow on the mouth
 with a stone, turned his horse about and fled. The whole army
 followed his example, and the *Romans* having passed the in-
 trenchments, plundered the camp, where they found a rich
 booty. Next day the *Romans* pursued the enemy, and cut off al-
 most the whole infantry in the pursuit. *Antiochus* escaped with He flies to
 500 horse to *Chalcis*, and the consul continued his march thro' *Chalcis*.
Bæstia to the *Euripus*, with the design of driving him from *Eubæa*.
 The *Bæotians*, who had declared for *Antiochus*, appearing be-
 fore the consul in the attire of suppliants, he spared both their
 lives and lands. At *Choronea*, however, a statue of *Antiochus*
 having

having been erected, the legionaries were so provoked, that they could not be restrained from plundering the city. When the consular army appeared before *Chalcis*, *Antiochus* embarked with his new queen, and returned to *Ephesus*. He was no sooner gone than *Chalcis* and all *Eubæa* submitted to *Acilius*, who, returning to *Thermopylæ*, marched from thence against *Heraclea*, a very strong city of great extent, seated between the *Sperchius* and the *Asopus*.

The consul desired the *Ætolians* to surrender the city as a proof of their sincere repentance for their past conduct; but *Damocritus*, who had been so insolent to *Flaminius* at the diet, being governor of the place, persuaded the inhabitants, as well as the garrison, to hold out to the last extremity. The city being then invested on all sides, the *Romans* began to batter it night and day, with a great number of warlike machines. The *Ætolians*, on the other hand, maintained their posts with inexpressible courage, harraßed the *Romans* by frequent sallies, set fire to their engines, and by letting down war hooks from the wall, rendered the battering rams quite useless. Thus they held out 40 days against the attacks of the enemy, which continued without intermission either by day or night. The consul reflecting that the garrison must be greatly weakened by such violent and uninterrupted assaults, formed a new plan. He discontinued the attack at 12 every night, and did not renew it till about 9 the next morning. The *Ætolians* not doubting but this proceeded from the over fatigue of the besieged, retired at the same time with the *Romans*, and took some hours rest.

This practice having been continued some time, the consul at length ordered his troops to renew the attack at three in the morning, in three different places, stationing at a fourth a body of troops, who were commanded not to move till a signal should be given. The *Ætolians* leaving this part of the town quite defenceless, the legionaries when the signal was given mounted the wall without opposition, which the garrison perceiving, fled to the citadel with precipitation. *Acilius* suffered the city to be plundered, not so much from a spirit of revenge, as to reward the soldiers. Towards noon he prepared for attacking the citadel, which immediately surrendered at discretion. At the same time *Philip* was besieging *Lamia*, which was but seven miles from *Heraclea*. He had not, however, the satisfaction of taking the place, the *Lamians* chusing rather to submit to the *Romans*, than to receive the *Macedonian* yoke.

Before the reduction of these two places, the *Ætolians* had sent *Theas* and several others, as ambassadors to *Antiochus*, to represent to him, that unless he supported the war in *Greece*, he would soon see the *Romans* in the heart of his dominions. The king promised them a speedy succour, gave them immediately a considerable sum of money, and kept *Theas*, who staid very willingly with him to hasten the execution of his promises. However, upon the reduction of the two cities the *Ætolians* began to think seriously of peace, and made proposals to the consul

ful, who received them with the air of a conqueror, and sent *The Ætoli- Valerius Flaccus* to treat with their diet, which was held at *Hy- lians sue pata*. The *Ætolians*, to honour *Valerius*, held their sessions at for peace, his house, and desired him to instruct them in what manner they should treat with the senate. By his advice they sent new deputies to the consul, in a submissive manner; but *Acilius* treated them very roughly, and upon their refusing to comply with all his haughty demands, he threatened to put them in irons. *Valerius* interceding for them, he at length granted them a second truce of ten days, that the conditions which he required might be laid before the general assembly of the nation. These conditions occasioned warm disputes among the *Ætolian* deputies.

Mean while one *Nicaner*, an active bustling man, who had but are gone to *Ephesus* and returned to *Ætolia* in 12 days, brought persuaded large sums of money with him from *Antiochus*, and assured the by *Nicaner* diet, that, early in the spring, all the forces of *Syria* would be der to pur- sent to their assistance. As he had been taken prisoner in his sue the return by the *Macedonians*, but, contrary to his expectation, war. had been kindly treated by *Philip*, who seemed to hint to him that he could wish to enter into an alliance with the *Ætolians*, he did not fail to represent to them the great aversion *Philip* had conceived for the *Romans*. His discourse made such an impression upon the assembly, that all thoughts of peace vanished, and nothing was now talked of but war. They accordingly resolved to unite their forces at *Naupactus*, to preserve that important place.

Soon after the consul, after several fatiguing marches, in *Acilius* be- which great numbers of beasts of burden, and many of the sol- sieges diers were lost in the precipices, arrived with his army before *Naupac- Naupactus*. As the *Ætolians* defended themselves with incre- tus. dible vigour and courage, the whole consular army was employed here most part of the summer, while *Philip* and the *Achæans* reduced entire provinces. *Philip* not only made himself master of *Demetrias*, but extended his conquests to *Dolopia* and *Aperantia*, two provinces of *Epirus*, and *Perrhæbia* in *Thessaly*, thus by degrees recovering all the places that had been taken from him.

Mean while *Flaminius*, who had for several years been employed in *Greece*, in matters of negociation, came from *Chalcis*, where he usually resided, and joined the consul(s). When he arrived at the camp, he abruptly addressed him thus, *Are you aware what prodigious pains you take to ruin the affairs of the republic?* *Acilius*, in surprise, desiring him to explain his meaning, *Flaminius* told him, that while he had spent

(s) As he had saved the city of *Chalcis* from being plundered when it had surrendered to *Acilius*, the *Chalcidians* carried their gratitude to excess. They built a temple

to him, and instituted a festival in his honour, putting him upon the same level with *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*. *Plut. in Flamin.*

He is pre- his time in taking two cities, he had suffered *Philip*, a far more
 vailed dangerous enemy than the *Ætolians*, to increase his power be-
 upon by yond measure. He therefore advised him to raise the siege, and
Flaminius deliver *Greece* from impending ruin. The consul was unwill-
 to raise ling to disoblige *Flaminius*, yet was some time in suspense, upon
 the siege. considering that the raising of the siege of a town, which had already
 held out two months, might reflect no small dishonour on his
 conduct. When *Flaminius* appeared before the ramparts, the
 besieged implored his assistance with mournful cries, beseeching
 him to have compassion upon an unfortunate people. He at first
 seemed not to give ear to their intreaties, but at length he sig-
 nified that they might send deputies to confer with him. Upon
 the arrival of the deputies, who threw themselves prostrate at
 his feet, he reproached them for their imprudent and ungrateful
 conduct; but declared he would intercede with the consul in
 their behalf. The consul accordingly granted them a truce for
 as much time as might suffice for sending ambassadors to *Rome*,
 broke up the siege, and marched back his army to *Phocis*.

The *Ætoli-* The truce granted to the *Ætolians* by the consul very near
lian am- expired before their ambassadors could obtain an audience of the
bassadors senate. Being, however, admitted at last, they endeavoured to
at Rome. raise the compassion of the senators, by a long, but modest ac-
 count of the services they had rendered the republic during their
 alliance with her. The senators suspecting their sincerity, by
 the answers they gave to the questions which were put to them,
 ordered them to withdraw, and debated warmly upon their af-
 fairs for several days. At last the ambassadors were told, that
 they must chuse one of these two conditions, namely, either to
 submit implicitly to the will of the senate, or to pay the republic
 1000 talents, and neither make war or peace with any other
 power, without the consent and approbation of *Rome*. The
 ambassadors declaring that they would not consent to either of
 these conditions, they were ordered to leave *Rome* that very day,
 and *Italy* in a fortnight.

They re- The *Ætolians*, upon the return of their ambassadors, finding
 jeet the that there was no hopes of a peace, took the necessary precau-
 terms of tions to guard *Naupactus* against a new attack. The consul,
 peace of however, turned his arms against a city of no less importance,
 fered by namely, *Lamia*, which had revolted from the *Romans*. Ar-
 the senate. riving before the walls at break of day, he ordered them to be
 scaled on all sides; but the inhabitants making a most vigorous
 defence, he was obliged to sound a retreat. Next morning,
 however, renewing the attack, he made himself master of the
 place.

After the reduction of *Lamia*, the consul proposed to return
 to *Naupactus*; but a council of war being held on that occa-
 sion, none of the officers approved of so hazardous an attempt.

The consul then marched against *Amphissa*, a city of *Locris*,
 which had joined the *Ætolians*. While he was besieging the
L. Corne- city, news arrived that *L. Cornelius Scipio* was landed at *Apollo-*
lius Scipio *nia* with an army of 13,000 men to succeed him in the com-
 arrives in *Greece.* mand.

mand. The great *Africanus* served under his brother *Cornelius*, who, after visiting all the coasts of *Epirus*, came and encamped within three miles of *Amphissa*, which, before his arrival, had surrendered to *Acilius*. The new consul was visited by deputies from *Athens*, who interceded for the *Ætoli*ans, and *Africanus* also interesting himself in their behalf, *Cornelius*, after some difficulty, granted them a six months truce, that they might again apply to the senate. The same ambassadors, who had been driven from *Rome*, were sent back thither. *Acilius* then raising the siege of the citadel of *Amphissa*, resigned the command of the army to *Scipio*, and returned to *Rome*.

Cornelius marched directly with his army into *Asia* against *Antiochus*, whom he soon obliged to sue for peace. His troops had scarcely evacuated *Greece*, when the *Ætoli*ans took up arms in favour of *Amyander*, whom they restored to the kingdom of *Athamania*, after having driven out of his cities the *Macedonian* garrisons that held them for king *Philip*. They next reduced almost the whole province of *Amphilochia* in *Epirus*, formerly the ally of subject to them, but now under the protection of *Rome*. Having afterwards recovered *Aperantia*, which had likewise belonged to them, they fell upon the *Dolopians*, who had always been subject to *Macedon*; but now submitted to them without opposition.

Though these conquests were so many insults offered to the *Romans*, yet the senate, upon an embassy from *Amyander*, confirmed him in the possession of his dominions. This encouraged the *Ætoli*ans to apply to the senate, not only for a peace, but for their consent to hold the provinces which they had lately reduced. Their ambassadors arrived at *Rome* soon after the election of the new consuls, *M. Fulvius Nobilior* and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, and before the news of the defeat of *Antiochus* had reached *Italy*. The better therefore to succeed in their negotiations, they spread a report, that the two *Scipios* had been made prisoners at a conference, and that the *Roman* army was entirely defeated, and putting on an air of confidence, they seemed rather to demand than beg a peace. Their ambassadors, however, were dismissed, without obtaining any of their demands, and were ordered not to return, without the express consent of the generals who should command in *Greece*.

a second

M. Fulvius Nobilior, the consul, soon after landing with an army at *Apollonia*, by the advice of the *Epi*rots, besieged *Ambracia*, which formerly belonged to them, and was now to be restored to them. When the *Ætoli*ans understood that *Fulvius* had begun the siege of *Ambracia*, they assembled their troops, to attempt the relief of a place which was a key to their dominions. As the *Romans* had not yet compleated their lines of circumvallation, *Eupolemus*, a man of great resolution, entered *Ambracia* at the head of 1000 *Ætoli*ans.

Nicanor, the *Ætolian* prætor, marched against the *Epi*rots, who were encamped by themselves on one side of the town; but finding them strongly entrenched, he led his army into

Acarmania, and laid waste the whole country. The siege of the place was carried on with the utmost vigour; nor were the besieged less indefatigable and resolute in their defence. *Nicanor* having returned from pillaging *Acarmania*, sent 500 men as a reinforcement to the garrison. Soon after, the *Ætolians* making a sally from the town in the night-time, killed a great many of the *Romans*, and set fire to part of their camp. *Nicanor*, however, not seconding them with the army of observation, as he had promised, they were obliged to return into the city. *Perseus* having invaded *Dolopia*, and *Pleuratus*, king of *Illyricum*, ravaging the coasts of *Ætolia*, *Nicanor* was so occupied in opposing the enemy in those parts, that he had not leisure to assist the besieged, who nevertheless defended themselves with the utmost resolution. The consul, finding all the efforts of his battering engines baffled by the besieged, began to undermine the wall, in hopes of throwing down great part of it at once; but the *Ætolians* no sooner perceived his design, than they began a countermine; and having at length come to that part of the wall which the *Romans* had sapped, a battle began betwixt the miners of each party, first with pickaxes and spades, and then with swords and spears. The *Ætolians* having, at length, made a kind of rampart of the loose earth to keep off the *Romans*, invented a machine to drive them out of the mine. They made a hollow vessel, with an iron bottom, bored through in many places, and having filled it with feathers, they set fire to them, and with large bellows driving the smoke on the besieged, they obliged them to leave the mine through fear of being suffocated. The *Ætolians*, when they had forced them to retire, immediately repaired the foundations of the walls.

The general state of the war, however, began greatly to alarm the *Ætolians*, who found themselves unable to resist at once the *Romans*, *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, and *Achæans*. They therefore made offers of peace to the consul, who received their deputies with great haughtiness, and insisted on the following preliminaries: first, that they should lay down their arms; secondly, that they should deliver up to him all the horses of their army; and lastly, that they should pay to the republic 1000 talents, one half upon the spot, and the other at different payments. The deputies laying these preliminaries before the assembly, were checked by them for not signing them; *We must have a peace*, they all cried out, *good or bad*.

Ambracia
capitu-
lates.

The deputies were sent back to *Fulvius*, who, about the same time, at the intercession of the *Athenians*, *Rhodians*, and *Amynder*, granted a capitulation to the *Ambracians* on the following terms; that the *Ætolians* should have leave to march out of the city; that the inhabitants should pay 500 talents; and that they should deliver up to the consul all the prisoners and deserters that were in the city. These articles being agreed to, the *Ambracians* opened their gates to the consul, and presented him with a crown of gold, and many fine statues and pictures.

The

The *Ætolian* deputies soon after having a conference with *Fulvius* in *Ætolia*, and declaring that their diet accepted the conditions he had offered them, he granted them a truce till they should lay the articles before the senate. The ambassadors of the king of *Macedon* having complained of the *Ætolians* for unjustly detaining from him *Dolopia*, *Athamania*, and *Amphilo-* send an
chia, the senate was so exasperated against them, that they even embassy to
refused their deputies an audience. The *Athenian* deputies, *Rome*.
however, interceding in their behalf, and *Valerius*, the brother
of the consul and the son of *Lævinus*, who concluded the first
alliance between *Rome* and *Ætolia*, also espousing their cause,
they at length were heard, and obtained a peace on these terms: A peace
First, the majesty of the *Roman* people shall be revered in all concluded.
Ætolia, which shall reckon the enemies of *Rome* as its enemies. betwixt
Secondly, the *Ætolians* shall, in the space of 100 days, deliver the *Æto-*
up all the prisoners and deserters, whether of the *Romans* or *lians* and
their allies, except such as have been taken twice, or during the *Ro-*
her alliance with *Rome*. Thirdly, the *Ætolians* shall pay down *mans*.
in ready money 200 *Euboic* talents, and engage to pay 50 ta-
lents more within the six years following. Fourthly, they shall
put into the hands of the consul 40 such hostages as he shall
chuse. Fifthly, *Ætolia* shall renounce all pretensions to the
cities and territories which the *Romans* have conquered since the
consulate of *Flaminius*. Sixthly, the city of *Oenias*, and its
district, shall continue subject to the *Acarnanians*, and *Cephale-*
nia shall not be included in the treaty.

Though the antient liberties of the *Ætolians* were greatly The *Ro-*
abridged by this peace, yet after the conquest of *Macedon*, their *mans* treat
republic was reduced to a much worse condition; for great them in
numbers of their chief men, who had either declared for *Per-* an arbi-
seus, or were suspected to favour him, were sent to *Rome*, and trary man-
were never afterwards suffered to return to their native country. ner.
Five hundred of their nobles were barbarously assassinated by the
partizans of *Rome*, for no other crime but that of being suspect-
ed to wish well to *Perseus*. The *Ætolians* could obtain no re-
drefs, when they complained of this inhumanity to *P. Æmilius*.
On the contrary, the commissioners, who were appointed to
settle the affairs of *Greece*, declared, that those who were killed
had suffered justly. From this time, those only were raised to
the chief honours and employments in the *Ætolian* republic,
who were known to prefer the interest of *Rome* to that of their
country. When *Corinth* was destroyed, and the *Achæan* league
dissolved, *Ætolia*, with the other free states of *Greece*, was then
reduced to a *Roman* province, commonly called the province of
Achaia. The whole nation paid a certain tribute, and the rich
were forbidden to possess lands any where but in their own
country.

Ætolia continued in this state, with little alteration, till the The state
reign of *Constantine* the Great, who divided the western parts of of *Ætolia*
Greece from the rest, calling them new *Epirus*, and subjecting to the pre-
the whole country to the *Præfectus Prætorio* for *Illyricum*. Un- sent time.
der

der the successors of *Constantine*, *Greece* was parcelled out into several principalities; and when *Constantinople* was taken by the western princes, *Theodorus Angelus*, a noble *Grecian* of the imperial family, seized on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*. The former continued in his family for some time; but one of his descendants dying without lawful issue, a dispute arose about the succession among his bastard sons, which gave *Amurath II.* an opportunity of expelling them all in 1432. The *Turks* were afterwards dispossessed of this country by the famous prince of *Epirus*, *George Castriot*, commonly called *Scanderbeg*, who, at his death, left part of *Ætolia* to the *Venetians*. The whole country, however, was soon after reduced by *Mohammed II.* whose successors hold it to this day.



C H A P. VII.

The history of ATHENS, from the time of the ACHÆAN league till the reduction of GREECE by the ROMANS.

Philip of Macedon declares war against Athens.

ARATUS, as we formerly mentioned, restored the *Athenians* to their antient liberty, by prevailing on the *Macedonians*, in consideration of 150 talents, to evacuate the *Pyræum*, *Munichia*, and *Musæum*. They had not enjoyed this liberty many years, when *Philip of Macedon* formed a design of reducing, not only *Attica*, but all *Greece*. He made use of the following pretence for commencing hostilities against the *Athenians*. Two young *Acarnanians*, who happened to be at *Athens* while the inhabitants were celebrating the mysteries of *Ceres*, had entered the temple of the goddess with the croud. As it was not lawful for any person to assist at those mysteries without being initiated, the *Acarnanians*, who were discovered by their language to be strangers, were carried before the chief priest, and by him sentenced to die, though it was well known they had offended purely out of ignorance.

The Athenians implore the protection of Rome.

The *Acarnanians* complaining of this inhumanity to *Philip of Macedon*, with whom they were then joined in alliance, he, without demanding any satisfaction, proclaimed war against *Athens*, and sent a body of troops to join the *Acarnanians*, and lay waste *Attica*. The *Athenians*, being unable to oppose the *Macedonians*, implored the protection of the *Romans*, who were well known at *Athens*, and had been honoured there with particular marks of distinction. About thirty-two years before the present rupture with *Philip*, *Rome* had sent ambassadors to *Athens*, and several other free states of *Greece*, to make them sensible of the happiness she had procured them, by humbling the *Illyrians*. This news was so agreeable to the *Athenians*, who had been infested by their pirates, that they not only received

ceived the ambassadors with great demonstrations of kindness, but from that time admitted the *Romans*, in general, to partake of the mysteries of *Eleusis*, and of all the privileges which the citizens of *Athens* enjoyed. The *Romans*, on this account, now treated their ambassadors with great distinction, and promised to send a consular army without delay to their assistance.

Mean while, the *Macedonians* and *Acar-nanians*, after ravaging a great part of *Attica*, approached *Athens*, which struck the *Athenians* with no small terror. Their fears were dispelled by the unexpected arrival of the fleets of king *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, which two powers were at war with *Macedon*, and therefore wanted to engage the *Athenians* in their alliance. The *Athenians* accordingly concluded a league with them, and in their transports of joy paid extravagant compliments to the king and the *Rhodians*. To their ten tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, they added an eleventh, calling it *Attalis*. They presented the *Rhodians* with a crown of gold, and made all the inhabitants of *Rhodes* free of their city.

The king of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodians* soon after retiring, *Philip* sent a strong detachment to ravage the territory of *Athens*, while he himself, with the rest of the army, overran all the southern parts of *Thrace*, and passing over the *Helle-spont*, reduced *Abydos*. The consul *Sulpitius*, on this news, at length set sail from *Brundisium*, and landed with his army near *Apollonia*. From thence he immediately detached 20 gallies, and some legionaries, to cover the *Athenian* territory from the *Macedonians*. *Ceutho*, who commanded this squadron, having repulsed the *Macedonians*, surprised and pillaged *Chalcis*, massacring all the *Macedonians* and inhabitants that fell into his hands, breaking all the statues of king *Philip*, burning his magazines, arsenals, and engines of war, and then returning with the spoil to *Athens*.

Philip, having made *Demetrias*, a city of *Thessaly*, the capital of his dominions, assembled his sea and land forces, and proceeded from thence, in hopes of surprising the *Romans* at *Chalcis*; but coming too late, he turned all his rage against *Athens*. The *Athenians*, having received notice of his approach, prepared with the utmost diligence to receive him; so that *Philip*, finding he could not surprise the city, resolved to attack it. The garrison perceiving his intention, marched out with a body of the citizens to oppose him in one of the large streets of the suburbs. *Philip*, overjoyed at an opportunity of joining battle, encouraged his men with this short speech, *Fix your eyes on me, and do as I do*. He then fell upon the *Athenians* with great fury, and soon drove them to the gate; but such showers of darts were then discharged upon his men from the ramparts, that he was obliged to sound a retreat. Next day, the besieged made another sally with much greater advantage; so that *Philip* was obliged to decamp; but before he retired, he vented his rage in a most barbarous manner. He spared neither temples nor tombs, nor the *Lycæum*, nor sacred groves, nor houses

They entered into an alliance with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* against *Philip*.

Sulpitius landed in *Greece*.

Philip attempts to surprise *Athens*.

Dreadful ravages committed by him.

of pleasure, all being pillaged without distinction. The king's behaviour, on this occasion, prejudiced many of the *Greeks* so strongly against him, that they were afterwards easily gained over to the *Roman* interest, not knowing they were bringing into their country more haughty lords than *Macedon* had ever produced. The *Romans* soon after invading *Macedon*, *Philip* was obliged to leave *Attica*, and all *Greece*, to defend his own country. The *Athenians*, about the same time, receiving reinforcements from the *Romans* and king *Attalus*, were so elevated, that they expressed their resentment in a most unworthy manner. They had formerly erected statues to *Philip* and his ancestors, of both sexes, and even instituted sacrifices and festivals, and appointed priests in their honour; but now, out of a childish revenge, they destroyed the idols which they had worshiped, and passed a decree in their assembly against *Philip*, which lessened their esteem, even in the opinion of their friends. The *Athenians* were no less lavish of their fulsome praises on the *Romans* and *Pergamenians*, than of their curses on the king of *Macedon*. *Athens* was now one of the most insignificant cities of *Greece*; for during the whole course of this war, and of that which was carried on against *Perseus*, the *Athenians* performed nothing which the antient writers have thought worth transmitting to posterity. They continued indeed invariably attached to the *Roman* interest, which steadiness gained them the affection of the *Romans*, who left them in the full possession of their antient liberties, even after the destruction of *Corinth*, and the dissolution of the *Achæan* league.

Athens
sides with
Mithri-
dates
against
the *Ro-*
mans.
Bef. Chr.
88.

Aristo
makes
himself
master of
Athens.

Athens continued in this state till the *Mithridatic* war, when the *Athenians* openly declared against the *Romans*, being induced thereunto by one *Aristo* a philosopher. *Aristo* was of a mean extraction; but greatly esteemed among the followers of *Epicurus* for his pretended contempt of power and riches. *Archelaus*, however, whom *Mithridates* had sent into *Greece* with a numerous army, to stir up the inhabitants against the *Romans*, found it an easy task to gain over this despiser of riches and honours, by promising to raise him to the chief employments of his republic. *Aristo*, going over into *Asia*, advised *Mithridates* to send the spoils of the island of *Delos* to the *Athenians*, who had formerly been masters of the island. The *Athenians* accepting of the present, and admitting 2000 troops that had come to guard it into their city, *Aristo*, by the help of these, took upon him to dispose of all the employments at *Athens*, murdering, or sending prisoners to *Mithridates*, all those who favoured the *Romans*. Not only the *Athenians*, but the *Achæans*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Bæotians*, and other *Greek* states, openly declared for *Mithridates*, *Thespia* alone continuing faithful to the *Romans*. Upon the news of this general revolt, the prætor of *Macedon* sent *Bruttius Sura* with 1000 men to oppose *Archelaus*. *Bruttius*, after he had several engagements with the joint forces of *Aristo* and *Archelaus*, was obliged at length to reembark his troops, stationing his squadron before the port of *Athens*.

Sylla

Sylla soon after arriving in *Theffaly* with five legions, some *Sylla* *ar-*
Italian cohorts, and a small body of cavalry, the *Greek* cities *rives in*
returned to their obedience, and opened their gates to him. *Greece.*
Athens alone persisting in the revolt, *Sylla* resolved to reduce it *Def. Chr.*
by force, and undertook the enterprize with a much smaller army 87.
than that which had been brought from *Asia* to defend the city.
Upon his entering *Attica*, he was met by *Aristo* and *Archelaus*,
but he obliged them both to retire with considerable loss, and
to retreat into *Athens*. *Sylla*, making some unsuccessful attacks *He lays*
against the citadel, turned the siege into a blockade, and took *siege to*
up his winter-quarters at *Eleufis* and *Megara*, making immense *Athens.*
preparations for attacking the city in the spring. In order to
make his warlike engines, he cut down great numbers of trees, and
did not even spare the sacred groves, nor the trees in the walks
of the academy and *Lyceum*. As the enemy had laid waste the
whole country, which was barren of its own nature, 20,000
mules were continually employed in bringing provisions and ne-
cessaries for the army. These extraordinary expences soon
draining his military chest, and a faction prevailing at *Rome*
that sought his ruin, he had recourse to the sacred and inviola-
ble treasures of the temples, and sent one *Caphis* with a letter
to the *Amphietyons*, desiring them to send him the treasures of
Apollo, and promising to make full restitution to the God.
Though the oracle, which was consulted on this occasion, re-
turned no answer, *Sylla* desired his orders might be fulfilled.
Accordingly, all the gold, silver, and brass, all the vases, pre- *He seizes*
sents, and offerings, which the superstition of the neighbour- *on the*
ing and most distant nations had brought thither, were loaded *treasure of*
on carts, and, amidst the lamentations and outcries of the *Am- Delphi.*
phietyons and *Delphians*, sent to the *Roman* camp, where the
gold, silver, and brass were coined by *Sylla*'s orders. The trea-
sures of the God *Æsculapius* at *Epidaurus*, not much inferior in
value to those at *Delphi*, were at the same time, by *Sylla*'s or-
ders, brought to the camp, and turned into money.

Sylla, being thus furnished with warlike engines and money,
took the field early in the spring, and shut up both the city and
the port more closely than before. Having broke the wall of *Blocks up*
communication betwixt the port and the city, he applied him- *Athens by*
self to the reducing of the *Pyræum*, hoping that famine, in the sea.
mean time, would oblige the *Athenians* to surrender. *Archelaus*,
who commanded in the *Pyræum*, made a most vigorous defence;
and in one of the sallies, which were very frequent, and at-
tended with great slaughter, he set fire to the machines of the
Romans, and obliged them to abandon their works. When
they returned, he again attacked them, but was driven into the
city with the loss of 2000 men. The treachery of two slaves
proved more prejudicial to the garrison than the attacks of the
enemy. These, either out of affection to the *Roman* party, or
in hopes of recovering their liberty if the place should be taken,
wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them
with

The *Athenians* make a most vigorous defence.

with slings into the *Roman* camp, which prevented the wise measures of *Archelaus* from being attended with the usual success. Notwithstanding the disadvantages he sustained, in consequence of the secret intelligence given to the enemy, *Archelaus* still held out, in hopes of being soon relieved by *Taxiles*, one of *Mithridates's* generals, who was marching through *Epirus* to his assistance at the head of 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse, with 90 chariots armed with scythes. As this army had already reduced *Thrace* and *Macedon*, *Sylla* made an effort to take the *Piræum* by storm, before the intended succour should arrive to the besieged. Some of his troops accordingly scaled the wall about midnight; but the besieged being instantly alarmed, they were obliged to save themselves by leaping down into the ditch, and retiring in great disorder. The garrison, at the same time, made a vigorous sally, and a desperate engagement ensued for several hours. *Archelaus* having been disappointed in several attempts to throw in convoys into the city, at length began to suspect that he had traitors about him. He nevertheless attempted once more to relieve the city, which design being communicated to the enemy, they reinforced the legionaries that guarded the road, and intercepted the convoy. *Archelaus*, however, judging that their camp would be weakened, made a very successful sally, and burnt several of their machines. *Sylla* at length having beat down part of the wall, made a general assault, but was repulsed with great loss, upon which he changed his method of attack, and endeavoured to make a large breach by sapping the wall. Having succeeded by this means, he mounted the breach at the head of his best troops; but *Archelaus* opposed him with such resolution, that he was obliged to give ground. After three unsuccessful attacks, finding his men had suffered greatly, he himself thought it adviseable to lead them back to the camp, where they continued inactive several days. *Archelaus*, in the mean time, built up a new wall, which *Sylla* began to batter before it was dry; but the prodigious quantity of arrows and burning materials that were discharged upon his men obliged them to desist.

Athens in great distress for want of provisions.

Sylla, to spare his troops, resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and by this means the *Athenians* were reduced to such distress, that a bushel of barley was sold for 1000 drachms. Many of the citizens had nothing else to support themselves with, but the grass and roots which they found growing about the walls. In this distress, the senators and priests went to throw themselves at the tyrant *Aristo's* feet, to entreat him to have pity on the city; but he was so far from being touched with their complaints, that he ordered his guards to discharge their arrows against them. In the midst of the public misery, *Aristo* and his accomplices were plentifully provided with all sorts of provisions, while the common people, and many of the nobility, after having consumed all the animals, were forced to live upon leather, and even upon human flesh.

The

The importunities of the people were at last so pressing, that the tyrant, to sooth them, sent an embassy to *Sylla*, without, however, making any proposal for an accommodation; so that they returned without any effect. *Sylla* soon after being informed by some spies he had in the city, that a certain part of the wall was very defenceless, he caused his troops to attempt to scale it, in which they succeeded. At the same time, making a large breach in the walls, he at length got possession of the place, which he gave up to the rage of his soldiers, who inhumanly murdered even the women and children. A few days after, the upper city, which was called *Cecropia*, and was separated from the lower by a wall, was forced to surrender, when the tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any employment under him, were put to death; but the others were spared, *Sylla* pardoning the children for the sake of the fathers. The only punishment he inflicted upon the few citizens who had the good luck to outlive that fatal day was, that they should not for the future have the power of choosing their own magistrates, nor repair the breach which he had made in the wall; but the first part of the punishment he soon remitted. Soon after, the new wall built by *Archelaus* being beaten down, he abandoned the *Pyræum*, after a most vigorous defence, and embarked his troops to join *Taxiles*. *Sylla*, having taken possession of the *Pyræum*, left behind him some marks of his resentment, by destroying most of the stately buildings, and, amongst others, the magazines and the arsenal.

The *Athenians*, after the departure of *Sylla*, enjoyed a profound tranquillity till the civil war broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, when they sided with the latter; on which account *Q. Fufius Calpurnius*, *Cæsar*'s lieutenant, ravaged their country, and invested their city. After the defeat of *Pompey* at *Pharsalia*, they submitted to *Cæsar*, who not only pardoned them, but received their city under his protection, saying, *That he spared the living for the sake of the dead*. Nevertheless, upon his death they openly declared for his murderers, received *Brutus* and *Cassius* into their city, and even erected statues to them, which they worshiped. After the defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, they sided with *Anthony*, who enlarged their territory, by subjecting to them the islands of *Cea*, *Sciatbus*, *Peparethus*, and *Ægina*. *Augustus* punished their ingratitude to *Julius Cæsar*, by taking from them the island of *Ægina*. *Germanicus*, the adopted son of *Tiberius*, honoured them with the privilege of a lictor, which was deemed a mark of sovereign power. *Vespasian* reduced *Attica*, with the rest of *Greece*, to a Roman province, saying, *That the Greeks knew not how to enjoy their liberty*; but the emperor *Adrian*, who had been archon of *Athens*, restored them to the full enjoyment of all their antient privileges. At his charge the two ports of *Pyræum* and *Munichia* were repaired, and a whole region of new buildings added to the old city, which quarter was called *Adrianopolis*. All the privileges granted them by this emperor were not only confirmed, but extended,

tended, by several of his successors; but *Severus* stripped them of a great many privileges, to revenge, as is supposed, an affront which he received at *Athens* while he studied there. In the reign of *Gallienus*, according to *Zosimus*, or of *Claudius*, as *Cedrenus* will have it, the city was taken and plundered by the *Goths*, who were soon after obliged to abandon it. *Constantine* the Great was a peculiar patron and benefactor of the *Athenians*, and granted them many privileges of great consequence.

Fate of
Athens in
later
times.

In the time of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, they were cruelly harassed and pillaged by the *Goths*, who turned all the stately and magnificent structures that were then standing into heaps of ruins. *Athens*, in the 13th century, as *Nicetas* informs us, was in the hands of *Baldwin*; but not long after was besieged and taken by the marquis *Bonifacius*. It fell afterwards into the hands of one *Delves*, of the house of *Arragon*; upon whose death it was seized by *Bajazet*, who was driven out by the *Catalonians*. They were in their turn dispossessed of it by *Reinerius Acciaoli*, a *Florentine*, who left the estate or dukedom of *Athens*, as it was then called, to the *Venetians*. In 1455, it was at last reduced by the *Turks*, and continued subject to them till the year 1687, when it was, after a short siege, taken by the *Venetians*. Not many years after it was retaken by the *Turks*, who continue masters of it to this day.

Govern-
ment of
the *Acar-*
nanians.

As we have frequently mentioned the *Acarnanians* in the history of *Ætolia*, we shall give a short account of their state, which lay between *Ætolia* and *Epirus*. The *Acarnanians* were a free people, and were governed by a prætor, a general assembly, and other subordinate magistrates, of the same nature and authority as those of the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*. They were, above all the other *Greeks*, attached to the kings of *Macedon*, and even adhered to *Philip*, the father of *Perseus*, after the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*. However, *Lucius Flaminius*, brother to *Titus*, undertook to bring them over to the *Romans*. With this view he had two conferences with the chief men of the state, the first at *Corcyra*, and the latter at *Leucas*, the capital of *Acarmania*, seated on the isthmus, or rather island of *Leucadia*. In this second interview, the leading men of the nation drew up the plan of a confederacy with the *Romans*; but some, who had been bribed by the king, leaving the assembly with indignation, made loud complaints among the citizens; so that the whole city was in an uproar. During this general commotion, *Echedemus* and *Androcles*, two *Acarnanians*, greatly esteemed in their own country, arriving from *Macedon*, declaimed with great warmth against their slavish countrymen, who, without any regard to the faith of treaties, were betraying the interest of their country. The people, already prepossessed against the *Romans*, backed the remonstrances of the two deputies from *Macedon*, and openly protested that they would not enter into any engagements prejudicial to *Philip*. Their alliance

They re-
ject the
alliance of
the *Ro-*
mans,
and ad-
here to
Philip.

alliance with the king of *Macedon* was then renewed, and the treaty made with the *Romans* by some private men rejected with indignation.

Lucius, who, in the beginning of the tumult, had retired from *Leucas*, resolved to reduce the *Acar-nanians* by force. He accordingly sailed from *Corcyra* with a considerable body of troops, and invested the city of *Leucas*. Though he prosecuted the siege with great vigour, the *Leucadians* made a most obstinate resistance, and frustrated all his attempts. At length, They are some *Italian* exiles having conducted many of the *Romans* privately within the walls, while the garrison was engaged with by the them in the market-place, the walls were scaled, by which *Romans*. means the enemy made themselves masters of the city. The reduction of the capital struck such terror into the whole nation, that they submitted to the *Romans*, under whose protection they lived according to their own laws, till the reduction of *Corinth*, when *Acar-nania* became part of the province of *Achaia*.

The *Epirots* having likewise, in some measure, been connected with the *Greeks*, we shall here annex a short account of and go- their country. *Epirus* was bounded on the east by *Ætolia*, vernment on the west by the *Adriatic*, on the north by *Thessaly* and *Ma- of Epirus*. *cedon*, and on the south by the *Ionian* sea. This country was anciently governed by its own princes; but *Deidamia*, great grand-daughter to the famous *Pyrrhus*, having no issue, gave the *Epirots* their liberty, who formed themselves into a republic, which was governed by magistrates, annually elected in a general assembly of the whole nation. The *Epirots* were obliged to be continually on their guard against the kings of *Macedon*, who made frequent incursions into their country, and forced them many times to contribute, as if they had been their subjects, to the charges of their wars. The *Romans*, after having conquered *Philip*, restored them to their ancient liberty; but they, forgetful of this favour, afterwards joined *Perseus*, The *Epi-* which so provoked the *Roman* senate, that they ordered *P. Æmi- rots de-* *lius* to plunder the cities of this ungrateful people, and level them clare with the ground. He accordingly marched to *Epirus*, to exe- against the cute their commands, his troops being received by the *Epirots Romans*. into all their cities with great demonstrations of joy, hoping that he came to restore them to the full possession of their liberties. *Æmilius* ordered the ten chiefs, who governed the several *P. Æmi-* provinces of *Epirus*, to bring to his camp all the gold and silver *lius* plundered in their respective districts. This order being complied with, ders and though with great reluctance, all the rest of the spoil of *Epirus* destroys was given up as a prey to the soldiery. Though the consular their ci- troops were cantoned in different places, the execution was ties. made the same day and hour, the *Roman* soldiers falling every where, with incredible fury, on the houses, which were abandoned to their rage. The whole booty was sold, and of the money

money raised by the sale each foot soldier had about six pounds nine shillings, and each of the horse the double of that sum. One hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and sold to the best bidder for the benefit of the republic. All the cities of *Epirus*, to the number of 70, were dismantled, and the chief men of the country carried to *Rome*, where most of them were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

The state
of *Epirus*
in latter
times.

Upon the dissolution of the *Achæan* league, *Epirus* was made part of the province of *Macedon*; but when *Macedon* became a diocese, *Epirus* was made a province of itself, called the province of old *Epirus*. On the division of the empire, it fell to the emperors of the east, and continued under them till the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Latins*, when *Michael Angelus*, a prince nearly related to the *Greek* emperor, seized on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*. His brother *Theodorus*, who succeeded him, having enlarged his dominions, assumed the title of emperor, and was crowned by *Demetrius*, archbishop of *Bulgaria*. *Amurath* II. at length seized on this province, and afterwards great part of it was held by the noble family of the *Castriots*, who, though they were masters of all *Albania*, yet stiled themselves princes of *Epirus*. Upon the death of the famous *George Castriot*, *Epirus* fell to the *Venetians*, who were soon dispossessed of it by the *Turks*, in whose hands it still continues under the name of *Albania*.



C H A P. VIII.

The history of the chief GREEK islands.

S E C T. I.

The history of RHODES.

Different
names of
Rhodes.

THIS island was formerly known by the names of *Ophiusa*, *Asteria*, *Æthraea*, *Trinacria*, *Corymbia*, *Poessa*, *Atabyria*, *Marcia*, *Oloessa*, *Stadia*, *Telchinis*, *Pelagia*, and *Rhodus* or *Rhodes*, which last prevailed in latter ages. Some derive this name from the *Greek* word *Rhodon*, a rose, with which sort of flowers they say the island abounded. *Diodorus* says, *Rhoda*, the daughter of *Apollo* by *Venus*, gave her name to the island; but *Bochart* derives the name from the *Phœnician* word *Red*, signifying a serpent, having been greatly infested by those insects,

fects, on which account it was called by the *Greeks Ophiusa*. It lies about 20 miles distant from the coast of *Lycia* and *Caria*, and is about 120 miles in compass. It is blessed with a most fruitful soil, and formerly produced in great plenty all sorts of delicious fruits and wines of a most exquisite taste. The air is here said to be so serene, that no day ever passes without sunshine.

In *Homer's* time, this island had three cities, namely, *Lindus*, *Camirus*, *Falysus*, to which, in after ages, was added a fourth, bearing the name of the island. The three oldest cities were, according to *Diodorus*, built by *Tlepolemus*, the son of *Hercules*, before the *Trojan* war; but *Strabo* and *Cicero* tell us, that they were built by the grandsons of *Phœbus*, who imparted their names each to the city he built. *Athenæus* reckons these cities among the *Dorian* colonies, as they were said by some to have been built by the *Dorians* not long after their migration. According to *Herodotus*, they were built by the daughters of *Danaus*, who fled hither after they had murdered their husbands.

The city of *Rhodes*, built during the *Peloponnesian* war, soon eclipsed the other three, and became the metropolis of the whole island, the inhabitants of the three other cities, which were antiently three independant republics, having come hither to settle. It was situated on the east coast, in an agreeable plain, at the foot of a rising ground, surrounded at some distance with several hills full of springs, and covered with all kinds of fruit-trees. No city, says *Strabo*, was preferable to it in antient times, whether we consider the stateliness of its buildings, or the excellent laws by which it was governed. In the *Roman* times, it was famous for the study of all sciences, and resorted to by such of the *Romans*, as were desirous of improving themselves in literature, being, by some of the antients, equalled to *Athens* itself. Most of the pagan deities, *Dio Chrysostome* tells us, had temples in this city, and each of those temples contained immense treasures, besides an incredible number of statues and pictures, done by the greatest masters, votaries flocking hither with rich presents from all parts of *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Italy*. It had a very convenient harbour, at the entrance of which were two rocks, and on these rocks, though 50 feet asunder, the famous *Colossus* is supposed to have stood. It was an huge statue of brass, erected in honour of the sun or *Apollo*, the tutelary god of the island, and for its size accounted one of the wonders of the world, being, according to *Pliny*, 70 cubits, or 105 feet, high. Ships, when entering the harbour, sailed between its legs; its thumb was a fathom in compass, and its fingers larger than most statues. It was hollow, and, to render it steady, was filled with vast stones. *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, having spent a whole year in the siege of *Rhodes*, without being able to take the place, was reconciled to the *Rhodians*, and on his departure presented them with all the engines of war he had employed against their city. These the *Rhodians* sold for 300 talents, and with that money, and other additional

additional sums of their own, raised this famous *Colossus*. The artificer they employed was *Chares* of *Lindus*, who was twelve years in completing the work. After it had stood 60 years, it was thrown down by an earthquake, which did great damage in the east, especially in *Caria* and *Rhodes*. For the repairing of their losses the *Rhodians* received many generous presents, especially from the kings of *Syracuse*, *Egypt*, *Macedon*, *Syria*, *Pontus*, and *Bythinia*. The money they gathered is said to have exceeded five times the value of the damages; but pretending an answer of the oracle of *Delphi*, forbidding the setting up of the *Colossus* again, they appropriated the sums given for that purpose to themselves. Near 900 years after, *Moawias*, the sixth caliph of the *Saracens*, having taken *Rhodes*, sold the brass of the *Colossus* to a *Jew*, who loaded with it 900 camels. From this *Colossus* the island is, by some authors, called *Colossa*, and the inhabitants *Colossians*. The city of *Rhodes* is still a place of no small note, being well peopled, and the inhabitants as wealthy as the *Turkish* tyranny permits any to be.

The inhabitants:

This island, according to *Diodorus*, was first peopled by the *Telchinæ* from the island of *Crete*, who afterwards abandoned it, judging, from their skill in astrology, that it would soon be laid under water. It was accordingly overflowed for some time; but when *Phæbus*, or the sun, had dried the mud, it was possessed by his grandsons, three of whom built the cities above mentioned. Four of them were obliged to abandon the island, and take sanctuary in other countries, for having murdered their brother *Tanges*. The descendants of those who remained in *Rhodes* being, in after ages, infested by great serpents, were advised by an oracle, to admit *Phorbas* and his followers to share with them the lands in the island, if they desired to be delivered from their present calamity. *Phorbas*, who was the son of *Lapithas*, and was at that time seeking for a settlement in *Thessaly*, accepted of the invitation of the *Rhodians*, and settling with his followers in *Rhodes*, destroyed the serpents, and after his death was honoured as a demigod.

Afterwards *Althæmenes*, the son of *Catreus* king of *Crete*, being told by an oracle, that it would be his fate to kill his own father, to avoid this misfortune, came over to *Rhodes* with a colony of *Cretans*, and settled at *Caminus*. *Catreus*, having no other son, some time after sailed to *Rhodes* to bring back *Althæmenes*; but landing on the island at night with his attendants, the *Rhodians*, who believed them pirates, fell upon them, and in the conflict the king was killed by his own son.

Not long before the *Trojan* war, *Tlepolemus*, the son of *Hercules*, having killed unawares one *Lychinnus* at *Argos*, took refuge, by the advice of an oracle, at *Rhodes*, where he planted a colony, and being created king of the whole island, he governed with great justice and equity. After the *Trojan* war, the *Dorians* possessed themselves of the best part of this island, and hence it is that the *Rhodians* are called *Dorians*, and also *Peloponnesians*.

Rhodians. The *Dorians*, according to *Eusebius*, being descended from *Tharsis*, the great grandson of *Japhet*, that writer, by *Tharsis*, understands *Rhodes*. *St. Jerom*, on the other hand, is of opinion, that *Rhodes* was first peopled by the descendants of *Dodanim*, whom the *Greeks* corruptly called *Rhodanim*.

The *Rhodians* applied themselves very early to trade and navigation, and soon became so skilled in maritime affairs, that they obtained the sovereignty of the sea. Their laws and constitutions relating to navigation were so just, that they were afterwards incorporated into the *Roman* pandects, and followed in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire. Their trade.

The government of *Rhodes* was originally monarchical; but there is no account extant of their kings who reigned before the *Trojan* war. The names of the princes who reigned in the time of the *Trojan* war, and after that epocha, are *Tlepolemus*, *Doricus*, *Damagetus*, *Diagoras*, *Evagoras*, *Cleobolus*, *Eraclides*, *Damagetus* II. *Diagoras* II. The government of the Rhodians.

Tlepolemus accompanied *Agamemnon* to the *Trojan* war, and, according to some, was killed by *Sarpedon*; but others say, that he returned home loaded with the spoils of the plundered city. *Doricus* was succeeded by his son *Damagetus*, who was commanded by an oracle to marry the daughter of the best man among the *Greeks*, in compliance with which injunction, he took to wife the third daughter of *Aristomenes* the *Messenian*, by whom he had *Diagoras*. This prince, who succeeded his father, became so famous for his virtue and justice, that his successors were all called *Diagoridæ*. *Cleobolus* travelled into *Egypt*, where he studied philosophy, and on his return to *Rhodes*, was highly esteemed, not only by his countrymen, but by all the *Greeks*, and counted among the seven wise men of *Greece*. He left his kingdom to his daughter *Cleobulina*, a woman of great learning, who resigned the throne to *Eraclides*, one of the descendants of *Diagoras*. *Eraclides* is called by *Pindar* a pacific prince. Of the several kings who reigned after him, of the same family, the only one we find mentioned by the antients is *Diagoras* II. who was cotemporary with *Pindar*, by whom he is greatly celebrated, having been conqueror in the *Olympic*, *Isthmian*, *Nemæan*, and *Argian* games. Besides two daughters he had three sons, who were all victors at the same time in the *Olympic* sports. After the judges had passed sentence, and the public herald proclaimed their names, they flew to embrace their father, who was present, and placing their crowns upon his head, carried him in triumph through the crowd, the whole assembly, with loud acclamations, extolling their piety. Their father, not being able to bear such an excess of joy, died in their arms, envied more for his death than for his many victories. *Pherenice*, one of his daughters, accompanied her son in disguise to the *Olympic* sports, though it was death for a woman to approach the plains of *Olympia* during that solemnity. Her son being victor, she discovered herself, but was acquitted, out of respect to her father, Kings of Rhodes.

brothers, and son. From *Diagoras I.* to *Diagoras II.* chronologers count 250 years. Upon the death of this last prince some revolution must have happened; for while his children were still alive, we find another family upon the throne, namely, the *Asclepiadæ*. But it is plain, this family held the throne only a few years, as the *Rhodians* had no king at the time of *Xerxes's* expedition into *Greece*.

The republican form of government introduced.

An aristocracy prevails.

Mausolus, king of *Caria*, oppresses the *Rhodians*.

Artemisia surprises *Rhodes*.
Bef. Chr. 351.

Upon the death or expulsion of the last king, the republican government prevailed all over the island, during which the *Rhodians* became very powerful by sea, and planted several colonies in distant countries, particularly *Rhodus* in *Spain*, and *Parthenope* in the country of the *Opici*. The *Rhodians*, about this time, were also masters of the *Balearic* islands, called then the *Gymnasian* islands. In the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, and for several ages after, the republic of *Rhodes* was rent into two factions; the people favouring the *Athenians*, and the nobles the *Lacedæmonians*; but the latter at last prevailing, the democracy was abolished, and an aristocracy introduced in its room. Under this form of government the state enjoyed a profound tranquillity till the 3d year of the 105th *Olympiad*, when the *social war* broke out. This war, after lasting five years, was concluded, and by the treaty of peace, *Rhodes*, *Chios*, *Cos*, and *Byzantium*, were to enjoy full liberty, and to be independant of *Athens*. The people of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, who had been declared free by this treaty, seem only to have changed their master; for *Mausolus*, king of *Caria*, who had assisted them in throwing off the *Athenian* yoke, seized the sovereignty of both islands. Upon his death, which happened two years after the peace, both the *Rhodians* and *Coans* drove out the *Carian* garrisons, and to revenge the injuries they had received from *Mausolus*, invaded *Caria*. The queen *Artemisia*, who had succeeded her husband, desired the inhabitants of *Halicarnassus* to express, by shouts and clapping of hands, a willingness to surrender, if the *Rhodians* should appear before their walls. The *Rhodians* coming before the town were deceived by this stratagem, and leaving their galleys without a guard, entered the town, when they were cut in pieces. *Artemisia*, in the mean time, seizing their galleys, and crowning them with garlands, set sail for *Rhodes*, and was admitted by the *Rhodians* into their harbour, before they were aware. Possessing herself of the city by surprise, she put the chief citizens who had promoted the *Carian* expedition to death. The *Rhodians*, unable to bear the *Carian* yoke, privately solicited the assistance of the *Athenians*, from whom they had but lately revolted. Their ambassadors were zealously seconded by the famous *Demosthenes*; but what effect his speech, which is still extant, had on the minds of the *Athenians*, is not known. The *Rhodians*, it is certain, were soon after delivered from the yoke they groaned under; and some authors say, that they were indebted to the *Athenians* for their liberty. Others, however, affirm, that *Artemisia* surviving the conquest

conquest of *Rhodes* only a few months, the *Rhodians* reinstated themselves in their former condition with their own forces *. The *Rhodians*, from this time, enjoyed a profound tranquillity. They submitted the reign of *Alexander* the Great, to whom they delivered up, of their own accord, their cities and harbours, and were on that account more favoured by that prince than any other of the *Greek* nations. Upon the news of his death, however, they drove out the *Macedonian* garrison, and once more became a free people. A dreadful inundation happened about this time at *Rhodes*, which was accompanied with violent storms of rain, and hail-stones of an extraordinary bigness. As no care had been taken to clear the pipes and conduits, the lower parts of the city were in an instant laid under water, and the inhabitants drowned. As the deluge encreased, some endeavoured to escape to their ships, and others attempting to remedy the evil, miserably perished in the waters. The city being thus threatened with utter destruction, the wall, which was built in the form of an amphitheatre, suddenly burst asunder, and all the waters discharged themselves with a violent current into the sea.

The *Rhodians*, by applying themselves more closely than ever to trade and navigation, soon repaired the great losses they had suffered, and rendered themselves so formidable at sea, that all the princes who were then at variance with each other, by the courted their friendship. They, however, observed a strict neutrality, and thereby became one of the most opulent states of bounding all *Asia*. At their own charges they cleared the seas of the pirates who had for many years infested the coasts of *Asia* and *Europe*.

As the most advantageous sources of their commerce flowed from *Egypt*, they were therefore chiefly attached to *Ptolemy*, and refused to assist *Antigonus* against him. *Antigonus*, not satisfied with their refusal, blocked up their harbour, to prevent any ships sailing from thence to *Egypt*. The *Rhodians*, obliging him, with the loss of many ships, to quit his station, he charged them as the aggressors, and threatened to besiege their city with his whole army. Having in vain endeavoured to appease him, they solicited the assistance of all their allies, and made great preparations. *Antigonus* being then near 80 years of age, trusted the siege to his son *Demetrius*, who appeared before *Rhodes* with 200 gallies, 170 transports, having on board 40,000 men, and 1000 other vessels laden with provisions and warlike engines, being joined also by great numbers of mercenaries and pirates, who expected to share in the rich booty. Having landed his troops he ravaged the country, and cutting down the groves, employed the timber in fortifying his camp with a treble palisade besides strong ramparts. Many great commanders, on this occasion, threw themselves into *Rhodes*, to

* Aul. Gel. l. x. Strab. l. x. Demost. de libert. Rhod.

try their skill against *Demetrius*, who was surnamed *Poliorketes*, from his great success in reducing of cities and conducting sieges. The *Rhodians* having dismissed all useless persons, found that the citizens capable of bearing arms amounted to 6000, and the foreigners to 1000. They promised liberty to all slaves who should distinguish themselves by any glorious action; and by a proclamation declared, that whoever died in defence of his country, should be buried at the charge of the public; that his parents and children should be maintained out of the treasury; that fortunes should be given to his daughters, and his sons, when grown up, should be crowned and presented with a full suit of armour at the great solemnity of *Bacchus*.

The besieged, with three nimble galleys, intercepted a small fleet of merchant ships that supplied the enemy with provisions, and burning a great number of the vessels, took several others, by which they gained a considerable sum of money by the ransom of the prisoners they had taken; for it had been agreed between them and *Demetrius*, that 1000 drachmas should be paid for the ransom of every freeman, and 500 for each slave.

Vigorous
defence of
the be-
sieged.

Demetrius began to batter the walls next the harbour with great fury; but the besieged repulsed him successively for eight days, and set fire to most of his warlike engines, which obliged him to allow them some respite. When *Demetrius* had repaired his engines, he ordered a general assault to be made; but his troops were repulsed with great slaughter, and had no better success when they renewed the attack on the day following. One of his batteries, by continually discharging against the walls stones of 150 pounds weight, at length made several breaches; but the *Rhodians* sallying out, drove the enemy from their posts with great slaughter, and destroyed the machines. *Demetrius*, irritated with this loss, ordered a scalade by land and sea at the same time; but this, tho' very bloody, proved also unsuccessful. Having refreshed his men, *Demetrius* next assaulted the fortifications that defended the harbour, and when he came within the cast of a dart, caused a vast quantity of burning torches and fire-brands to be thrown into the *Rhodian* ships, galling with dreadful showers of darts, arrows, and stones, such as offered to extinguish the flames. The *Rhodians*, however, having put a stop to the fire, manned three of their strongest ships, with which they shattered in pieces the vessels on which the enemy's machines were planted. *Demetrius*, notwithstanding his bad success, resolved upon a second attack, and ordered a machine of a new invention to be made, which was thrice the height and breadth of those he had lately lost; but when this was on the point of entering the harbour, it was driven by a storm against the shore. During the confusion that was occasioned thereby, the *Rhodians* made a sally and destroyed his chief land battery, taking at the same time 400 prisoners. After this victory, the garrison was reinforced by 150 *Gnossians* from *Crete*, and 500 men from *Egypt*.

Demetrius

Demetrius being still bent on prosecuting the siege, framed A machine famous engine called *Helepoles*, or *Town-taker*; the basis of which was near 50 cubits square, and formed of strong beams new in-fastened together with plates of iron. The whole was moved upon eight strong and large wheels; and in order to facilitate and vary its movements, casters were placed under it. From the four corners beams of wood of 100 cubits length were raised, which beams joined each other at the top. The whole machine consisted of nine stories, the first of which was supported by 43 beams, and the last by 9. Three sides of the machine were plated over with iron, and in the front of each story were windows, from whence the warlike engines threw out darts and stones. Each window was furnished with shutters, and every story with two large stair-cases. This huge machine was moved forwards by 3000 of the strongest men of the whole army, 30,000 seamen being employed in levelling the ground before it for the space of half a mile. *Demetrius* also invented new sorts of galleries, and pent-houses for covering his men employed in filling up the ditches and trenches.

The *Rhodians* observing these formidable preparations, built a new wall within that which the enemy intended to batter with the *Helepolis*, not sparing even their temples, but supplied themselves with materials by pulling them to pieces. They at the same time sent out nine of their best gallees to cruise against the enemy. This small squadron soon returned with an immense booty and many prisoners, having found in one galley great variety of valuable furniture, and a royal robe which *Phila* herself had wrought and sent as a present to her husband *Demetrius*, with a letter written with her own hand. The *Rhodians* sent the furniture, the royal robe, and even the letter, to *Ptolemy*.

Demetrius, in the mean time, caused the walls to be secretly undermined; but the *Rhodians* having intelligence of this by a deserter, began to countermine, and meeting the enemy underground, obliged them to abandon the work. While both parties guarded the mines, a choice body of *Demetrius* were admitted into those of the *Rhodians*, by *Athenagoras* a *Milesian*, under pretence of betraying the town to them; but they were instantly seized and made prisoners; for which service *Athenagoras* was crowned by the senate with a crown of gold, and presented with five talents of silver. *Demetrius* having advanced his *Helepolis*, with four penthouses on each side of it, besides two other large penthouses bearing battering rams, ordered a general assault to be given by sea and land. In the heat of the attack, ambassadors arrived from *Cnidus*, and offered their mediation for a peace. A suspension of hostilities was accordingly agreed to; but the *Rhodians* rejecting the terms offered them, the attack was renewed with great fury, and a tower, with part of the wall were beaten down. The *Rhodians*, however, defended the breach with such resolution, that the enemy were obliged to retire.

and set
fire to the
enemy's
engines.

Soon after the besieged received large supplies of provisions in three different fleets from *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*. Animated with this seasonable relief, they formed a design of setting fire to the enemy's engines; which they very successfully executed. The conflagration was so great, that the *Helepolis* would have been entirely consumed, had not water been before prepared in the apartments of the engine. *Demetrius*, with the utmost dispatch, removed those engines that could be saved from the walls, and next morning numbered the darts and arrows shot from the engines of the besieged, to form some judgment of the number of machines in the city. The darts were more numerous by far than he expected, and his own loss very considerable. The besieged, while the machines were unfit for service, employed themselves in building a third wall, and drew a deep trench behind the breach, to prevent the enemy entering the city that way. About the same time some of their galleys were very successful in their cruises against the enemy, and they received a reinforcement of 1500 men.

Demetrius again advanced his machines to the walls and made new breaches; but in three successive attacks was repulsed with great loss by the besieged. About the same time fifty ambassadors arrived from *Athens*, and the other cities of *Greece*, offering their mediation, and at their request a cessation of arms was agreed upon; but this negotiation proved ineffectual, and hostilities were again renewed. *Demetrius* having made a general assault by sea and land at night, ordered 1500 of his best troops in the mean time to enter the breach without any noise, and then to attack those who defended the entrenchments. This detachment, while the town was in a general alarm, accordingly forced their way over the breach, and seized a post adjoining to the theatre; but the *Rhodians*, however, notwithstanding their consternation, were prevented by their officers from leaving the ramparts. Next morning part of the garrison attacked the troops of *Demetrius*, who were lodged in the city, and after a most bloody contest, killed great part of them, and took the rest prisoners, tho' not without considerable loss to themselves. *Demetrius* soon after receiving a letter from his father, desiring him to conclude a peace with the *Rhodians*, lest he should lose his whole army in the siege of a single town, began to think of some honourable expedient for breaking up the siege. The *Rhodians* having found means to render his *Helepolis* useless, by undermining the ground over which it was moved, *Demetrius* accepted of the mediation of the *Ætolian* ambassadors, who some time before had arrived at his camp. A peace was accordingly concluded, by which the *Rhodians* being declared independant, promised to renew their antient alliance with *Antigonus*, and assist him in his wars against all states and princes, except *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*; and for the performance of the articles stipulated, to deliver 100 hostages, such as *Demetrius* should chuse, those who bore any public employment excepted.

A peace
concluded
between
Demetrius
and the
Rhodians.
Bes. Christ
303.

The siege being thus raised, after it had continued a whole year, the *Rhodians* amply rewarded all those who had distinguished themselves in defence of their country. They likewise set up statues to *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and *Lyfimachus*; but to express their gratitude to *Ptolemy* above the rest, they absurdly paid him divine honours, gave him the name of *Soter* or saviour, and consecrated to him a square grove in the city, enclosing it with a sumptuous portico which was a furlong in length. *Demetrius*, at his departure, made the *Rhodians* a present of his military engines; which being sold, the money raised by the sale served in part for erecting their famous Colossus (A).

The *Rhodians* having finished this war, applied themselves with great industry to trade and navigation, which soon rendered them the most opulent and flourishing state of all Greece. Tho' they endeavoured, to the utmost of their power, to cultivate peace with their neighbours, yet they could not help being involved a few years after in a war with the *Byzantines*. According to *Polybius*, the *Byzantines* being obliged to pay a yearly tribute of 80 talents to the *Gauls*, who had settled within a few miles of their city, in order to raise this sum came to a resolution of laying a toll on all the ships that traded to the *Pontic* sea. The *Rhodians* immediately complained of this new tax at *Byzantium*; but their remonstrances having no effect, they declared war against the *Byzantines*, and solicited the assistance of *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*. The allies of the *Byzantines* were *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and *Achæus*, who had revolted from *Antiochus*, and was in possession of all *Asia* on the west side of mount *Taurus*. A war betwixt the Rhodians and Byzantines. Bef. Chr. 224.

While the *Rhodian* fleet ravaged the coasts of the *Byzantine* territories, and seized all their ships trading to the *Pontic* sea, *Prusias* king of *Bithynia* possessed himself of *Hieræ*, and seized all that portion of *Mysia* which the *Byzantines* had enjoyed for many ages. The *Rhodians* soon after prevailed on their ally *Ptolemy* to deliver up to them *Andromachus*, the father of *Achæus*, who had been prisoner in *Egypt* for some time; and having restored him to his son without ransom, they by that means gained over *Achæus* to their party. The *Byzantines*, on the other hand, sent to *Macedon* for *Tibites*, the nephew of *Prusias*, and pretender to his kingdom, hoping by his means to raise disturbances in *Bithynia*; but he dying on his journey, their bad suc-

(A) *Protophenes*, one of the most famous painters of antiquity, had a house in the suburbs of *Rhodes* when *Demetrius* invested the place, in which he continued notwithstanding the approach of the enemy. The king asking him why he did not, like the other inhabitants, save himself within the

walls; *Protophenes* replied, that he was under no apprehension, since he was sensible *Demetrius* had declared war against the *Rhodians*, and not against the sciences. The prince was so pleased with his answer, that he took him under his protection, and placed a guard round his house.

Peace cesses began to make them think of peace, which was accord-
concluded ingly concluded on the following terms ; namely, that the *By-*
between zantines should forbear exacting toll on ships trading to the
the *Rho-* *Pontic* sea, and that *Prusias* should restore to the *Byzantines*
dia is and all the lands, towns, people, &c. which he had taken during
Byz. n- the war,
tines.

A dread-
ful earth-
quake at
Rhodes.

About this time happened that dreadful earthquake which threw
down the famous Colossus, the arsenal, and great part of the walls
of the city of *Rhodes*. The *Rhodians* prudently improved this
calamity to their advantage, sending ambassadors to all the
princes and states of the *Greek* name, who exaggerating their
losses, procured immense sums for the repairing of them. *Hiero*
king of *Syracuse* presented them with 100 talents, and exempted
from all duties such as traded to *Rhodes*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*
gave them 100 talents, 1,000,000 of measures of wheat, ma-
terials for building 20 quinqueremes and 20 triremes, and be-
sides sent them 100 architects, 300 workmen, whose wages he
paid himself, and materials for repairing their public buildings
to a great value. *Antigonus* gave them 100 talents of silver,
with 10,000 beams of timber, 7000 planks, 3000 pounds of
iron, as many of pitch and rosin, and 1000 measures of tar.
Chryseis, a woman of distinction, sent them 100,000 measures
of wheat, and 3000 pounds of lead. *Antiochus* exempted them
from all duties in his dominions, and presented them with 10
gallies and 200,000 measures of corn, with many other things
of great value. In short, all the *Greek* towns and nations,
both in *Europe* and *Asia*, contributed according to their ability
to the relief of the *Rhodians* on this occasion ; so that their
city soon attained to an higher pitch of riches and splendor
than ever.

The *Rho-*
dians assist
Attalus
against
Philip of
Macedon.
Bef. Chr.
203.

The *Rhodians*, a few years after, engaged in a war with
Philip king of *Macedon*, who without any provocation had in-
vaded the territories of *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*. Because the
Rhodians seemed to favour him, *Philip* sent one *Heraclides* to
set fire to their fleet, and also endeavoured to stir up the *Cretans*
against them. The *Rhodians*, provoked by these proceedings,
declared war against *Philip*, who at first gained a small advan-
tage over them near the island of *Lada*. The following year,
however, their fleet, in conjunction with that of *Attalus*, gain-
ed a signal victory over him near the island of *Chios*. Three
thousand *Macedonians*, and 6000 of their allies, were slain, and
2000 *Macedonians* were taken prisoners, the *Rhodians* having
lost in all but 60 men, and *Attalus* 70. After this victory the
two fleets sailed to *Agina*, in hopes of intercepting *Philip* in
his return ; but failing in their attempt, they proceeded to the
port of *Athens*, and renewed their alliance with the *Athenians*,
who paid them extraordinary honours, particularly presenting
the *Rhodians* with a crown of gold, and making all the inha-
bitants of *Rhodes* free of *Athens*. The *Rhodians* returned soon
after to their own island, and in their passage drew into their
confederacy all the *Cyclades*, except *Andros*, *Paros*, and *Cythnos*.

While

While the *Rhodians* and *Attalus* were losing time in negotiations with the inhabitants of the *Cyclades* and *Ægina*, *Philip* employed himself in action, and having sent a part of his forces to ravage the territory of *Athens*, marched himself into *Thrace*, where he took *Meronea* and *Enos*, and making himself master of all the castles along the shore, passed on from thence to the *Thracian Chersonese*, where he took several cities. From thence passing over the *Hellepont*, he laid siege to *Abydos*, which city, for some time, stopped his progress. The *Rhodians* had in the very beginning of this war entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and being alarmed by his rapid progress, now made complaints against him to the *Romans*, as though he intended to enslave the *Greeks* in *Europe* and *Asia*. *Philip* paying no regard to the interposition of the *Romans*, in behalf of the *Greeks*, war was proclaimed against him at *Rome*, and *Sulpitius*, the consul, sent with an army into *Macedon*.

War de-
clared a-
gainst *Phi-
lip* by the
Romans.
Bef. Chr.
201.

The *Rhodians* early in the following spring sent 20 galleys to join *Attalus* and *Apustius*, the *Roman* admiral. The *Macedonians* not venturing to put to sea, the confederate fleet made themselves masters of *Oreos*, a strong city on the coast of *Eubæa*, and ravaged the neighbouring countries that adhered to *Philip*.

The next year the *Rhodians*, in conjunction with *Attalus* and the *Roman* admiral *Quintius*, ravaged the country of the *Carystii*, and took *Eretria*, near the *Euripus*, and *Carystus* by assault. They likewise reduced *Cenchrea*, one of the ports of *Corinth*, and assisted the consul in the siege of that important city, which, however, baffled all their efforts.

The *Rhodians*, in the mean time, by their own forces alone, recovered *Peræa*, a small province of *Caria*, that had been formerly subject to them. Their prætor, *Pausistratus*, landed in *Caria*, at the head of 2900 men, and was soon after reinforced with 1000 *Achæan* foot and 100 horse. With this small army *Pausistratus* defeated the *Macedonians*, and recovered all *Peræa*; but having given the *Macedonians* leisure to supply *Stratonice* with provisions, he was not able to reduce that city.

The *Rho-
dians* re-
cover the
province
of *Peræa*,
and defeat
the *Mace-
donians*.

Antiochus the Great about this time having in one campaign reduced *Phœnice*, *Cœlesyria*, and *Judea*, resolved to carry his arms into *Europe*; and while his army assembled at *Sardis*, under the command of his two sons, *Ardyes* and *Mithridates*, he, with a powerful fleet of 100 large galleys, and 200 other galleys, reduced the cities on the coasts of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, that were subject to the king of *Egypt*. The *Rhodians* on this occasion gave a signal proof of their zeal for the common interests of *Greece*, and of their attachment to the *Romans*. While *Antiochus* was besieging *Coracesium*, an important place in *Cilicia*, the *Rhodians* sent an embassy to him, and threatened him with war if he advanced beyond *Nepheleis*, a promontory of *Cilicia*. *Antiochus*, though not a little offended, answered, that he would take care not to quarrel with the *Rhodians* or the *Romans*; that he would send ambassadors to renew the ancient treaties which his ancestors had made with *Rhodes*, and that he had always been

Bef. Chr.
197.

been desirous of living in amity with the *Romans*. *Antiochus*, nevertheless, reduced *Coracesium*, *Coricus*, *Andriace*, *Limyra*, *Patara*, *Xanthus*, all which cities belonged to *Ptolemy*, and lastly *Ephesus* itself. The *Romans* having in the mean time entirely defeated *Philip* at *Cynocephale*, were enabled to put a stop to the conquests of *Antiochus*.

The *Rhodi-
dians* pro- A peace about the same time being concluded between *Philip*
tected by and the *Romans*, the *Rhodians*, by the articles of the treaty,
the *Ro-
mans*, were put in possession of *Stratonice*, and the best part of *Caria*.
In the war soon after proclaimed by the *Romans* against *Antiochus*, they assisted the former to the utmost of their power. They sent 30 ships of war to join the *Roman* admiral; but *Pausistratus*, who commanded them, being drawn into a negotiation with *Polyxenidas*, the *Syrian* admiral, who was a *Rhodian* exile, and promised to deliver the *Syrian* fleet into his hands, suffered himself to be deceived by him, and to be surprised in the island of *Samos*. The *Rhodians* were at first attacked in the night, when they were on shore, and retreating to their gallies, attempted to escape to sea, but the galley of *Pausistratus* being sunk by the enemy, they were thrown into great confusion, so that only seven vessels of the whole fleet escaped; and being met by some *Eretrian* gallies, sailed to the *Hellepont*, and joined the *Roman* fleet, which was carrying on the siege of *Abydos*. The *Rhodians*, not discouraged with their late loss, fitted out 20 gallies, which, under the command of *Eudamus*, joined the *Roman* admiral at *Samos*. The confederate fleet from thence proceeded to *Ephesus*, and challenged the *Syrians* to an engagement at land: but the challenge was not accepted. Part of the fleet afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt upon *Patara*; but proceeding to *Adramyttium*, obliged *Antiochus* to retire from thence to *Sardis*.

The *Rho-
dians* de- *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes*, but soon after hearing that a
feat *Han-
nibal* by formidable fleet was coming out of *Syria*, under the command
sea. of the famous *Hannibal*, he reinforced his squadron with 17
other ships, and went out to meet him. The two fleets engaged on the coasts of *Pamphylia*, and though the *Syrian* fleet was superior to the *Rhodian*, both in the largeness and number of ships, yet the *Rhodians* gained the victory, and destroying some of the vessels of the enemy, blocked up the rest in the ports of *Pamphylia*. *Eudamus* leaving *Chariclitus* with part of the fleet to block up *Hannibal*, joined the *Roman* admiral at *Samos* with seven great ships. The *Rhodians* not long after sent another squadron to join the *Roman* admiral, who, by their assistance, entirely defeated the *Syrian* fleet off the island of *Teos*, and destroyed 42 of their best ships. *Antiochus* not long after being entirely defeated at land near *Magnesia*, was obliged to conclude a peace with the *Romans*.

After the conclusion of this peace the *Romans* were inclined to confer all their conquests in *Asia Minor* upon *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamus*, in consideration of the services he and his father had performed to their republic. The *Rhodian* deputies at *Rome*, how-

however, interceding in behalf of the *Asiatic Greek* cities, and begging that they might not be declared subject to *Eumenes*, the senate granted their request. *Lycaonia*, the two *Phrygias*, and *Mysia*, were given to *Eumenes*; and *Lycia*, part of *Caria* next to *Rhodes*, and part of *Pisidia*, were bestowed on the *Rhodians*; but in both these dispositions those cities were excepted which enjoyed their liberty before the war.

The *Lycians*, who had been subjected to the *Rhodians*, being cruelly oppressed by them, sent deputies to *Rome* to represent their grievances to the *Roman* senate. The *Romans* being touched with compassion, sent a letter by the same deputies to the *Rhodians*, desiring them to treat the *Lycians* with mildness, as allies of the people of *Rome*, tho' subject to them. The *Rhodians*, however, still continuing to govern them in a tyrannical manner, the *Lycians* at length revolted; but were soon reduced and treated with great severity. The *Lycians* again had recourse to the *Romans*, who willingly patronized them, being offended at the *Rhodians* for conveying with their fleet *Laodice*, the daughter of *Seleucus*, to her husband *Perfes*. The senate therefore appointed commissioners to compose matters between the *Lycians* and *Rhodians*, which proceeding gave some disgust to the latter, who, nevertheless, complied with the injunctions of the commissioners. As *Perfes*, king of *Macedon*, at this time was making great warlike preparations, which gave some umbrage to the *Romans*, who were informed of them by *Eumenes*, the *Rhodians* sent one of their chief men, named *Satyrus*, to *Rome*, to clear them from all suspicion of favouring *Perfes*. *Satyrus* acting in an imprudent and vehement manner, the *Romans* were thereby more confirmed in their suspicions of the *Rhodians*, and as they were then on the point of declaring war against *Perfes*, they sent three commissioners to the coasts of *Asia*, to watch the motions of the *Rhodians*. These deputies upon their arrival at *Rhodes* were surprised to find a fleet of 40 sail ready equiped in the harbour, which they soon found were designed by the *Rhodians* as succours for their republic against *Perfes*. This forwardness of the *Rhodians* was entirely owing to their *prytanis*, or chief magistrate, named *Hegesiochus*, who was entirely attached to the *Romans* (T).

The *Roman* deputies were scarce reimbarbed, when ambassadors arrived at *Rhodes* from *Perfes*, and being admitted to an audience, used their utmost endeavours to persuade the *Rhodians* to stand neuter till war was openly declared. All the answer they received from the senate was, "We intreat *Perfes* to ask nothing of us which may be prejudicial to the interests of *Rome*." Not long after, the war breaking out between *Perfes* and the *Romans*, the *Rhodians* sent some of their gallies to join the *Roman* admiral, but the greatest number of their ships of

(T) The *Prytanis* among the *Rhodians* had much the same power and authority as the prætor in the other states of *Greece*; but was chosen every six months.

They privately favoured *Perseus*, and no sooner was news brought of the *Romans* being worsted in *Thessaly*, than they entered into negotiations with *Perseus*. Taking upon them also to be mediators between the contending powers, they sent ambassadors to *Rome*, who being admitted to an audience by the senate, in a most insolent strain threatened the *Romans* with their resentment, if they did not hearken to reasonable terms of peace, vainly assuming to themselves, in their preamble, all the honour of the *Roman* conquests in *Asia*. The senate, according to some historians, answered the ambassadors, by reading a decree in their presence, whereby the *Lycians* and *Carians* were declared free, which so affected the chief of the embassy, that he fell into a swoon. Others say, that they threatened them with their resentment upon the conclusion of the war.

The proud *Rhodian* ambassadors refused to accept the usual presents, and upon their return found deputies from *Perseus*, and *Gentius*, king of *Illyricum*, soliciting an alliance with the *Rhodians* against *Rome*. The *Rhodians*, at the persuasion of these envoys, agreed to a neutrality, and having recalled the ships which they had sent to the assistance of the *Romans*, soon after sent new ambassadors to *Rome* in favour of *Perseus*. Before these ambassadors were admitted to an audience, news arrived at *Rome* that *Perseus* was entirely defeated. The deputies upon this cunningly turned their intended remonstrances into congratulations; but the senate in return accused them of dissimulation and perfidy, and desired them to carry back word to their republic, that her care for the interests of *Perseus* was now out of season.

The *Rhodians* endeavoured to appease the senate of *Rome*. The *Rhodians*, terrified with this answer, sent ambassadors to appease the wrath of the senate, who refused them an audience, and even threatened their republic with war. The senate also decreed, that they should not be treated with the usual hospitality, nor looked upon as friends. The ambassadors, struck with the behaviour of the senate, changed their habits, and ran from house to house in the attire of criminals, endeavouring to raise the compassion of the *Roman* citizens. The prætor moving the tribes to declare war against *Rhodes*, and some of the tribunes opposing the motion, the senate, to put a stop to the contest, was at last obliged to admit the *Rhodian* ambassadors to an audience. *Astymedes*, who was at the head of the embassy, confessed that his countrymen were very apt to talk arrogantly; but hoped that the *Romans* would not think any instance of their national vanity such a crime, as to be punished with the total ruin of their country. He urged the many important services the *Rhodians* had formerly performed for the *Romans*, and concluded with declaring the entire submission of his republic to the good will and pleasure of *Rome*. When he had finished his harangue, the ambassadors and their retinue fell prostrate, and held out branches of olive as a token of their suing for peace. After they had retired, such of the senators as had served in the

Macedonian war voted warmly against the *Rhodians*; but *Cato*, in a speech full of spirit and good sense, reproached the senators with being blinded with prosperity, since nothing else could have made them deliberate whether they should destroy a republic, against which the only charge was secret thoughts and proud words. His representations had such weight with the senate, that war was not declared with the *Rhodians*, which was the main point. The decree formerly made, however, was renewed, by which the *Rhodians* were ordered to withdraw their garrisons from *Lycia* and *Caria*, and restore the inhabitants to their ancient liberty. The *Rhodians*, who were under terrible consternation, received this news with inexpressible joy, inso-
 much, that the loss of *Lycia* and *Caria* seemed to them but a slight punishment. Being chiefly desirous of regaining the affection of the *Romans*, they caused a crown of gold of great value to be made, and sent it by an ambassador to *Rome*, charging him to negotiate a new alliance with the *Romans*. Nevertheless, as they were vain-glorious, they enjoined him not to offer his petition in writing, lest in case his request was not granted, it might be conveyed down to posterity, and be a standing monument of reproach to them. The *Rhodian* presents were accepted, but the *Romans* did not, till after much sollicitation, agree to the alliance. They obliged the *Rhodians*, not only to evacuate *Caria* and *Lycia*, but also the two cities, *Caunus* and *Stratonice*, and to put to death or banish all who had favoured *Perfes*.

Lycia and
Caria taken from
 the *Rhodi-
 ans*.
 Bef. Chr.
 167.

The *Rho-
 dians* re-
 new their
 alliance
 with
Rome;

Some years after, the *Rhodians* gave a signal instance of the great deference they paid to *Rome*. *Calynda*, a famous city of *Caria*, being besieged by the inhabitants of *Caunus*, implored the assistance of the *Rhodians*, and offered to submit to them. The *Rhodians* accordingly obliged the *Caunians* to raise the siege; but before they would take possession of *Calynda*, they asked leave of the *Roman* senate, which they not only obtained, but permission was also granted to the private subjects of *Rhodes* to take possession of the estates they had formerly enjoyed in *Caria* and *Lycia*. The *Rhodians*, out of gratitude, desired leave to erect, in the temple of *Minerva*, at *Rome*, a statue of that goddess 30 cubits high.

From this time to the breaking out of the *Mithridatic* war in *Asia*, no mention is made of the transactions of the *Rhodians*. They enjoyed their liberties, while all the other states and colonies of *Greece* were brought under the *Roman* yoke. In this war the *Rhodians* remained faithfully attached to the *Romans*, and afforded a sanctuary for all the *Romans* whom the *Asiatics* drove in great numbers out of their countries. The king of *Pontus*, therefore, resolved to turn all his forces by sea and land against this island. The *Rhodians* having made preparations for sustaining a siege, manned their fleet, and gained several advantages over that of *Mithridates*, at the entrance of their own harbour. The transport vessels of the enemy having been dispersed by a storm, the *Rhodians* attacked them with their fleet,
 sunk

Mithridates sunk some, burnt others, and took 400 men prisoners. *Mithridates* soon after resolved to attack the city by sea in the night, and to attempt to scale the wall on that side, which he was unsuccessful. The attempt was not so high as in other parts: but he miscarried in his attempt, and next morning was repulsed by the besieged. *Mithridates*, disheartened by his disappointments, broke up the siege, after having lost a great many men, and the best part of his navy. The Romans on this occasion highly applauded the

88. behaviour of the *Rhodians*, who, a few years after, assisted *Pompey* with all their naval forces in the war which he made upon the *Cilician* pirates, and had a great share in all the victories which he gained. In the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, they assisted the latter with a numerous fleet, under the command of *Euphranor*, who distinguished himself above all the commanders of *Pompey's* navy, and gained very considerable advantages over *Cæsar's* fleets. After the death of *Pompey*, they sided with *Cæsar*, which drew upon them the resentment of *C. Cassius*, who insisted upon their delivering up to him all their fleet, and putting him in possession of their city and harbour. They refusing this demand, ventured a sea-fight, in which, after a long dispute, they were defeated, two of their ships being sunk, and the rest very much damaged by the heavy ships of the *Romans*. This was the first time, according to *Appian*, that the *Rhodians* were fairly overcome in a sea fight. The

Rhodes taken and plundered both by sea and land. Some of the inhabitants being afraid that by *Cassius*, *Cassius* would take the place by storm, privately opened the gates to him, and put him in possession of the town, which he

42. nevertheless treated as if it had been taken by assault. He commanded 50 of the chief citizens, who were suspected to favour the adverse party, to be put to death, and proscribed 25 others who had commanded the fleet or army, because they did not appear when summoned. He next took possession of all the ships of the *Rhodians*, and whatever money they had in the public treasure. He then stripped the temples of all their valuable furniture, vessels and statues, leaving only one statue in the whole city, namely, that of the sun. As to private persons, he commanded them under severe penalties to bring to him all the gold and silver they had, promising by a public cryer a tenth part to such as should discover any hidden treasures. By this means he extorted from private persons above 8000 talents, and fining the city in 800 more, he returned to the continent, leaving *L. Varus*, with a strong garrison, to exact the fine without any abatement. After the death of *Cassius*, *M. Anthony* restored the *Rhodians* to their ancient rights and privileges, bestowing upon them the islands of *Andros*, *Naxos*, *Tenos*, and the city of *Myndus*; but these the *Rhodians* so oppressed with taxes, that *Anthony* was obliged to deprive that republic of the sovereignty of them. The emperor *Claudius*, we are informed by *Dio*, deprived the *Rhodians* of their liberty, for having crucified some Roman citizens;

zens; however, as we read in *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*, he soon restored them to their former condition. *Pliny*, who wrote in *Rhodes* the beginning of *Vespasian's* reign, styles *Rhodes* a beautiful and free town; but this liberty they did not long enjoy, the island with several others, being soon after reduced to a Roman province, by *Vespasian*, and obliged to pay a yearly tribute. This province was called the *Province of the Islands*, and the prætor who governed it resided at *Rhodes*.



S E C T. II.

The History of CRETE.

THE island of *Crete*, now called *Candia*, was known to the ancients by the names of *Aeria*, *Chthonia*, *Idæa*, *Curte*, *Macaris*, &c. It is one of the largest islands in the *Mediterranean*, being, according to *Strabo*, 287 miles in length, but only about 55 in breadth where widest. Some derive the name of *Crete*, which generally prevailed among the ancients, from the *Curetes*, who are said to have been the first inhabitants of the island; others from the nymph *Crete*, daughter of *Hesperus*; or from *Cretus*, the son of *Jupiter*; several from *Cres*, one of the *Curetes* who brought up *Jupiter*; and *Diodorus* from *Crete*, the daughter of one of the *Curetes* whom *Jupiter* married.

This island was greatly celebrated in antient times for its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grain, and the fruits it produced infinitely surpassed, according to *Pliny*, all of the same kind that were produced in other countries. The air was antiently deemed most pure and wholesome, and is so to this day, though great part of the country lies uncultivated. From the fruitfulness of the soil, and the purity of its air, it was called *Macaris*, or the *Fortunate Island*. In former times there were reckoned in this island 100 cities, 90 before the *Trojan* war, and 10 more after the *Dorians* settled there. Forty cities only were remaining in the time of *Ptolemy*, and among the chief of these was *Gnoſſus*, anciently called *Ceratus*, where king *Minos* is said to have fixed his residence. This city, of which it is doubtful whether there are any remains, was once the capital of the island, being 30 furlongs in compass, and full of inhabitants. It stood, according to *Strabo*, about two miles from the northern coasts, and was washed by the river *Ceratus*.

Another considerable city was *Cydonia*, the ancientest in the whole island, which stood on the western coast, and was one of the most powerful and wealthy cities of all *Crete*. It was deemed the strongest place in the whole island, and though often besieged, was never taken till the time of *Metellus*, to whom that glory was reserved. *Gortyna* was also a city of note, and in process of time eclipsed all the other cities of *Crete*. We may judge

judge of the ancient splendor and greatness of this city, from its present ruins about six miles from mount *Ida*, among which are still to be seen several remains of ancient magnificence.

Lycus. *Lycus* was also a remarkable city in ancient times, being originally a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*. It was an inland town, but has been long ago in ruins.

Hierapytna. *Hierapytna* was also considerable, and its ruins are still to be seen on the coast over against the rocks, called by the ancients, *the Isles of Asses*.

Eleuthera. *Eleuthera*, called also *Saorus* and *Aorus*, was an inland city, and in the *Roman* times a place well peopled, and of great strength.

Rithymna. *Rithymna*, now *Retimo*, was anciently a noted city, and is still a place well peopled. *Heraclea* was the sea-port of the *Gnossians*, and is supposed to have stood where the town of *Candia* was built in after ages. These were some of the most considerable cities in *Crete* in ancient times. One of the chief mountains of *Crete* is *Ida*, celebrated by the poets, and by many degrees the highest in the whole island. In all other respects it is inferior to the other hills of the country, being, for the greatest part of the year, covered with snow, and so barren, that it produces nothing, except a prickly shrub called *tracantha*, or goat's thorn. It was called *Ida* from the fine prospect it affords, and, according to *Suidas*, all places were called *Idæ* from whence a great extent of country could be seen, being so named from the *Greek* word *Idcin*, which signifies *to see*. It is now known by the name of *Pfiloriti*. *Diète*, now called *Sethia*, and also *Lasthi*, is next in height to mount *Ida*, and covered great part of the year with snow, whence it is called by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, the *White Mountain*. *Leuci*, a long chain of mountains, were so called from their whiteness; they are now known by the names of *Madura* and *Spacia*.

The rivers of note in this island are but few. The *Nilopotamus*, the *Seasimus*, and the *Epycynus*, are spoken of by the ancients; but none of them are at present navigable.

The first inhabitants of *Crete*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, were the *Idæi Daëtyli*, who inhabited mount *Ida*, being about 100 in number, or according to others, only 10, and called *Daëtyla* from the fingers, to which they were equal in number. According to *Ephorus*, they were originally from mount *Ida* in *Phrygia*, and for their many useful discoveries they were, after their death, worshiped as gods. One of them, it is said, was called *Hercules*, who instituted the *Olympic* games, which were by posterity thought to have been appointed by *Hercules*, the son of *Alcmena*.

Next to the *Idæi Daëtyli* were the nine *Curetes*, some of them supposed to have sprung from the earth, and others to be descended from the *Idæi Daëtyli*. They were very ingenious, and invented many things that proved very useful to mankind. They brought men into societies and communities, and shewed them

them, by their example, the happiness of a peaceable and orderly life.

The *Titans* were contemporary with the *Curetes*, and were in number six men and five women, each of whom invented something of great use to mankind, and were on that account placed among the gods. *Saturn*, the eldest, obtained the kingdom of *Crete*, and brought his subjects from a wild and barbarous, to a more polite course of life. *Neptune* invented the art of navigation, and *Pluto* funeral solemnities; hence the former was stiled prince of the sea, and the latter king of the infernal shades.

The *Curetes*, according to *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, were originally *Phœnicians*, and accompanied *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*. According to these authors, the *Curetes*, and *Idæi Dactyli*, were one and the same people, and did not settle in *Crete* till the time of *Minos*. *Bochart* brings the *Curetes* from *Palestine*, induced thereto by the likeness between their name and that of the *Cretim* or *Cerethites*, a people among the *Philistines*. Before the followers of *Cadmus* settled in *Crete*, a colony of *Pelasgians* had peopled the eastern coast of the island. After the *Pelasgians*, *Teutamus*, the grandfather of *Minos*, carried thither a colony of *Dorians* from *Laconia*, and the territory of *Olympia*. These several colonies spoke different languages, and lived quietly in caves and huts, but their posterity were formed into one kingdom by *Minos*, who was their first law-giver, built many towns, and introduced ploughing and sowing. The two first kings of *Crete*, who reigned after the coming of the *Curetes*, were *Asterius* and his nephew *Minos*, who are thought by some to be the *Saturn* and *Jupiter* of the ancients, as *Europa*, the wife of *Asterius* and mother of *Minos*, is supposed to be the same with *Rhea*. *Minos* is called, indeed, the son of *Jupiter*; but Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, that the *Phœnicians* upon their first coming into *Greece*, gave the name of *Jaoater* or *Jupiter* to all kings, and might so call *Asterius*. According to *Homer*, *Minos* had two brothers, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon* the father of *Deucalion* the *Argonaut*, and grandfather of *Idomeneus*, who went to the siege of *Troy*. In the reign of *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, the king's brother, carried several colonies into the neighbouring islands, which he bestowed upon the commanders of his army. The *Cretans* not only peopled the neighbouring islands, but sent colonies into *Greece*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Troas*, &c. the cities of *Delphi*, *Miletus*, and many others, having been founded by them. The *Trojans*, if we believe the most ancient writers, were originally *Cretans*, as were also the *Messapii* in *Italy*, and the inhabitants of some of the islands of *Africa*.

The government of the *Cretans* is universally allowed to have been at first monarchical; but there is a great disagreement among authors about the beginning of the *Cretan* kingdom. *Eusebius* reckons, that the kingdom of *Crete* was formed 400 years before *Teutamus*, and gives us a list of their kings, the first of whom was *Cres* or *Cretes*, whose successors were *Talus* and *Vulcan*. *Crete*.

Vulcan. *Rhadamanthus*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Aristotle*, as the first legislator of the *Cretans*, is supposed by *Apollodorus* to have succeeded *Vulcan*, and to have been famous for his justice. The fifth on the list of *Eusebius* was *Milinus*, and the sixth *Me-
lisseus*, who, according to *Lactantius*, first introduced into the island of *Crete* the worship of the gods and religious ceremonies. *Melisseus* was succeeded by his son *Cydon*, about the time of *Ce-
crops*, king of *Athens*. The successor of *Cydon* was *Apteras*; and after him reigned *Lapithas*, surnamed *Taurus*, and *Jupiter*, who carried away *Europa*, the daughter of *Agenor*, the king of *Sidon*, which gave rise to the fable of *Jupiter's* transforming himself into a bull. According to *Eustathius* and *Cedrenus*, he built the city of *Gortyna*, and took the city of *Tyre*, and after having performed great feats both at home and abroad, died in *Crete*. *Asterius*, according to *Eusebius* and *Apollodorus*, was brother to *Lapithas*, succeeded him in the kingdom, and married his widow *Europa*. As he died without male issue, the three sons of *Lapithas*, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*, disputed the succession to the kingdom, which was at last possessed by *Minos*, who banished his brothers. *Rhadamanthus* fled first into *Lycia*, and thence into *Boeotia*, where he married *Alcmena*, the mother of *Hercules*. *Sarpedon* also fled to *Lycia* or *Mylias*, where he was raised to the throne. *Minos* was succeeded by his son *Evan-
der*, who married *Deidamia*, the daughter of *Bellerophon*, by whom he had a son, named *Sarpedon*. He succeeded him on the throne, and went to the assistance of the *Trojans*, and was killed by *Patroclus*. *Sarpedon* was succeeded by *Lycastes*, the natural son of *Minos*, who was the father of *Minos II.* the greatest king who had reigned in *Crete*. *Diodorus* gives a different genealogy of this *Minos*, but equally dark and uncertain.

Minos, the
law-giver.

Minos II. was the first of the *Grecians* who equipped a fleet, and gained the dominion of the sea. By his wife *Pasiphae*, the daughter of *Sol* and *Cretes*, he had *Deucalion*, *Androgeus*, *Ariadne*, and several other children. *Androgeus* going to see the *Panathenean* solemnities at *Athens*, was basely murdered by the order of the king, who suspected that he designed to assist his brother and his fifty sons to dethrone him. The *Athenians* being soon after afflicted with a pestilence, were advised by the oracle to appease *Minos*, who required seven boys and as many girls to be yearly sent to *Crete*, to be devoured by the monster, called a minotaur, which, according to the poets, was half man and half bull, and begot by a bull upon the queen *Pasiphae*. But, according to *Servius*, the queen had an intrigue with the king's secretary, named *Taurus*, or *Bull*, in the house of *Dædalus*, and was brought to bed of twins, one of whom resembled *Minos*, and the other *Taurus*. *Minos* was highly incensed against *Dædalus*, and hearing that he had fled to *Sicily*, proclaimed war against *Cocalus*, the king of that island, and landed with an army near *Agrigentum*. Afterwards, imprudently trusting himself to *Cocalus*, he was by his order stifled in a bath. Upon the death of *Minos*, the *Cretans*, who had followed him to *Sicily*, settled

settled in that island; and being afterwards joined by some of their countrymen, who, in their return from *Troy*, were driven on those coasts, they formed themselves into a republic, and subdued many of the bordering states.

Some writers acknowledge but one *Minos*, and others maintain that there were two, who were both famous for the wise laws they published, and the conquests they made. Be that as it will, this *Minos* was the author of the laws which are so highly commended by *Plato* and *Aristotle*. The main scope which he aimed at in the forming of his laws, was, according to *Strabo*, to procure happiness for his subjects, by rendering them virtuous. To attain this end, he first banished idleness and luxury, obliging even his subjects of the highest rank, either to serve in the army, or apply themselves to *Agriculture*. He also decreed that the children in each city should be brought up together, and taught the same maxims, exercises, and arts. All his subjects were also ordered to use the same diet, and frequently to take their repasts together, without any distinction between the poor and rich. They were accustomed from their tender years to bear hardships and fatigues, and as *Crete* was a mountainous and uneven country, the youth were not taught here, as elsewhere, to ride or wear heavy armour, but to use their bow dexterously, and in this they far excelled all other nations of the world. The youth were also inspired early with an high respect for the maxims, customs, and laws of their own country, and enjoined to honour in a peculiar manner the magistrates and aged persons. To put men in mind of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, the masters in the feasts of *Mercury* waited on their slaves at table. *Plato* tells us that *Crete*, under the government of so wise a prince, became the abode of virtue, probity, and justice; and that his laws were so well founded in equity, that they subsisted in their full vigour in his time, that is, above 900 years after their first publication.

The *Cretans*, however, at length degenerated from their ancient probity, and became the most vicious nation that was of the *Cretans* known, either to the *Greeks* or *Latins*. *Polybius* writes, *that the Cretans in his time were avaricious and self-interested to such a degree, as to think no lucre sordid. Suidas and Callimachus give them the character of liars and impostors, and St. Paul quotes against them as truth, the testimony of one of their own poets. When we consider the justice and humanity of Minos, we are inclined to assent to Banier, who seems to prove that it was not this legislator, but another Minos, who imposed the bloody tribute on the Athenians for the loss of his son*.*

Minos was succeeded by his eldest son, *Deucalion*, who, according to *Hyginus*, was one of the *Argonauts*. His brother *Creteus*, or *Catreus*, succeeded him, and as we have mentioned *Creteus* in the history of *Rhodes*, was accidentally killed in that island,

* *Mém de l'Acad. des inscript. l. iii.*

Idomeneus. by his own son. His successor in *Crete* was *Idomeneus*, the son of *Deucalion*, who assisted the *Greeks* at the siege of *Troy* with 80 ships, and distinguished himself there in several single combats. In his return, being in great danger from a storm, he vowed if he got safe home, to sacrifice the first person he met. His eldest son coming out first to meet him, he, pursuant to his vow, either did, or attempted to sacrifice him, and his subjects rejecting him on that account, he sailed into *Italy*, and built there the city of *Petilia*, on the *Calabrian* coast. *Tzetzes*, however, says, that he was dispossessed of his kingdom during his absence by an usurper, which obliged him to seek a settlement elsewhere.

Meriones. Upon the death or banishment of *Idomeneus*, *Meriones*, the grandson of *Minos*, who had attended his cousin to the *Trojan* war, and there signalized himself, was raised to the throne. He died after a short reign, and both he and *Idomeneus*, who were buried in *Crete* near each other, were adored by the *Cretans* as demi-gods.

Etearchus. Many years after the death of *Meriones* reigned *Etearchus*. The actions, and even the names of the intermediate kings are buried in oblivion. He probably was one of the descendants of *Minos*; for, according to *Suidas*, the race of *Minos* enjoyed the sovereignty of *Crete* to the destruction of that kingdom. After monarchical government was abolished, *Tzetzes* informs us, that the family of *Minos* continued in great splendor in *Crete*; and *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor, *Sergius Galba*, pretended to be descended from *Minos* by the mother's side.

The re- Monarchical government being abolished, in what manner or public and on what account is not recorded; the chief power was lodged govern- in the senate, which was composed of 30 senators, and is called ment in by *Aristotle*, the public council of the nation. The resolutions introduced. of this assembly were of no force, till the people had confirmed The Cos- them by their assent. The next in authority to the senate were mi. the *Cosmi*, who were ten in number, and were chosen out of the body of the people. They had a negative upon all decrees, and out of their body the senators were chosen. In time of war they had an absolute command of the armies of the republic, but were afterwards accountable for their administration, which law the senators were not subjected to. In this condition the island of *Crete*, or at least a part of it, continued for several

The *Cretans* engaged continually in civil dissensions. The chief cities were frequently engaged in civil wars; but there is no account of those commotions now extant. All we know, is, that in the time of *Philip*, the father of *Perfes*, the *Gnossians* and *Gortynians* had reduced all the other cities of the island, and divided their conquests. These domestic troubles raged in *Crete* for many ages, and gave the inhabitants an opportunity of perfecting themselves in all the arts of war, on which account their mercenaries were in great request among foreigners. They were a great help, as *Xenophon* informs us, in the retreat of the 10,000. Many of *Alexander's* victories, if we believe *Arrian*, were owing to the *Cretan* auxiliaries. After the

the *Romans* became acquainted with *Crete*, they kept constantly in their pay numerous bodies of *Cretan* auxiliaries, who, generally speaking, behaved with great gallantry. At the persuasion of *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamus*, they entered into an alliance with *Rome*, in the war of *Antiochus*; but reserved to themselves a power of negotiating with other potentates, without consulting the *Roman* senate.

The *Romans*, not many years after, under pretence that the *Cretans* had privately corresponded with their enemy, *Mithridates*, and had assisted the pirates who infested the *Mediterranean*, declared war against them; but their true motive, as *Florus* informs us, was their desire of conquering the island of *Crete*. The *Cretans*, to avert the storm which threatened them, sent 30 of the most illustrious men of the island to *Rome*; but the senate, instead of renewing ancient treaties with them, demanded so many hard conditions of the suppliants, that they chose rather to maintain a war than comply with them. Soon after, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* landed in *Crete* with three legions, and *Lasthenes* and *Pandres*, the chiefs of the *Cretan* republic, having assembled an army of 24,000 men, he drew them to an engagement by marching against *Cydonia*, the capital of the island. The *Cretans* were entirely defeated, and *Cydonia*, *Gnosus*, and *Lycus*, submitted to the *Romans*, who, in one campaign, possessed themselves of the best part of the island, though defended by the *Cilician* pirates, as well as by its own inhabitants. *Metellus* the following spring again defeated the *Cretans* and enlarged his conquests; but as he treated the inhabitants with great severity, they offered to submit to *Pompey*, who had been lately appointed proconsul of the seas with unlimited authority. *Pompey*, who was then in *Pamphylia*, sent *Octavius*, one of his lieutenants, to *Crete*, who proclaimed all over the island that *Pompey* had the sole right of making treaties in all the places of his proconsulate. This shameful claim of *Pompey* caused a kind of civil war in the island, the *Romans* disputing with one another who should give the last stroke to the *Cretans*, and the troops of *Octavius* acting in conjunction with the *Cretan* forces. *Octavius* even in person defended a *Cretan* city against *Metellus*, who making himself master of the place, dismissed the lieutenant and the *Roman* prisoners, without their arms, amidst the hisses of his soldiers. The lieutenant receiving a reinforcement of troops from *Pompey*, again appeared in arms in favour of the *Cretans*; but *Metellus* obliging him soon after to abandon the island, the *Cretans* at length submitted. *Metellus* changed their form of government, obliged them to live according to the laws of *Rome*, imposed an annual tribute upon the whole island, and thereby reduced it to a *Roman* province.

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S E C T. III.

The History of CYPRUS.

The
names of
Cyprus.

THE island of *Cyprus* was also named by the ancients, *Acamis*, *Cerastis*, *Aspalia*, *Amathus*, *Macaria*, *Cryptos*, *Colinia*, *Spechia*, *Paphia*, *Salaminia*, and *Ærofa*. The most common opinion is, that its present name was derived from a shrub, called by the *Greeks* *Cypros*, found in plenty in that island, though very scarce in other countries; but what kind of shrub this was, is still matter of dispute among authors. With the flower of this shrub the ancient inhabitants made a very sweet oil, which is much commended by *Pliny*.

Its chief
cities.

The cities of most note in *Cyprus* were, according to *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, on the north side of the island. These were, *Arifnoe*, so called from a queen of *Egypt*; *Solæ*, or *Soli*, founded by the advice of *Solon*, the famous law-giver of the *Athenians*; *Lapithus*, on the banks of a small river bearing the same name; *Aphrodisia* and *Carpasia*. On this coast also stood *Cerines*, antiently called *Ceraunia*, said to have been built by *Cyrus* the Great; and *Tremitus*, often mentioned by *Sozomene*. On the eastern coast stood *Salamis*, built by *Teucer*, the son of *Telamon*, after his return from the *Trojan* war. This city is stiled by *Diodorus*, the first of all the *Cyprian* cities, and said to have once excelled most of the *Greek* cities in power and riches. In after ages it was called *Constantia*. Some are of opinion that *Famagosta*, the present metropolis of the island, was built on its ruins. On this side of the isle are two, or, according to *Pliny*, three small islands, named *Clides*. On the south coasts were the cities of *Throni*, *Citium*, supposed by *Josephus* to be built by *Cittim*, the son of *Javan*, *Malum* and *Amathus*, which city was consecrated to *Venus*. On the west side of the island stood *Palæpaphos*, or old *Paphos*, about ten furlongs from the shore. This city was in a peculiar manner sacred to *Venus*; and the young women here used to prostitute themselves to such strangers as came on shore, in order to raise money for their portions. About 60 furlongs from *Palæpaphos* stood *Neapaphos*, or *New Paphos*, famous for its harbour. *Ptolemy* mentions only three inland towns, namely, *Chybrus*, *Trimethus*, and *Tamassus*, to which *Strabo* adds another, named *Limenia*. The copper that was found in the mines adjoining to *Tamassus*, was deemed the best in the world.

Its cli-
mate.

According to the ancient geographers, *Cyprus* was divided into four provinces or districts, namely, *Paphia* to the west, *Amathusa* to the south, *Lapitha* to the north, and *Salaminia* to the east. The island extends from east to west along the coast of *Cilicia* about 180 miles, and is about forty-five miles broad. It was antiently reckoned one of the most fruitful islands of the *Mediterranean*; but is at present in great part uncultivated, and the

the air in most places very unwholesome, by reason of the fens and marshes. The honey of *Cyprus* is much commended by the ancients, and likewise the wine, oil, wool, &c. but above all the copper.

According to *Eratosthenes* and *Herodotus*, this island was first discovered and peopled by the *Phœnicians*; but *Josephus* says, that the descendants of *Cittim*, the son of *Javan*, and grandson of *Japhet*, were the original inhabitants of *Cyprus*. As *Cyprus* was too narrow to contain the great numbers who attended him, and their descendants, he left so many as might serve in time to plant the island, and with the rest is supposed to have passed over into *Macedon*. In process of time *Cyprus* was inhabited, according to *Herodotus*, by colonies of the *Phœnicians*, *Athenians*, *Salaminians*, *Arcadians*, and *Ethiopians*. The first inhabitants of *Cyprus*.

We find kings reigning in *Cyprus* in the earliest ages, therefore we may conclude that their first government was monarchical. Their first king we read of is *Cinyras*, the grandson of *Pygmalion* the statuary, who is said to have fallen in love with a statue of his own making, which *Venus*, at his entreaty, changed into a fair damsel, whom he married. By this wife, it is said, he had *Paphus*, who was the father of *Cinyras*, who was the first king of the island. *Cinyras* is said to have possessed immense riches, insomuch that *the wealth of Cinyras* became a proverb to express an overgrown estate. The priesthood of *Venus* became hereditary in his race, which dignity they enjoyed for many ages after the throne was seized by others. *Belus*, one of the successors of *Cinyras*, is said to have assisted *Teucer* in laying the foundations of *Salamis*. *Cinyras* and his successors were kings only of *Paphos* and the adjoining province, besides which kingdom we find eight others, mentioned by the ancients. The names of some of the other kings that have been transmitted to us are, *Philocyprus*, king of *Soli*, contemporary with *Solon*; *Aristocyprus*, son of the former, mentioned by *Herodotus*; *Pasicrates*, or *Pasicyprus*, said by *Athenæus* to have succeeded *Aristocyprus*. *Timonax*, *Pygmalion*, *Praxippus*, *Stasiæchus*, *Idomeneus*, *Moschion*. *Diphilus*, *Solon*, and *Themison*, are mentioned also by the ancients, as reigning in *Cyprus*, but what kingdoms they held is uncertain. The kingdom of *Salamis* was by far the most powerful in *Cyprus*, the *Salaminian* princes having, in process of time, subdued the whole island. Their kings.

Each of the petty kings in *Cyprus* reigned in his own territories, with an uncontrouled authority, till the time of *Cyrus* the Great, who subdued them by his lieutenants; but leaving them in possession of their respective kingdoms, obliged them only to pay an annual tribute to him and his successors, and to send supplies of men, money, and ships when required. In the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, the *Cyprian* princes attempted to shake off the *Persian* yoke, being encouraged thereto by *Onesilus*, king of *Salamis*, after which period the history of *Cyprus* is no other than that of the *Salaminian* kings.

Teucer first king of *Salamis*. *Salamis*, the capital of this island, was first founded, as we have said, by *Teucer*, about 1160 years before the *Christian* æra. This prince is said by *Lactantius* to have introduced into the island of *Cyprus* the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices to *Jupiter*, which continued till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*. As to the immediate successors of *Teucer*, in the kingdom of *Salamis*, we are quite in the dark. Many years after him reigned *Nicocreon*, whose daughter *Arfinoe* is mentioned by *Ovid*. The next king we find reigning in *Salamis* is *Euelthon*, who, *Herodotus* says, first submitted to the *Egyptians*, and afterwards to *Cambyses*, the son of *Cyrus*, whom he assisted with men, money, and ships. *Pheretima*, queen of the *Cyreneans*, being expelled from *Cyrene*, came to *Salamis*, and solicited *Euelthon* to assist her with an army, in order to recover her kingdom. The king not caring to engage in a war, made her rich presents, hoping to content her by that means. She always adding, that though they were very valuable, yet an army would be far more acceptable to her; he at last made her a present of a reel and distaff of gold, and told her, that these were more proper presents for women than armies.

Siromus and *Chersis* are mentioned by *Herodotus*, as kings of *Salamis*. The latter left three sons, *Gorgus*, *Onesilus*, and *Philaon*; *Gorgus*, the eldest, succeeding him on the throne. *Onesilus* having often in vain solicited his brother to shake off the *Persian* yoke, resolved to possess himself of the throne, not doubting but all the *Cyprians* would support him against the *Persians*, who grievously oppressed them. He was confirmed in his resolution by the news of the revolt of the *Ionians*, and accordingly when *Gorgus* was one day out of the city, he seized on the gates, and caused himself to be proclaimed king. *Gorgus* being thus excluded, fled to the *Persians*, while *Onesilus* prevailed on all the princes and cities of the island, except *Amathus*, to take up arms and drive out the *Persian* garrisons. While he was besieging *Amathus*, the *Persians* landed in the island with an army, and marched straight to *Salamis*, upon which he solicited the assistance of the *Ionians*, who soon after arrived at the island with a powerful fleet. The *Persian* army about the same time appearing in the plains of *Salamis*, the confederate kings of *Cyprus* drew out their forces, and ventured an engagement, in which the *Cyprians* were defeated, and *Onesilus* was killed. The *Persians* after this victory soon reduced all the cities that had revolted, except *Soli*, which cost them a siege of six months. Thus the *Cyprians* having enjoyed their liberty during the space of one year, were reduced to their former state of slavery, *Gorgus* being again restored to the throne of *Salamis*. *Gorgus* was succeeded by his son *Nicocrates*, who, as *Atheneus* informs us, made a curious collection of books, which he purchased at a great rate. His brother *Timarchus* succeeded him, and, according to *Pliny*, was remarkable for a double row of teeth.

Evagoras I. the son of *Nicocrates*, succeeded *Timarchus*, in whose reign *Cimon*, the *Athenian*, arrived at *Cyprus*, with a fleet of

of 200 sail, with the design of driving the *Persians* from the island; but of the success of this expedition, and of the peace soon after concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the *Athenians*, we have spoken in the *Persian* and *Athenian* histories. In consequence of that treaty, the *Persians* withdrew all their garrisons from *Cyprus*, leaving all the kings of the island free and independent. *Evagoras* not long after, according to *Diodorus*, died in banishment, having been driven out of his kingdom by his nephew *Protagoras*, who held it for some years. In the 18th year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Cyprus* was again subjected to the *Persians*, with all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, by the famous treaty concluded with the *Persians* by *Antalcidas*, the *Lacedæmonian*. At this time reigned at *Salamis* *Nicocreon*, the son of the usurper *Protagoras*, who was famous for his cruelty. Taking offence at a satirical saying of the philosopher *Anaxarchus*, it is said he caused him to be put into a great mortar and to be pounded to death*.

Nicocles, the son of *Timarchus*, succeeded *Nicocreon*, and was expelled from the throne by a *Phœnician* named *Abdymon*, whom he had hospitably received at *Salamis*. While the usurper, by the assistance of the *Persians*, held the throne, *Evagoras* II. was born to *Nicocles*. This prince gave early proofs of those virtues, which, according to *Isocrates*, made him afterwards the perfect model of a good king. He came into the world with the most happy dispositions, a great fund of genius, an easy conception, and a most lively penetration; qualities which might have emptied him from all study and application, and nevertheless he spent great part of his time in reading, as if he had been quite destitute of talents, and obliged to supply by study what nature had denied him. In his youth he was distinguished for his modesty and the innocence of his behaviour, and as he advanced in years, his virtues became so conspicuous, as to give no small jealousy to the tyrant. *Evagoras*, indeed, waited only for an opportunity of recovering the crown; but the tyrant being murdered by one of the principal citizens, who seized on the throne for himself, *Evagoras* on that occasion was obliged to fly from the island. His countrymen being grievously oppressed by the new usurper, he not long after passed over to the island, attended only by 50 followers, and the *Cyprians* joining him all to a man, he drove out the tyrant, and recovered the throne of his ancestors. *Artaxerxes*, king of *Persia*, attempted to replace the usurper, but being diverted by the *Greek* war, he put off the enterprise to a more proper season. *Evagoras* in the mean time extended his dominions, and by degrees made himself master of almost the whole island. The king of *Persia* having at last concluded a peace with the *Greeks*, and being almost the solicited by the *Amathusians*, *Solians*, and *Citians*, bent all his whole force against *Evagoras*. We have already given an account of

The *Persians* withdrew from *Cyprus*.
Bef. Chr.
460.

The excellent character of *Evagoras* II.

He becomes master of the island.

* Laert. in vit. Philosoph. Plin. l. 7.

this war in the *Persian* history, and of the terms of peace to which *Evagoras* was obliged to submit.

Not long after the peace, *Evagoras* being murdered by one of his eunuchs, his son *Nicocles* succeeded to the throne, and celebrated the funeral of his father with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and on that occasion pronounced the discourse entitled *Evagoras*, which was composed by the celebrated *Isocrates*. The same philosopher wrote two other orations, addressed to *Nicocles*, whose name they still bear, and for which he received from the king 20 talents. This prince seems to have reigned but a few years, his son *Evagoras* being in possession of the throne before the revolt of *Cyprus*, which happened in the very beginning of the reign of *Ochus*. *Evagoras* III. the son of *Nicocles*, whom we have just mentioned, was driven out by his uncle

The Cy- *Protogoras*, under whose government the *Cyprians* revolted from
prians a- the *Persians*, and joined the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, who had
gain re- already taken arms. *Ochus* ordering *Idrieus*, king of *Caria*, to
volt from invade *Cyprus*, he sent 8000 *Greek* mercenaries thither, under
the Per- the command of *Phocion*, the *Athenian*, who was joined by *Eva-*
sians. *goras*, the exiled prince, and great numbers of volunteers from
Bef. Chr. *Syria* and *Cilicia*. *Phocion* invested *Salamis*, but *Protogoras*
351. making a vigorous defence, *Ochus*, who was entirely bent on the
reduction of *Egypt*, compounded with him and the eight other
Cyprian princes, redressing all their grievances, and confirming
them in the government of their respective territories. To con-
tent *Evagoras*, the government of another place was conferred
upon him, but he acting in the same arbitrary manner as he had
formerly done at *Salamis*, was obliged to save himself by flying
to *Cyprus*, where he was seized and put to death by *Protogoras*.

Ptolemy From this time till after the death of *Alexander* there is
takes Cy- no mention of the *Cyprian* kings; but *Arrian* seems to insinuate
prus from that they submitted to that conqueror. After *Alexander's* death,
Antigonus. *Cyprus* fell to *Antigonus*; but while he was engaged in *Asia Minor*
Bef. Chr. with *Cassander*, *Ptolemy*, the son of *Lagus*, invaded the island,
311. and reduced the greatest part of it. *Nicocles*, king of *Paphos*,
who had submitted to *Ptolemy*, soon after being accused of pri-
vately corresponding with *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy* ordered a part of
his troops to cut him off. The soldiers having surrounded the
house of *Nicocles*, he first attempted to clear himself of what
was laid to his charge; but seeing no one hearkened to him, he
drew his sword and slew himself on the spot. *Axiothea*, his
wife, hearing of his death, first killed all her daughters, and
then laid violent hands upon herself. The brothers of *Nicocles*
retiring each of them to their own habitations, set fire to their
houses, and perished with their whole families in the flames.
This *Nicocles* is supposed to have been the last of the *Teucrian* fa-
mily, and to have possessed both the kingdom of *Paphos* and that
of *Salamis*.

Demetrius Not long after, *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*, attempted
invades the recovery of *Cyprus*, and landed in the island with 15000 foot
Cyprus, and 400 horse. Having secured his fleet with a double rampart, he

he took the cities of *Urania* and *Carpasia* by storm, and then marched to *Salamis*. On his march he defeated *Menelaus*, the brother of *Ptolemy*, killing about 1000 of his men, and taking 3000 prisoners. *Demetrius* having invested *Salamis*, began to prepare the necessary engines for the reduction of the place, and having sent for materials and workmen out of *Asia*, he made an immense number of warlike engines of an extraordinary bigness, and amongst others, the famous *helepolis*. After the attack was begun, several breaches were made in a few days; but when he thought himself already master of the place, all his machines, together with the *helepolis*, were burnt by the besieged. *Ptolemy* soon after arrived at *Citium*, with 140 ships of war, and 10,000 men, with 200 transports; but being attacked by *Demetrius* with 108 gallies, after an obstinate dispute, he was entirely defeated, with the loss of 70 gallies and all his transports, on board of which were 8000 men, with provisions, money, and military stores. *Ptolemy* returning to *Egypt* with eight gallies only, after his departure, the whole island of *Cyprus*, with all the forces, shipping, and magazines, which *Ptolemy* had there, fell into the hands of *Demetrius*, who made near 17,000 men prisoners, besides the mariners taken on board the fleet. *Antigonus*, and after his death *Demetrius*, held the island of *Cyprus* for the space of 11 years, at the end of which *Ptolemy* recovered it, while *Demetrius* was engaged against the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*. From this time *Cyprus*, according to prophane accounts, continued subject to the kings of *Egypt*, till they were, with the utmost injustice, deprived of it by the *Romans*: But it is plain from the book of *Maccabees*, where *Ptolemæus*, *Macron*, and *Nicanor*, are mentioned as governing the island under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, that *Cyprus* was again, for some time, brought under subjection to the kings of *Syria*.

Be this as it may, the seizing of the island by the *Romans* is reckoned the most flagrant piece of injustice their republic was ever guilty of. *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, king of *Egypt*, left two sons, who made a partition of their father's dominions, by which *Ptolemy Auletes*, the eldest, had *Egypt*, and *Ptolemy* his brother had *Cyprus*. This *Ptolemy* was a prince of a very covetous and sordid disposition, and when requested by *Clodius*, a young *Roman* nobleman who had been taken prisoner by the pirates of *Cilicia*, to lend him some money to pay for his ransom, he sent him only two talents, which small sum being despised by the pirates, they set *Clodius* at liberty without a ransom. *Clodius* upon his return to *Rome*, employed all his power and authority to ruin the king of *Cyprus*, who had amassed great treasures, and the people concurring with him, a decree was passed, declaring that *Ptolemy* (who was indeed a bad prince) had forfeited his crown to the *Romans*, on account of his bad government. The senate did not oppose this unjust decree; but on the contrary approved of the measure, which they justified, by alledging that *Alexander*, the late king of *Egypt*, who died at *Tyre*, had left the *Roman* people his heirs. They had some years before taken his effects,

and re-
duces the
whole
island.
Bef. Chr.
304.
Ptolemy re-
covers the
island.
Bef. Chr.
293.

Cyprus un-
justly seiz-
ed by the
Romans.
Bef. Chr.
58.

Ptolemy in
despair
poisons
himself.

effects, but did not presume, however, to make any pretensions to his dominions. The decree being now passed against *Ptolemy*, the infamous *Clodius* procured an order of the comitia, or people, for *Cato* to set out without delay for *Cyprus*, and dethrone the king. The rigid *Cato* had so little sense of justice, as to obey and execute this wicked order; and accordingly went on board the first ship he met with, bound to *Cyprus*, attended only by a few domestics. Upon his arrival at *Rhodes*, he sent one *Canidius* to *Ptolemy*, to try whether he could prevail upon him by fair means to give up his dominions to the republic. *Ptolemy* rejected the offer of the high-priesthood of *Venus*, made him by *Canidius*, on the revenues of which he might have lived in a sumptuous manner; but not having courage enough to engage in a war with *Rome*, he put all his treasures on board one of his largest ships, and sailed out to sea with the design of perishing, together with his riches, by sinking the vessel. He could not, however, find in his heart to destroy his treasure, but again bringing it on shore, he laid it up in his treasury, and then poisoned himself. Upon the king's death, *Cato*, without opposition, took possession of the island in the name of the republic, and seized the treasures, which amounted to 7000 talents, that is, 1,356,250 *l.* sterling. *Cato* himself, notwithstanding his boasted virtue, shewed no more integrity than the wicked *Clodius*; for after his return, he opposed the annulling of the acts of *Clodius*, as in that case the treasure, he said, must have been returned to the *Cyprians*, and he even prevailed with the senate to confirm them, contrary to the advice of *Cicero* *.

S E C T. IV.

The History of SAMOS.

CEPHALENIA and *Samothracia*, as well as the island we are now to write of, were anciently called *Samos*. The island still known by the name of *Samos*, was, in former ages, distinguished from the other two by the epithet of *Ionian*. It was called *Parthenia*, *Dryusa*, *Anthemisa*, *Melamphyllus*, *Cyparissia*, *Parthenoarusa*, *Stephane*, *Anthemus*, and *Parthenias*.

The situa-
tion of
Samos.

Samos lies between the continent of *Asia* and the island *Icaria*, being divided from the continent by a strait of about a mile broad, and from the latter by another which is eight miles over. As all the vessels trading from *Constantinople* to *Syria* and *Egypt* pass through one of these straits, they are still frequented by pirates, as they were in *Strabo's* time. The island lies between the 38th and 39th degrees of north latitude, and is about 87 miles in circumference. The metropolis of *Samos*, and the only city in the country, mentioned by the ancients, bore the same name as the island. It stood on the south coast, partly on

* Plut. in Cat. Val. Max. l. ix. Vell. Pater.

the plain and partly on the hills. *Vitruvius* is of opinion, that Account *Samos* and the 13 towns of the *Ionian* confederacy, were all of its me-built by *Ion* the *Athenian*. This city, in the flourishing times *tropolis*. of *Greece*, was very populous, wealthy, and well fortified, and an idea of its ancient splendor and greatness may be formed by the present remains of its ruins, which are fully described by *Tournefort*. *Samos* was remarkable among other things for a famous temple of *Juno*, the most spacious, *Herodotus* says, that he ever saw. The *Heræan* games, which were instituted by the *Greeks* in honour of *Here*, or *Juno*, were celebrated in this island with the utmost magnificence. This solemnity owed its origin to a fabulous opinion that prevailed in *Samos*, that *Juno* had lived there from her earliest infancy, till she became marriageable, and that *Jupiter* had married her there. Her temple in the island was so enriched with gifts, that there was no room for statues and pictures. *Verres*, the *Roman*, on his return from *Asia*, did not scruple to rifle the temple, and strip it of all its rich moveables, and not many years after, the pirates, in *Pompey's* time, plundered the place. In a court adjoining to the temple was an immense number of statues, done by the most famous statuaries of *Greece*, and amongst others three of a colossian size, all on the same base, representing *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Hercules*.

The fruitfulness of this island is highly commended by the The ferti-ancients, namely, by *Strabo*, who seems to prefer it in this re- lity of the- spect to the most fertile countries in *Asia*. Here the trees are island. said to have yielded fruit twice a year. The only thing which *Strabo* did not admire in *Samos*, was the wine, though all the neighbouring islands were famous on account of their excellent wines.

The *Samians* applied themselves very early to trade and na- Its first in- vigation, and the island in former ages was famed for earthen habitants. ware, which was in great request among the ancients. *Samos*, according to *Strabo* and other ancient writers, was first peopled by the *Carians*, and afterwards by colonies from *Ithaca* and *Cephalenia*. Some ages after, according to *Eusebius*, in the 12th year of *Rhehoboam*, king of *Jerusalem*, the *Ionians* passed over from the coast of *Asia* into the island of *Samos*, and united it to their confederacy.

Monarchical government is supposed to have first prevailed in Their first *Samos*, but how long it continued, or on what account it was govern- abolished, is uncertain. From the kings the administration passed ment. into the hands of the *Geomori*, who formed a kind of senate, and had much the same power as the *Ephori* of *Sparta*. This form of government was succeeded by a democracy, and the democracy by an oligarchy.

The first enterprise of the *Samians* mentioned in history, is, The histo- their planting a colony in the city of *Oasis* in *Egypt*, which city, ry of the *Herodotus* informs us, was inhabited by the *Samians*. When this *Samians*. happened he does not mention, nor at what time they first sailed to *Tartessus*, in *Spain*. A *Samian* vessel, he says, bound home-wards

The tyrants of *Samos*.

Syloson seizes the government.

The government possessed by *Polycrates*.
Bef. Ch.
531.

wards from *Egypt*, was, by contrary winds, driven without the pillars of *Hercules*, to *Tartessus*. As no foreign traders had ever before touched at that port, the inhabitants flocked to the shore, and brought the *Samian* commodities at such prices as the sailors were pleased to set upon them, whence the profits they made were immense. In the reign of their king *Anyphicrates*, they made war upon the inhabitants; but all we know of this expedition is, that it reduced both parties to great extremities. The *Samians*, as *Herodotus* informs us, maintained their liberties, both against *Cræsus* and *Cyrus*; their fleet, which was manned with expert mariners, protecting them against any foreign invasion. However, they were very early brought under subjection to their own tyrants, among whom may be reckoned the *geomori*, or nobility, who were so called for having divided the lands among themselves. During their usurpation, the inhabitants of *Megara* attacked *Perinthus*, a city of the *Samians*, which occasioned a war betwixt the two states. The *geomori* having equipped 30 galleys, committed the management of the war to nine commanders of the popular faction, who totally routed the *Megarenses*, and took 600 prisoners. These commanders having armed their 600 prisoners, on their return attacked the *geomori*, while they were assembled in council, put most of them to the sword, and restored the democracy. Not long after, the *Samians*, in a war that broke out between them and the *Æolians*, gave the command of their forces to one *Syloson*, who having gained the officers and soldiers, seized the government for himself.

The *Samians* about this time disoblinded the *Corinthians*, and sowed the seeds of those animosities that broke out between the two states in the following age. Having granted an asylum in the temple of *Diana* to 300 noble *Corcyrian* youths, who had touched at their island on their way to *Sardis*, whither they were sent to be made eunuchs, by the order of *Periander*, tyrant of *Corinth*, the *Corinthians* beset the temple, in hopes of starving them. The *Samian* youth of both sexes, however, assembling, they danced round the temple, as in honour to the goddess, with cakes of flour and honey in their hands, which they allowed the *Corcyrians* to snatch from them, and by that means frustrated the design of the *Corinthians*. After their departure, the *Samians* conveyed the youths of *Corcyra* safe to their native country.

After the death of *Syloson* the *Samians* enjoyed their liberty for some time, but were again brought under subjection by one of their citizens, named *Æaces*, who had three sons, *Polycrates*, *Pantagnotus*, and *Syloson*. *Polycrates*, some years after his father's death, seized also on the government. As his father had left an immense treasure, he gained the affection of the populace, by living in a splendid and most profuse manner, but nevertheless communicated his ambitious scheme only to 15 persons, the chief of whom were his two brothers. While the people were celebrating a feast in honour of *Juno*, *Polycrates* made

made himself master of the citadel, and maintained himself in it against the utmost efforts of the *Samians*, till he was relieved by a body of *Naxians*, sent him by *Lygdamis*, tyrant of *Naxus*. With this reinforcement he settled himself on the throne, after having either banished or put to death all who had declared against him. He rewarded all his friends, and divided the island with his brothers; but soon after repenting of what he had done, he caused *Pantagnotus* to be put to death, and banished *Syloson*. *Polycrates* having then secured the friendship of *Amasis*, king of *Egypt*, by entering into an alliance with him, resolved to enlarge his dominions, and equipping a fleet of 100 gallies, put on board 1000 chosen archers, and other land forces. With his fleet and army he soon reduced most of the neighbouring islands, not sparing even his friends and allies, and afterwards made himself master of many cities on the coast of *Asia*, inso- much, that the neighbouring states, alarmed by his uninter- rupted success, offered to submit to him upon his own terms. The *Lesbians*, who alone opposed him, were entirely defeated in a sea fight. His friend *Amasis*, upon the news of his great successes, is said to have written to him, advising him to guard himself against the consequences of good fortune, by parting with the thing he most valued. *Polycrates*, accordingly, to counterbalance his good fortune, threw into the sea a seal, cut in emerald and set in gold, which he valued above all his treasures. A few days after, however, this was again presented to him, being found in the belly of a fish, which was brought by a fisherman to his palace. *Amasis* being informed by the king of this surprising circumstance, concluded that some great misfortune would soon befall him, and formally renounced his alliance.

Polycrates being no longer under any engagements with *Amasis*, entered into an alliance with *Cambyses*, king of *Persia*, and sent him 40 gallies, manned with disaffected *Samians*, requesting him not to suffer them ever to return to their native country. Some writers affirm, that these *Samians* proceeded no farther than the *Carpathian* sea; but others say that they went to *Egypt*, to assist the *Persians*; but finding themselves watched by them, they took an opportunity of returning to *Samos*, met the fleet of *Polycrates*, which they defeated, and landed safe in their own country, where they fought an unsuccessful battle at land, and afterwards set sail for *Lacedæmon*. The *Samian* writers, quoted by *Herodotus*, tell us that the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the defence of the exiles, in requital of the assistance they had formerly received from them in a war with the *Ætessians*; but the *Lacedæmonians* say, that they espoused their cause to be revenged of the *Samians*, for having formerly intercepted a curious basin, which they had sent as a present to *Cresus*, king of *Lydia*, and for robbing them the year before of a rich present, which the king of *Egypt* had sent them. Whatever was their motive, they equipped a powerful fleet, and being joined by the

The *Sami-* *Corinthians*, whom the *Samians* had formerly disobliged, they in-
an exiles vested *Samos*, the capital of the island. The *Lacedæmonians*,
 assisted by after they had continued the siege 40 days, were obliged to re-
 the *Lace-* imbark and leave the island. Some writers tell us, that *Polycrates*
dæmoni- purchased a peace, but instead of paying them the money he pro-
ans. mised, he gave them so many pieces of lead that were coined and
 gilt.

The exiles finding themselves thus abandoned, set sail for the island of *Siphnus*, which is one of the *Cyclades*, and upon their landing, sent deputies to the *Siphnians*, desiring a loan of ten talents; but receiving a denial, they ravaged their territories. The *Siphnians* opposed them with all their forces, but were defeated, and many of them taken prisoners, for whose ransom the *Samians* received 100 talents. With this supply having repaired their ships, they sailed to *Hermione*, the inhabitants of which place gave them the island of *Thyrea*. This they committed to the care of the *Træzenians*, and sailing to *Crete*, founded the city of *Cydonia*; but six years after they were entirely defeated in a sea fight by the *Æginates*. Being driven from *Crete* they sailed to *Italy*, according to *Eusebius*, and there founded the city of *Dicæarchia*, called afterwards *Puteoli*, and at present *Puzzolo*.

Polycrates
 forms a
 design of
 conquer-
 ing *Ionis*,
 but is
 treache-
 rously
 slain.

Polycrates, upon the departure of the exiles, began to entertain thoughts of subduing all *Ionis*, together with the *Asiatic* islands; an enterprize, says *Herodotus*, which no one before him had ever attempted. After he had made great preparations for his undertaking, he was cut off by an untimely death, being treacherously ensnared by *Oroetes*, governor of *Magnesia*, under *Cambyfes*, who prevailed upon him to come and visit him, under pretence of asking his protection against his master. *Polycrates* to the hour of his death had never felt the least shock of adverse fortune. All the ancients speak of his prosperity as miraculous, and amongst others *Valerius Maximus*, who says, that he never formed a design which he did not with great ease put in execution, nor earnestly wish for a thing which he did not obtain. He was a man of most extraordinary parts, and, according to *Herodotus*, superior in wisdom, greatness of mind, and other princely qualities, to all the *Greek* tyrants. He took great delight in the conversation of learned men, and when at leisure from public affairs, spent much of his time with *Anacreon* and *Pythagoras*. He embellished the city of *Samos* with many magnificent and stately buildings, some of which, as appears from *Suetonius*, were remaining in the time of the *Roman* emperors. According to *Diodorus*, he oppressed not only his own subjects, but even strangers, in a most tyrannical manner, on which account *Amasis*, king of *Egypt*, renounced his friendship. *Herodotus*, on the contrary, commends him as a prince of great generosity; but *Diogenes Laertius*, *Porphyrius*, *Jamblicus*, *Gellius*, and *Eusebius*, seem to agree with *Diodorus*; for they are all unanimous in telling us, that *Pythagoras* abandoned his native

tive country, because he could not endure the tyranny of *Polycrates* (Y).

Polycrates was succeeded in the tyranny by his secretary, *Mæandrus*, whom, upon his departure for *Magnesia*, he had appointed to govern during his absence. *Mæandrus* was a man of great probity, and therefore no sooner saw himself invested with the supreme power, but he resolved to resign it, and restore his countrymen to their former liberty. He accordingly assembled the people, and declaring to them that he surrendered the government into their hands, and proclaimed an equal liberty to all, said, "I desire only you would grant me six talents out of the treasures of *Polycrates*, and confer upon me and my descendants for ever the priesthood of *Jupiter the deliverer*." Having thus spoken, one *Telesearchus*, a leading man among the *Samians*, inveighed bitterly against him, and insisted upon his giving an account of the public money, during the short time he had governed. *Mæandrus* from this speech, perceiving that if he divested himself of the power, he could be no longer safe in his own country, and that some other would soon usurp it, resolved to keep possession of the government. Accordingly he sent for the citizens to the citadel, under colour of giving them an account of the public treasures, but seized their persons, and kept them under close confinement. He soon after falling sick, his brother, *Lycaretus*, thinking he could not recover, put all the prisoners to death, that he might with more ease usurp the sovereignty. *Mæandrus* recovered, and reigned quietly in *Syloson*, by *Samos* till he was driven out by the *Persians*, who placed *Syloson*, the brother of *Polycrates*, upon the throne. *Syloson*, when he was banished by his brother, had retired to *Egypt*, and settled at *Memphis*, where he became acquainted with *Darius Hy- staspis*, one of the guards of *Cambyfes*, and seeing him passionately fond of a scarlet cloak which he wore, he made him a present of it. Hearing afterwards that *Darius* was advanced to the throne, he hastened to *Susa*, and desired audience of the king, telling the guards he had been a benefactor to him. *Darius* was greatly surprised that any *Grecian* should pretend to have conferred benefits upon him; but *Syloson* being admitted, and relating the transaction in *Egypt*, *Darius* in a transport of

Mæandrus
succeeds
Polycrates.
Bef. Chr.
523.

(Y) This celebrated philosopher upon his return from his travels, it is said, finding the tyranny of *Polycrates* insupportable, retired to that part of *Italy* called *Magna Grecia*, where he founded a famous sect of philosophers, and died in the 80th or 90th year of his life. Besides *Pythagoras*, this island produced several other great men, namely, *Chærilus*, who

wrote in verse the actions of *Xerxes* and *Darius*, kings of *Persia*, and of *Archelaus*, king of *Macedon*; *Cimon*, a famous mathematician, the præceptor and friend of *Archimedes*; *Creophylus*, an excellent poet, and the contemporary and friend of *Homer*. *Hierophile*, one of the sibyls, was also born in *Samos*.

ferred to reward him plentifully with gold and silver. *Syloson* replied, that he neither asked gold nor silver, but only to be put in possession of *Samos* without bloodshed. *Darius* immediately sent an army against *Samos*, ordering the general *Otanes* to follow the directions of *Syloson*. *Otanes* having landed his forces, *Mæandrus* and those of his party offered to depart the island, under a promise of indemnity, which was readily agreed to, and a truce concluded.

During the truce *Charilaus*, the brother of *Mæandrus*, who had been shut up in a dungeon for several crimes, obtained his liberty, and reviling his brother as a coward for submitting to the *Persians*, prevailed upon him to grant him some troops, promising to drive the invaders from the island. *Mæandrus*, it is said, agreed to this proposal from envy to *Syloson*, knowing that the *Persians* would wreck their vengeance on the *Samians*. The *Persians* being surprised, and a great many of their chief men killed by *Charilaus*, *Otanes* in revenge, ordered his troops to put all the *Samians* they met to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. *Mæandrus* made his escape by sea, and fled to *Lacedæmon*; but soon after *Cleomenes*, king of *Sparta*, being afraid lest he should introduce luxury into his kingdom, as he had a great deal of gold and silver plate with him, ordered him to depart *Peloponnesus*.

Upon the flight of *Mæandrus*, the *Persians* put *Samos*, plundered and depopulated as it was, into the hands of *Syloson*, who oppressed his subjects to such a degree, that most of them abandoning their native country, settled either in the neighbouring islands, or on the continent, so that *Samos* became wholly uninhabited.

Æaces
succeeds
Syloson.
Bef. Chr.
497.

Syloson was succeeded by his son *Æaces*, who attended *Darius* into *Scythia*, but being driven out afterwards by *Aristagoras* the *Milesian*, the *Samians* revolted from *Persia* and joined the *Ionians*. In an engagement that happened soon afterwards betwixt the fleet of the confederates and that of the *Persians*, 50 *Samian* gallies, at the persuasion of *Æaces*, who was in a *Persian* ship, retired from the fight, and their example being followed by the *Lesbians*, and all the confederates, except the *Chians*, the *Persians* gained a complete victory, and taking *Miletus*, prepared to invade *Samos*. Many *Samians* on this occasion chose to abandon their country, and being invited to *Sicily* by the *Zancleans*, sailed thither. When they arrived in *Sicily*, the *Zancleans* were absent, and engaged with their king in the siege of some other city; which opportunity tempted them to seize the city of *Zancle* for themselves. The *Persians* in the mean time landing in *Samos*, reinstated *Æaces* in his former government, and for his sake saved his capital city from destruction. *Æaces* served under *Xerxes* in the beginning of his *Græcian* expedition, and upon his death *Theomestor*, his son, who had behaved gallantly in the sea fight of *Salamis*, was declared his successor.

The following year, however, the *Samians* privately entered into engagements with the *Greek* confederates, assuring the ad-
miral

miral, that as soon as the *Grecian* fleet appeared, they would re- The Sa-
volt from the *Persians*. The *Greeks*, next day after the *Samian* *mians*
deputies had joined them, attacked the *Persians* off *Mycale*, and side with
gained a complete victory, the *Samians* in the beginning of the the *Greeks*
engagement declaring for them, their example being also imi- against
tated by the rest of the *Ionians*. After this glorious victory, the *Per-*
the *Greeks* returning to *Samos*, required the *Samians* and other *fians*.
islanders to swear that they would continue in their alliance,
promising to assist them in all emergencies.

The *Samians*, being thus delivered from the *Persian* yoke,
continued steadfast in their alliance with the *Athenians* for 37
years, enjoying in the mean time the full possession of their
ancient liberties. Being at length tempted to revolt from the The Sa-
Athenians, they were in a short time after reduced by the fa- *mians*
mous *Pericles*, who dismantled their city, and imposed very revolt
hard conditions upon them, as we have mentioned in the *Athe-* from the
nian history. The *Samians*, from this time, continued subject *Athenians*,
to the *Athenians*, till the 20th year of the *Peloponnesian* war, but are
when the common people of *Samos* taking up arms against the again re-
nobility, who had again usurped the sovereign power, flew 200 duced.
of them, and banishing the rest, divided their estates among
themselves. The *Athenians* were so pleased with this restora-
tion of democracy, that they allowed the *Samians* to govern
their republic according to their own laws. A revolution, Several
however, happening the year following at *Athens*, where the revolu-
nobles had seized the government, the rich men of *Samos*, who tions in
had got some assistance from the new *Athenian* magistrates, at- *Samos*.
tempted to alter the form of government; but without suc-
cess, the popular party continuing in possession of the supreme
power, and granting a refuge to great numbers of the *Athe-*
nians who fled from the tyranny of their new magistrates.
Lyfander, the *Lacedemonian* admiral, when he had reduced
Athens, and altered the form of its government, went and per-
formed the same at *Samos*. He committed the supreme power
to ten men, called *Decadarchæ*; which form of government,
after it had continued ten years, was again changed into a
democracy by the *Athenians*, upon their regaining the sove-
reignty of the sea by their naval victory at *Cnidos*. The Sa-
mians, not long after, were conquered by the *Persians*; but an
Athenian fleet, under the command of *Timotheus*, soon obliged
the conquerors to quit the island; from which time the *Sami-*
ans remained faithfully attached to the *Athenians* till they were
reduced by the *Romans*. The *Samian* state, upon losing its
liberty, soon became inconsiderable. The emperor *Augustus*,
however, afterwards restoring liberty to the *Samians*, the island,
in a very short time, became so populous, that great numbers
of inhabitants, for want of convenience in their native coun-
try, went from thence and settled in *Icaria*. *Samos*, with the
other *Greek* islands, was at length reduced into the form of a
Roman province by *Vespasian*.

The END of the SECOND VOLUME.